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THE HISTORY OF *THE TIMES*

VOL I

"THE THUNDERER" IN THE MAKING

VOL II

THE TRADITION ESTABLISHED

VOLUME II



John Walter III

JOHN WALTER III
Chief Proprietor of *The Times*
1847-1894

THE HISTORY OF
THE TIMES

THE TRADITION
ESTABLISHED

1841-1884



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INTRODUCTION

THREE years have elapsed since the publication of the first volume of this History of *The Times*. It seems desirable, therefore, to repeat briefly what was said in the introduction to that volume of the purpose and scope of the undertaking. The work of research and writing continues to be carried out by a group of past and present members of the staff of *The Times* with the object of giving the fullest and most candid account of the fortunes of the paper and of those concerned in producing it. Nothing has been omitted, however unpalatable, that could contribute to a fair public judgment upon them. "It is perhaps," as the earlier introduction stated, "the first occasion on which any private business has exposed the whole of its past without the slightest attempt at concealment or palliation." Incidentally, no doubt, the number of hitherto unpublished documents which have been brought to light—the fact that the surviving documents are more numerous explains the greater length of the second volume—form a definite contribution to the history of the nineteenth century. But the book is essentially a history of *The Times*, not of contemporary events seen from Printing House Square.

How stirring the events which filled the period of this second volume (1841-1881) and how important their influence upon the development of newspapers may be inferred from the list of the charters which were granted or regranted or confirmed during that period.

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day—from the express coach to the railway engine and the cross-Channel steamer, and thence to the Morse code and the submarine cable. It was a period also of successive clashes beyond the seas—the Crimean War, the war in Italy, the Indian Mutiny, the Civil War in America, the Franco-Prussian War—which tested to the utmost the capacity of a newspaper to select its foreign correspondents and to expedite their dispatches. At home it was a period of alternating friendship and hostility between *The Times* and a succession of masterful Ministers—Aberdeen, Peel, Clarendon, Palmerston, Russell, Disraeli—and of the emergence of a series of rival newspapers competing for circulation at a lower price and sometimes even with the support of legislation directed specifically against *The Times*. Every period in the life of a newspaper is eventful: but of these forty odd years it may fairly be said that their very difficulties produced, at a time of success, the tradition of independence and enterprise in the paper which carried it through the lean years that were to follow.

The man who was most obviously responsible for this achievement was JOHN THADEUS DELANE, with whose appointment as Editor by JOHN WALTER II, on the death of THOMAS BARNES, the present volume opens. The greater part of the volume is concerned with the thirty years of his editorship, with an account of his methods and of the gifted writers—REEVE and “BOB” LOWE, DASENT and COURTNEY, W. H. RUSSELL, the famous war correspondent, and many others—who supported him. But the nature of the problems, at home and abroad, which now confronted *The Times*, was coming to impose upon it a new extension and distribution of functions. The Manager began to appear, side by side with the Editor, as a far more definite figure than he had hitherto been, particularly as responsible for the organization of the foreign correspondence

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under the new conditions. In the hands of MOWBRAY MORRIS, and later of MACDONALD, the Managership of *The Times* became a position of high importance, and it must have required tact and the closest collaboration (Morris was Delane's brother-in-law) to avoid friction between the two sides of the Office.

Moreover a third and a most powerful influence was gradually emerging in the person of the Chief Proprietor, JOHN WALTER III, who succeeded his father in 1847, six years after the appointment of DELANE. Here, too, there was obvious need for tact if the triumvirate was to work. WALTER was a year younger than DELANE and at first far less experienced in dealing with men and affairs. Some of DELANE's earlier letters to DASENT, his principal colleague and another brother-in-law, show the impatience with which both men regarded the Chief Proprietor's constant incursions into the Office—not so much because these visits constituted "interference" as because they involved argument and waste of time at a critical hour of the night. Nevertheless the effect of recent research, as embodied in this volume, is to leave the third WALTER a far more considerable personage than he has ever been held before. His political information, as his contacts increased, served as a useful corrective to DELANE's, and during the Editor's occasional absences from the Office he became accustomed to act as a court of appeal in the case of articles which he felt that DELANE himself would not have approved. He played a considerable part in advising the Manager on the choice of correspondents abroad. Most important of all, he is entitled to the whole credit for the decision to maintain the established character of *The Times* at a moment of unprecedented competition with the cheaper Press. That was a decision which only the Chief Proprietor could take, and WALTER displayed conspicuous insight and courage in taking it as he did.

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A good deal of space, therefore, has been devoted to the commercial conditions which, from 1855 onwards, assisted the new rivals of *The Times* to reduce its old supremacy in circulation. There were temptations, as always under such conditions, to change the character of the paper as hitherto maintained—to “popularize” or “modernize” it, as the phrase goes, in order to meet competition on equal terms. To WALTER the temptation must have been peculiarly strong since, under the curious arrangements which he inherited from his father, the size of the printing order, that is to say the circulation, affected his own income directly. He was under no illusion about the immediate advantage, if *The Times* were to be regarded merely as a business proposition, of cheapening it both in price and, as an inevitable corollary, in quality. Nevertheless he slowly came to the conclusion that he was the heir, not merely to a private business, but to what had come to be a great national institution, and that there could be no compromise with the new journalism or the new price. He believed that there was a public in England which would continue to want the “best possible newspaper” run at a cost of threepence as against the penny charged by the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Standard*, and the *Daily News*. The competition with them would demand the accurate and ample reporting of events at home and abroad, a high standard of editorial comment, and above all complete independence; but, given these qualities, he made up his mind that the paper could still be produced at a profit. The “tradition of *The Times*,” as it came to be known, was established by that decision. The price of threepence was actually maintained till 1913, and eventually settled down, after a series of spasms during a period of general upheaval, to the present figure of twopence. It is satisfactory to be able to write these lines at a moment when the circulation of the paper, still at double the price charged by every

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other London daily, stands higher than it has ever done before or (it is believed) than any other national daily newspaper has ever achieved at the price of twopence.

Little need be said here of DELANE, probably the best known Editor in history, though his work and influence naturally permeate the chapters that follow. Since the present century began he has been made the subject of two full-dress biographies—one by his nephew ARTHUR DASENT and one by SIR EDWARD COOK, another great Editor—to say nothing of innumerable smaller memoirs (e.g., by Dean Wace, one of his leader-writers) and references in contemporary fiction. There is little, therefore, to be discovered about him that is new. It follows, however, from what has been said of the Chief Proprietor of his day that *The Times* could not have survived the struggle of the middle nineteenth century without DELANE's passionate determination to be independent of every influence but that of instructed public opinion. He was altogether indifferent to the resentment by statesmen of what Lord John Russell denounced as the "vile tyranny of *The Times*," when he happened to find himself in disagreement with them. Nor did he pay any heed to the contrary charge, which every independent newspaper must meet from time to time, that he was truckling to Ministers when he supported a Government policy that appealed to him. Most of the criticism of both kinds comes, as it came then, from quarters which cannot conceive of an honest divergence of opinion from their own as due to anything but pressure or bribery. DELANE sought nothing for himself or for *The Times*, which, so far from reaping favours from any Government, was the victim in his time of two successive attempts by Governments to impose special handicaps upon its circulation and its power of obtaining news. "The first duty of the Press," said *The Times*, "is to obtain the earliest and most correct intelligence of the events of the time and instantly, by disclosing them,

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to make them the common property of the nation." It is impossible to think of Delane as extending anything but welcome to an official complaint of "ill-timed disclosures," or to a public statement that in this or that paragraph *The Times* was not expressing the views of the Foreign Office. It was to the nation that he always made his appeal.

DELANE retired in 1877 and was succeeded, after a short and chaotic interregnum, by THOMAS CHENERY, an old member of the staff of *The Times* and a distinguished student of Oriental languages. To his six years' Editorship, during which the activities of the Chief Proprietor pervaded all departments of the paper, the last chapter of the volume is devoted. It ends with the introduction as his assistant of GEORGE EARLE BUCKLE, the young Fellow of All Souls who was so soon to succeed him in charge of the paper, and whose long reign must loom large in the third volume of the History of *The Times*. Mr. BUCKLE was one of the band of writers who contributed notably to the early stages of the History, and it is with deep regret that his colleagues record his death since the first volume was published.

December, 1938.

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LIKE its predecessor, the present volume has been fortunate in attracting assistance from owners and custodians of original documents in both public and private ownership. The Earl of Clarendon generously made special arrangements for the inspection and copying of hitherto unprinted material in his possession. Mr. W. Reeve Wallace, C.B., rendered a similar service in connexion with the papers of Henry Reeve.

Mr. John Walter has again placed the papers in his possession at the complete disposal of the History. By gracious permission of His Majesty the King a fruitful search has been made in the Royal Archives. Professor Randolph G. Adams, of Ann Arbor University, Michigan, has again sent transcripts of the correspondence of Croker, the originals of which are in the William L. Clements Library. Monsieur Poirson interrupted his work upon the Walewski Papers in order to provide transcripts of certain memoranda. Professor C. K. Webster kindly put the compilers in touch with a source that would otherwise have remained unknown to them. Mr. J. R. Baldwin provided a number of references; Dr. G. B. Henderson read the chapter dealing with the Crimean War; Messrs. G. W. Wheatley and Co., and Mr. J. K. Sidebottom contributed information respecting Thomas Waghorn and the Overland Mail. Mr. B. H. Sumner allowed access to the Urquhart papers at Balliol College.

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I

AFTER BARNES, 1841-1846

IN *The Times* of Saturday, May 8, 1841, the three groups of small advertisements headed respectively "Births," "Married" and "Died" occupy an inconspicuous position about the middle of the third column on the inside of the back page of the supplement. On this day we find such entries as :

On the 16th ult., sincerely lamented by a large circle of friends and the poor of the neighbourhood, Mrs Warsop, of the Wheatsheaf, Alconbury-hill. During a period of 26 years, at the Bristol Arms, Sleaford, and the Wheatsheaf, Alconbury-hill, she acquired the esteem and good will of every visiter (*sic*) to those establishments.

But the Editor of *The Times* was no such public character as the hostess of the Wheatsheaf. The first entry in the list of deaths is that which was cited on the last page of the previous volume of this work : "On the 7th inst., at his house in Soho-square, Thomas Barnes, Esq., in the 56th year of his age."

Since the name of Barnes now appeared in the paper for the first time, it is certain that the vast majority of readers remained unaware that a demise of the editorial crown had occurred. Even from his nearest colleagues within the office Barnes's activities had always been hidden. The extent of his influence was unknown even to the Chief Proprietor, and, moreover, such signs as there are do not prove that John Walter II or his son was attached to his memory. To one or two persons acquainted with the inner working of politics, however, the significance of the event was apparent. On the day that the notice of Barnes's death appeared, Greville wrote in his diary :

The vast power exercised by *The Times* makes this a most important event, and it will be curious to see in what hands the regulating and directing power will hereafter be placed.

As it happened, the destination of the regulating and directing power was already being determined. The choice of Walter had fallen on John Thadeus, the second son of the Treasurer, W. F. A.

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Delane. J. T. Delane had been introduced to Printing House Square in the previous year and employed on Parliamentary reporting and other work. His introduction preceded by three years that of John Walter (1818-1894), the eldest son of Walter II. In 1841 he was only 23. Walter II, a shrewd judge of character, had had some years of opportunity in which to study his young recruit. Events made Delane's advancement more rapid than could have been foreseen, but it must not be assumed that the title of Editor had at once its full connotation. From the death of Barnes until the death of Walter II in 1847 Delane exercised only a delegated authority. His position during those years was not comparable with that of Barnes, upon whose death Walter returned to take an active, though not a public, control of the paper. John Delane was his chief editorial lieutenant, whose task was less direction and decision than the supervision of matters already defined by the Chief Proprietor. The title of Editor, which had varied in meaning since it was borne by William Finey, was Delane's key of admission to circles where political information could be gathered, just as it was in the early years of the editorship of Crabb Robinson and of Barnes.

Roundell Palmer, who had become a leader-writer on *The Times* in the last year of Barnes, and developed a close friendship with the Walter family, remarks in his memoirs that "it was only by degrees . . . that the management of the paper really fell" into Delane's hands.¹ A confirmatory entry in Lord Blachford's letters gives a curious glimpse of affairs in Printing House Square. Frederic Rogers, as he then was, wrote for *The Times* from 1842 to 1844. One evening in 1842 he kept an appointment with Walter II and his son and was told to write an article on a topic of the day. He protested his inexperience of hurried work, but, submitting to Walter's urgency, turned out an acceptable article. He then found he was expected to repeat the process next day :

Same hour [5 p.m.], same dinner, short conversation after dinner, then the subject was announced and I was left alone till tea-time, when Mr. Walter appeared, read aloud what I had done, with criticisms, and after correction carried off the copy to the printer. When the article was finished the same process was repeated, and when I was disburdened of the whole article I went home to bed.²

¹ *Memorials Family and Personal*, Vol. I, p. 304. Surviving letters of Palmer's show he took instructions from Delane as well as from Walter. In one, after some dispute, he recognizes "the necessity of your reserving to yourself an absolute right to suppress any article of a contributor which you may think proper."

² *Letters of Lord Blachford*, p. 112.

JOHN DELANE'S LIMITED AUTHORITY

Owing to the destruction of papers, our knowledge of the period 1841-1847 is extremely meagre, but it is plain that the Chief Proprietor wished to share responsibility for the daily conduct of the journal. To this end in 1842 he made over to the two Delanes a moiety of a share in *The Times*. The transfer may have been connected with the new action taken in 1842 by Mrs Murray,¹ who complained that Walter, as Chief Proprietor of the paper, was authorizing a high printing charge to be paid to himself as printer. But although Walter wished to give John Delane authority over the columns of *The Times*, the principles upon which the editorship had previously been conducted were necessarily reviewed, and in fact revised, at Barnes's death. Delane's predecessor had, as Walter deposed in 1842,² "the sole management and conduct of the said [Times] newspaper", it was "committed to the said Thomas Barnes in 1819". Walter further testified that the "management and editing was wholly left to the said Thomas Barnes until his death, which took place in the month of May, 1841." The new arrangements, cordially entered into, were provisional in their terms, and the share transferred to W. Delane and J. T. Delane was redeemable at Walter's choice.³

Other influences also acted upon the paper. One of its veterans was not yet lost to its counsels. Peter Fraser had retired to a country living at Kegworth, but he corresponded regularly with his old friend Walter until his death and offered him constant advice on policy. But his health required him to spend much of his time abroad; and, although he remained a contributor, there is no indication that he had time to take part in the control of the paper or even that he had set foot in the office for many years. He never mentions the name of J. T. Delane, or shows himself aware that there is an Editor other than Walter himself.⁴

But in the political world external to Printing House Square it was the Proprietor's intention that young Delane should take a position of prominence. It was to be his business to secure that

¹ See Vol I, pp 179, 420, 477-8, for the action in 1838

² Murray v. Walter, May 21, 1842. (P.R.O., C.13, 1962, fol. 14.)

³ Walter redeemed this share in 1846, while Barnes's half-share, originally transferred in 1819, was released from redemption in 1827.

⁴ Crabb Robinson also never mentions the name of Delane, and in his diary and correspondence writes of *The Times* and Walter as practically synonymous. He, too, had long ceased to frequent the office, but he remained on terms of intimacy with both Walter and his eldest son, and, being resident in London, presumably saw more of them than Fraser. Writing to Mary Wordsworth on February 25, 1847, Robinson refers to John Walter II as "the controller rather than the proprietor of *The Times*."

most vital of all the raw materials of the newspaper—early and, if possible, exclusive political intelligence.

At the time of Barnes's death, the political situation presented many difficulties, for the Melbourne Government was clearly dying (in April, 1841, Peel was already forming a Cabinet on paper), and the Conservatives were revising their Press connexions. At the same time John Walter re-entered Parliament. His election for the borough of Nottingham was secured by a sort of alliance with the Chartists, which was not approved by every Conservative, indeed, although Walter played a conspicuous part in the defeat of the Melbourne Government (overthrown by a single vote—that of the new Member for Nottingham), he was, and was regarded as being, an independent member. He had no desire to confuse his political career with *The Times*; he had not done so in Barnes's time, and, though now his connexion with the paper was more active, his aversion was equally strong. In the political world, John Walter was to be Member for Nottingham, J. T. Delane Editor of *The Times*.

But Walter was known; the young Editor was not. It was natural for the Conservative managers to turn to the former; in such cases, the furthest Walter would go was to act as intermediary—and that was probably more than he wanted to do. Shortly after Barnes's death, an unnamed (probably Horace Twiss) emissary of the Conservatives called upon Walter to discuss the relations which should subsist between the new Government and *The Times*. A letter written to him later in the same day reveals at once Walter's manner of receiving such emissaries and the striking difference between his liberal view regarding communications from the Government to the Press and the method later so highly developed by Delane of making exclusive arrangements:

In consequence of my conversation with you this morning, I made an immediate visit to my young friend [J. T. Delane] at Blackfriars. I there imparted to him, in a great degree, what had passed between us—that I thought it ought to be satisfactory to him, as I am sure it would have been to me in early days, that the Government communications should be made impartially—equally, fairly, & impartially—to all the Government Journals, without any reference to their several sales, or their presumed influence upon that ground. You thought this was almost a too liberal suggestion; but I am convinced that no well-wisher to the Government ought to object to it, but should let the

GOVERNMENT PRESS MANAGERS

journals take their chance as to the use they make, or are competent to make, of the information thus afforded I would not have the Government sacrifice its own interests by giving up, or rendering less energetic, any of the public journals in its support. I should consider, upon this principle, that *The Times* & the *Standard*, the *Post* & the *Herald*, should be upon the same footing Each has its own class of readers ; & it were a pity that any should be lost to a Conservative Administration, by the preponderating influence of one single journal. This is my opinion ; & I have stated it frankly to one of the parties that may appear most interested to obtain a different arrangement

You referred me to something that had appeared, as grievously offensive, about a fortnight before Mr Barnes's decease I was at the time at Nottingham, & though I read it there, it did not make that impression upon me, which you think it was calculated to produce However, I can tell you this—that it came from a Gentleman who was more useful to the Conservative party in the City than any I know of.

It was not long, however, before the several recipients of Government favour complained of preferential treatment given to other papers. The young Delane quickly won the confidence of Lord Aberdeen and got advantages at the Foreign Office ; the *Morning Post* complained about this, while *The Times*, for its part, found other grounds for dissatisfaction.¹ The party managers could see only one solution : "I think it will be expedient to constitute some one the depository of newspaper intelligence with authority to dole it out among the Conservative papers as he thinks fit, or according to such direction as you may be pleased to give him."² This scheme was equally ineffectual ; as a later chapter will show, Delane never lost Aberdeen's ear.

One thing, however, is evident. The Press managers had, before the end of 1841, been persuaded to accept Delane as the authority in Printing House Square. Thus Sir Thomas Fremantle wrote : "I am sorry to find that Mr. Delane is dissatisfied—if we lose him, *The Times* will soon veer round. Walter is ready enough to go." Though Walter would have preferred that his own name should have been entirely left out of Fremantle's calculations, this was the attitude the Proprietor wished to develop.

Party officials and private secretaries like Fremantle and Le Marchant wrote to Delane as if they were corresponding with

¹ The *Morning Post* obtained the earliest intelligence of Peel's summons to Windsor.

² Sir Thomas Fremantle to Sir Robert Peel, December 31, 1841. (B.M., MSS. Addl. 40476/86.)

a principal. While Walter had no mind to admit responsibility for the contents of the paper, and it was known that he had no interest in foreign affairs, measures affecting the necessitous poor and other departments of home politics were an immediate personal concern. Aberdeen, Sir Charles Wood and other statesmen readily accepted Delane as the immediate conductor of the paper's policy, but they were aware that Walter's wishes could not be ignored. The Chief Proprietor might desire to divorce his career in Parliament from his connexion with the paper, but no member of the House could believe that the fortunes and opinions of the member for Nottingham were without influence upon the direction of *The Times*. Hence in the years between 1841 and 1846 some interesting events occurred which provoked criticism from those who could not understand that various apparent anomalies can be united into a consistent principle.

A notable instance may be cited. Walter sought re-election at Nottingham in the General Election of June, 1841, and was defeated by Sir John Hobhouse and George Larpent. He petitioned against their election and a compromise was arranged whereby Larpent gave up his seat and Hobhouse pledged a sum of £4,000 that Walter should not be opposed in a new election at Nottingham. When this election took place, however, a third party (the Complete Suffrage Union) stepped in and Walter narrowly escaped defeat. On taking his seat in the House, he was faced in his turn with a petition against his election and was unseated by the casting vote of the chairman of the committee which investigated the case. The importance of these elections and petitions to the history of *The Times* lies in the ill-feeling which they aroused. On the one hand, Walter felt, with some justice, that his extrusion from the House of Commons owed much to the hostility of Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham, the Prime Minister and Home Secretary, who feared his opposition to their Poor Law policy ; while on the other hand Walter had long and acrimonious negotiations with Hobhouse over the pledged money. Walter claimed it on the ground that he had not got his seat, and Hobhouse claimed it on the argument that he had fulfilled his bargain.

These quarrels had repercussions which affected the paper. *The Times*, unfriendly towards Peel, also became increasingly hostile towards Graham owing to his unfeeling administration of the Poor Law. W. B. Ferrand, M.P. for Knaresborough, who



H.B.'S CARTOON, A SIGN OF THE TIMES

Published December 28, 1844

Sir James Graham

W. B. Ferrand

WALTER LOSES NOTTINGHAM

carried so far by political excitement as to accuse Graham of revenging himself by trickery upon *The Times* for its Poor Law campaign. He alleged that the Home Secretary had brought pressure to bear on the chairman of the Nottingham election committee to falsify the committee's report in order to unseat Walter. Recriminations followed inside and outside the House, and the suggestion was made that Ferrand was a puppet of *The Times*, whose attacks upon Graham were almost equally severe. Delane being then in close alliance with Aberdeen in foreign policy, it was not unnatural that Peel should feel that only the personal animosity of John Walter withheld the paper's general support from the Ministry. Aberdeen, therefore, in 1844 attempted to open negotiations through Delane to find a way to bring the Chief Proprietor round. The masterly way in which the youthful Editor conducted the affair gave Walter great satisfaction, although its purpose was not achieved.

Peel's Ministry fell in July, 1846. In Lord John Russell's Whig Cabinet, Sir John Hobhouse reappeared as President of the Board of Control, the office he had held under Melbourne. Delane made an alliance with the new Government, and its entry into office was greeted by a leading article, clearly based upon official information, praising all the appointments—except one. Hobhouse was bitterly attacked. The Prince Consort's memorandum of July 6 noting that "this, however, is a mere personal matter of Mr. Walter, who stood against Sir John at Nottingham in 1841 and was unseated," is understandable; there is, indeed, little in Hobhouse's previous career to explain why he should have been thus singled out for attack.

Throughout the "Hungry Forties" social questions were to the fore, and the line consistently followed by the paper was along that humane conservatism for which Walter stood during the whole of his political career. It was more liberal than the policy advocated by the paper after his death. He was a stalwart supporter of the existing order, but while he demanded that rioters should be met with firmness, he was ever acutely conscious of the evils of sweated labour and an inhuman Poor Law. The Chartist were no lovers of *The Times*, which consistently attacked them as mischief-makers, but they supported John Walter at the Nottingham election of April, 1841, and praised his "noble behaviour" as a country gentleman.¹

¹ Brônterre O'Brien's *National Reformer and Manx Weekly Review*. (December 12, 1846.)

The Irish situation was equally important to Walter, for he hated O'Connell, his programme, and his religion. When the Irish leader was prosecuted by the Government for seditious conspiracy at the beginning of 1844, *The Times* was openly jubilant and made elaborate preparations to devote its full resources to a report of the trial. All the London newspapers entered into the keenest rivalry to obtain the first news. More than one engaged special steamers to bring the reports over from Kingstown, but the fastest ship was the *Iron Duke*, chartered for the service of *The Times*. The paper engaged as chief of the reporters of the trial a young Irishman who had already been employed in reporting O'Connell's monster meetings of 1843. William Howard Russell was destined to become the most famous reporter who ever served *The Times*. He was himself a Protestant and anti-Repealer, but he had a remarkable faculty for maintaining friendly personal relations with men of all parties, and there was even one occasion when O'Connell himself, at the height of *The Times* campaign against him, found Russell stranded with his dispatches at a wayside inn, took him on in his own carriage, and spent a convivial evening with him.

The trial of O'Connell lasted twenty-three days, and the jury retired late in the afternoon of Saturday, February 10, 1844. They failed to reach an agreement on all counts of the indictment until after midnight, and, it being then Sunday morning, Mr Justice Crampton told them that he had no jurisdiction to receive their verdict. Consequently the verdict was not formally delivered until 10 o'clock on Monday morning. But in the course of legal argument at a late hour on Saturday night the jury had disclosed the decisions they had already reached on some of the principal counts. Setting out with this news, apparently at about 2 a.m. on Sunday, Russell reached Printing House Square in time for the Monday morning ordinary edition, publication of which began at a quarter to seven.

Russell's account, filling two columns, was thus on sale in London less than twenty-nine hours after it left Dublin, although an early-Victorian Sunday had intervened. Apparently the *Iron Duke's* energy was not exhausted by one race across the Channel; for the account of the proceedings on Monday morning, when the jury delivered their formal verdict at ten o'clock, was contained in a special edition of *The Times* on Tuesday, where it occupies a half-column headed "THE TIMES OFFICE, Quarter

THE TRIAL OF O'CONNELL

to 1 p m " The time of publication of this edition is not stated ; but it seems that the verdict was known at Printing House Square 26½ hours after it was delivered in Dublin Who the messenger was on this occasion is not on record, but since he can scarcely have been allowed, for news that had lost much of its freshness, Russell's luxury of a special train, his performance seems worthy of at least equal credit with his predecessor's.

Condemned in Dublin, O'Connell secured a favourable judgment on appeal to the House of Lords But the old antagonism between him and *The Times* was to flare up once more On August 21, 1845, the first leading article announced a new departure in journalism " We this day introduce to our readers our Irish Commissioner." Dissatisfied with the ponderous and unreadable Blue-books produced by Royal Commissions, such as that which had recently reported on Ireland under the chairmanship of Lord Devon, *The Times* had determined to try to get to the root causes of Irish discontent by sending an emissary of its own to make an extended investigation on the spot The man sent was Thomas Campbell Foster, a barrister, who later published many legal works, and who in 1879 led for the Crown at the trial of Charles Peace.

During the autumn and winter Foster's articles began to appear regularly, each, as a rule, occupying a whole page of the paper. They showed a patient exactitude in description of the social conditions wherever he travelled, and a marked absence of political or religious partiality. O'Connell immediately fell upon Foster, denouncing him at the Repeal meetings in Conciliation Hall as " the gutter Commissioner " of " the infamous *Times*." There followed a furious controversy, which Foster brought to a climax by descending upon O'Connell's own property at Darrynane, and sending to *The Times* a minute and merciless description of the squalor in which the Liberator's tenants lived. Writing of the poorest part of the property, called Darrynane Beg, he said, *inter alia*, " The distress of the people was horrible. There is not a pane of glass in the parish, nor a window of any kind in half the cottages." These words were made the target of the full fury of O'Connell's wrath. " The miscreant says there is not a pane of glass in the parish of Darrynane Beg," he declaimed to a cheering audience in Conciliation Hall. " I wish to the Lord he had as many pains in his belly ! " Something like an international controversy was soon raging about whether there was a pane of glass in Darrynane Beg. *The Times* sent Russell to make an

independent report on O'Connell's property. He spent three days at Darrynane, was shown round by Maurice O'Connell, the Liberator's eldest son, and confirmed the accuracy of Foster's account. There was, indeed, no glass in Darrynane Beg. *The Times* solemnly announced the vindication of its Commissioner; O'Connell soared to fresh heights of patriotic wrath. Two gutter Commissioners improved the quantity but not the quality. "The calumnies against me occupy not a line less than six mortal columns of *The Times* newspaper. Six columns! Why, you should not have the heart to throw at the dog of your enemy such a violent instrument or weapon as six columns of *The Times* newspaper."

The "six mortal columns" created a great sensation and were reprinted in the *Illustrated London News* (January 10, 1846) with eight engravings of Darrynane, Cahirciveen, &c. That stout Protestant, Peter Fraser, wrote enthusiastically to his friend: "The Rascal's done at last, I think, and in fact *by you*," and urged Walter to extend the fray by attacking the papal government itself: "Depend upon it the *Times* can destroy the popedom, as it could have done Puseyism. Don't wait till others do it."

Apart, however, from his own special interests in home politics, Walter was indifferent to the contents of *The Times* provided a moderate conservative policy was generally taken and the circulation of the paper maintained. In order to superintend he did not think it necessary to maintain residence at Printing House Square.¹ It has been seen in Volume I that at the time of Barnes's death the managerial department was being administered on Walter's behalf by two men—Alsager as Assistant Manager, and William Delane as Treasurer. Alsager acted as City Editor and wrote the financial articles; he was also responsible for collecting mercantile and foreign news. The City credited him with conspicuous ability and impartiality. William Delane seems to have been more strictly confined to the financial management of the paper and of the printing business. The younger Walter, now 23, had not yet made up his mind to a career in the family enterprise. He was an ardent adherent of the Oxford Movement, wrote² for *The Times* in its defence, and may at one time have contemplated taking orders. A letter from Peter Fraser, undated but written in

¹ A letter from Brougham addressed there was refused, and after delay reached the addressee at Charing Cross.

² Greville wrote to Reeve that "Young Walter and a man of the name of [Frederick] Oakeley, staunch Tractarians, write these high-flying articles." (October 12, 1842.)

THE WALTERS DISAGREE

1842, shows that his father meditated obtaining a place for him on Baring's mission to the United States—and no doubt employing him as a correspondent for the paper at the same time. But John Walter did not go to America, possibly it was his marriage, on September 27, 1842, to Emily Frances Court that kept him at home. On March 2, 1843, he wrote from Printing House Square to Crabb Robinson, who had complained of the unfriendly attitude of *The Times* to the non-Anglican foundation of University College, London.

Living as I am for prudential reasons in my Father's house, I can hardly help taking some interest in the general conduct of the concern to which it is attached. As I am however neither an Editor nor a writer, I hope you will not hold me responsible for the report on the article of which you complain.

But his High Church leanings caused serious friction with his father; the year 1845, which was so critical for Newman, brought the estrangement to a head, and on April 30 of that year Crabb Robinson wrote in his diary:

At the Athenaeum where Walter called on me. We had an hour's walk in the Park. From him I learned that John Walter has retired from Printing House Square and lives in the country. I have no doubt that, tho' it was not said, the *Church question* has been a source of dissension between father & son. Walter very cordial

Nine months later Robinson was staying at Bear Wood, where he had a close-range view of the disagreement between the two Walters. On January 25, 1846, he recorded that

W. and John were closeted a considerable time—he is always full of thought. He wants still to be in Parliament. Mrs W. is sadly changed. She never properly smiled all the time I was there. She seemed wrapped up in Mrs. Charlton's baby. After dinner I took a walk with John Walter. He is living retired not concealing that he left Printing House Square from dissatisfaction with *The Times*. His Puseyism was offended by the tone of the paper on Church matters. He talked seriously and consistently and is a man of firmness and if the paper were ever under his government it would become a very different thing. Edward the younger is in the army, a lively agreeable lad. Henry is thinking of business, he also seems very respectable.

One of the consequences of the retirement of John Walter Junior, and the indisposition of his father to identify himself with the paper, was that Delane's position correspondingly

increased in importance. Moreover, since Walter continued to reside at Charing Cross, the heads of departments, the two Delanes, George Dasent and Thomas Alsager (who spent most of his time in the City), enjoyed the greater measure of independence. They were able to gratify the Chief Proprietor with a series of remarkable journalistic exploits, and the year 1845 was the most prosperous that the paper had ever enjoyed. The office was buoyant and John Walter was entirely satisfied with the staff. At the end of the year John Delane received the substantial salary increase of £200 a year. The railway mania, of which more will be said, was the principal cause of the expansion of advertising revenue, and the exclusive Corn Law intelligence increased the circulation.

Throughout the summer of 1845, the question of the repeal of the Corn Laws held the public attention, and the Anti-Corn Law League, assisted by a bad harvest, aroused a furious popular clamour against the duties. On October 29, *The Times* asserted that "Once we *might* have declared a free trade in corn, now we *must*." It proceeded to attack the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, who was still wavering; on November 6 his resignation was demanded. By the end of November the atmosphere of a great crisis had descended upon the country; the Cabinet was in frequent session, and contradictory rumours were heard on all sides. In the midst of it all, on December 4, *The Times* suddenly produced a leading article of which this was the opening paragraph:

The decision of the Cabinet is no longer a secret. Parliament, it is confidently reported, is to be summoned for the first week in January; and the Royal Speech will, it is added, recommend an immediate consideration of the Corn Laws, preparatory to their total repeal. Sir Robert Peel in one house, and the Duke of Wellington in the other, will, we are told, be prepared to give immediate effect to the recommendation thus conveyed.

The excitement created by this announcement was prodigious. Peel immediately sat down and wrote to the Queen that the paragraph "asserting that your Majesty's servants had unanimously agreed to an immediate and total repeal of the Corn Laws, is quite without foundation."¹ He made, however, no public contradiction, and the general disposition was to believe *The Times*. On the other hand, much speculation was devoted to the problem of how an independent journal, which had of late been bitterly

¹ *Queen Victoria's Letters*, II, 56.

THE CORN LAW "EXCLUSIVE"

critical of the Prime Minister, had got hold of a cataclysmic piece of news of which the recognized Government organs, the *Morning Herald* and the *Standard*, had no inkling. Out of the uncertainty of those days was born a sensational rumour, destined to a long life. It was said that the decision of the Cabinet was communicated in romantic and confidential circumstances by Sidney Herbert, the young Secretary at War in Peel's Government, to Mrs. Norton, Sheridan's famous and beautiful grand-daughter, and that Mrs. Norton, being at the time in great financial difficulty, drove straight to Printing House Square and sold the secret to Delane for £500. This story, after the manner of its kind, steadily gained circumstantial detail as the years passed. Although wholly without foundation, it cannot be forgotten, because it has been embodied in a work of genius, George Meredith's *Diana of the Crossways*, in which the heroine is admittedly a portrait of Mrs. Norton, Delane appears as "Mr Tonans" and Sidney Herbert as "Percy Dacier." Meredith wrote in 1884, a year before the first important contradiction.¹

In spite of the ridicule heaped upon Peel in *The Times* during the last months of 1845, Delane was in almost daily communication with Aberdeen, who, besides securing support for his own foreign policy, acted as intermediary between the Government and *The Times*. He strove especially to secure the paper's help in tiding the Government over the imminent crisis and kept Delane well informed of the contest then going on in the Cabinet, which would not unanimously accept Peel's Free Trade proposals; the principal opposition came from the Duke of Wellington. Aberdeen informed Delane that the Duke, on Peel's declaration that his resignation would bring down the Ministry, had agreed to waive his objections, and even use his influence to carry Free Trade through the Lords. Next morning appeared the famous announcement, which is a probable, though daring, inference from the acquiescence of the Duke.

On the evening of December 5 the *Standard*, which was recognized as an official Tory organ, came out with a categorical denial under the heading of "Atrocious Fabrication by *The Times*," and expressed its willingness to stake its character on the accuracy of its contradiction. On the 6th the *Morning Herald*, coming from the same press as the evening *Standard*, repeated this assertion.

¹ By Reeve, in his edition of *Greville's Memoirs*.

The Times merely appealed to future events, but some of its closest friends were seriously alarmed for its reputation. Greville, having been told on the evening of the 5th by his chief, Lord Wharncliffe, that " *The Times* has been completely mystified, and neither you nor Reeve know anything whatever of what is going on," wrote a letter of caution to Reeve. Reeve apparently passed on the warning to Delane, and received the following laconic reply :

Saturday, December 6, 1845.

Dear Reeve,
We are quite safe.

You is always,

J T D.

Plenty of Cabinet opposition, but we are sure to be proved right by facts.

Delane's judgment was correct. After a week-end of anxiety *The Times* was justified, and the coup added fame to the paper, and credit to the young Editor, who was personally responsible.

Meanwhile Alsager in the City was engaged upon another exploit, which in the long run was even more creditable to the paper, though it caused some immediate scandals which damaged the reputation of those principally concerned. In the autumn of 1845 *The Times* waged a battle with a great popular movement. The paper had long been known as the enemy of railway monopolists and share-pushers,¹ and when the British public became afflicted with the mania for making fortunes by railway development Alsager was determined to prevent the mischief which would result from indiscriminate speculation. While he had the support of the best elements in the money market, the *Morning Herald*, with the backing of the less scrupulous, took the lead in championing the railway interest. With the increased advertising revenue secured from the enormous volume of new prospectuses, the *Herald* paralleled the news connexions of *The Times*, competed with its express services and particularly embarrassed its reputation for priority in the India mail services. In addition, the *Herald* competed with *The Times* for City intelligence, and through the medium of the journals of railway finance belittled its conductors. The prestige of the paper was attacked in the City at a time when,

¹ In 1840, *The Times* was attacked by the *Chronicle* ("a paper notoriously in the railway interest," for its owner was a railway director) for its hostility to railways. It replied that it demanded only caution, lest the monopolists became insolent, remiss or extortionate.

ALSAGER AND ROTHSCHILD

for reasons given in the following chapter, the personal situation of two of the principal members of the staff, William Delane and Alsager, was rendered uneasy

Its long City connexion was vital to *The Times*, although not easily to be severed, it was not necessarily regarded as secure from assault. No member of the staff in the time of Walter II would consider the situation of the paper to be impregnable. The position of *The Times* in the City required scrupulous and continual attention. Alsager had managed this department since 1817. For years on the Paris Bourse it had borne the sobriquet *le journal de la Cité*. In that age of expanding industry the paper's money articles, edited and largely written by Alsager, were regarded as the best of their kind.¹ Alsager enjoyed the respect and the personal acquaintance of the most eminent men in the City. The railway speculation was a test of both.

David Morier Evans, who spent some years in the City office of the paper, says that he used, in his younger days, to see Nathan Meyer Rothschild (1777-1836) standing at his pillar on 'Change surrounded by his friends, and "among them Thomas Massa Alsager, then styled the Mirror of *The Times*."² The sight of Alsager and another Rothschild together in 1845 and 1846 stirred other observers to recollection: the *Railway Times* declared it is "a notorious fact that in all the loan transactions of the late Mr. Rothschild, *The Times* invariably, aye systematically, came in for a share of the pickings."

This attack upon the probity of the conductors of the paper was made, as stated above, when England was in the throes of the railway mania. *The Times* from the first adopted an attitude towards the craze for promoting railway companies which earned for it the reprobation of vested interests. The campaign against the railway "stags" was consistent with the paper's policy in 1825 and formed a fitting end to Alsager's career as *The Times* money expert. Just as in 1825 the paper declared that the investors were too many for more than a few to make a fortune, so in 1845 it asked: "Whence is to come all the money for the construction of the projected railroads?" A profit was expected from any line joining any two points, and the number of projected companies of this period was almost

¹ The *Weekly Dispatch*, no friend of *The Times*, wrote in its obituary of Alsager that "by his almost unaided exertions, he raised *The Times* to a point of commercial eminence, envied only by other journalists, who have sought in vain to build a reputation by following Mr. Alsager's example." (*W.D.*, November 15, 1846.)

² D. M. Evans, *Speculative Notes and Notes on Speculation*, 1864, p. 72.

unbelievable. The *Morning Herald*, during the height of the craze, was able to print monster supplements full of these prospectuses (reaching at times twenty and more pages). The leading journal had a good share of the advertising, and even admitted that it did not inquire too scrupulously into the prospectuses which it printed, but its hostility towards part of the "railway interest" lost it both advertisements and readers—if we are to believe a correspondent of the *Morning Herald*, who said that not merely had he changed to that paper from *The Times*, but also that he knew of cases of railway advertisers who refrained from using the paper. The loss, however, was only relative.

The Times took its stand "on the simple fact that the limited capabilities of the country and its many demands only allowed of a certain expenditure on railroads."¹ The concentration of capital upon one set of schemes, it prophesied, was bound to bring disaster. The prophecy was endorsed by history. Towards the end of November, 1845, it published a large supplement giving figures, which proved that more money was being invested (on paper) in railways than there was in the country. The force of these tables was not lessened by the scandals which arose regarding their author, Spackman. One paper declared that he had been engaged, only a few weeks before the publication of his figures, "in the very gentlemanly and highly intellectual employment of exhibiting a wax figure in Leicester Square"²; another accused him of having stolen his statistics from one Tuck, who intended to use them for precisely the opposite purpose.³ Spackman's statement, however vulnerable in detail, was, generally speaking, accurate; no adequate reply was made and the exposures by *The Times* of fraud and swindling, the scandal of the "provisional director" and the deposit system were answered not by argument but by abuse. A rejoinder commonly made was that the paper had fallen into effete hands; that having failed to note the temper of the age, it had permitted other papers (the *Herald* was pointed to) to forestall it as the "railway organ." Thus the *Railway King* declared that "first Bacon and then Barnes have been lost; Alsager rests on his oars"; and hence *The Times* went on blundering in railway affairs.⁴ A more serious accusation

¹ D. M. Evans, *The Commercial Crisis, 1847-1849*, p. 24.

² The *Stock Exchange Express*, January 17, 1846.

³ The *Railway Times*, November 22, 1845.

⁴ The *Railway King and Universal Advertiser*, October 30, 1845. The *Morning Herald* also declared that the real cause of the hostility was to be found in the unequalled size of its supplements, November 2, 1845.

THE RAILWAY MANIA

was that, in foretelling the panic and attempting to depress the market, the paper was acting as the "Great Bear." The *Hampshire Independent* went so far as to accuse the conductors of *The Times*, D[elane] and A[lsager] of bearing the market, but the paper wrung an apology out of the author of the article.

The ramifications of these financial matters are so confusing that some excuse for misinterpretations has to be admitted. Several of the Rothschild family, both in France and in England, were interested in the French railway companies, and had large holdings in at least two lines, *The Times* often went out of its way to praise the French lines generally, and to contrast them favourably with the English companies.¹ Hence although the general accusation that "railway shares were ruined to fill the pockets of the attachés of *The Times*"² must be rejected, it cannot be denied that in some cases its behaviour encouraged suspicion.³ William Delane, for instance, was personally interested in railways, and was a director of the Direct London and Exeter Line, which *The Times* puffed for months, before the shameful incompetence of its management was exposed. "It might not be perhaps wholly unfair," wrote a railway organ, "to hint that Mr. Delane, provisional director, might slightly have biased Mr. Delane, Director of *The Times*."⁴ Other accusations against Delane and Alsager were made. They were accused of falsely announcing amalgamations in order to depress shares, and wrongly asserting that certain lines were impracticable. The railway press, denounced by *The Times* as "scurrilous" and "corrupt," devoted to the purpose of marketing "trashy scrip," endeavoured to repay in kind. Perhaps in William Delane they may have chosen the weakest member of *The Times* superior staff. Against Alsager's probity there was no substantial charge, his career of nearly thirty years in City journalism was above reproach.

Nevertheless, it was very fortunate that, just at this time, the gratitude of the City for exposure by *The Times* in 1840 of the swindler, Alan Bogle, was about to manifest itself. The sum subscribed by the houses of Rothschild, Baring, Barclay, Glyn, &c., &c., not having been disposed of at this time—when serious

¹ E.g., on November 19, 1845, in the Money article.

² The *Railway Times*, December 6, 1845.

³ The *Railway Journal*, November 12, 1845.

⁴ The *Railway Critic*, December 6, 1845. The name of W. W. A. Delane, of Blackwell, duly appears in the company's prospectus as a "provisional director" (the office so hated by the paper) in the *Railway Chronicle* of August 16, 1845.

attacks upon the staff of the paper were being made—it was resolved by the committee that tablets be engraved commemorating the “ indefatigable industry, perseverance and ability shown by the proprietors of *The Times* newspaper in the exposure of the most remarkable and extensively fraudulent conspiracy ever brought to light in the Mercantile world,” and erected at Lloyd’s and Printing House Square. These tablets were unveiled on August 20, 1846, by the Lord Mayor but with a minimum of ceremony¹ The committee, however, arranged for a formal celebration of the event at the Railway Tavern on September 2, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor Among those representing the City were John Benjamin Heath, Governor of the Bank of England, Baron Lionel de Rothschild, Thomas Baring, M.P. (and later Chancellor of the Exchequer); Sir George Larpent, the East India Merchant²; Sir Allan Macnab, Speaker of the Canadian House of Assembly; Sir Peter Laurie, former Lord Mayor and Chairman of the Union Bank, Sir George Carroll, and *The Times* was represented by John Walter; John Walter Junior; Henry Fraser Walter, T. M. Alsager; W. F. A. Delane; J T Delane; John Tyas, the veteran reporter who had described Peterloo for the paper, and J F. Neilson, head of the Parliamentary staff

The rule of secrecy, hitherto unbroken in Printing House Square, was abrogated ; the dinner was not merely reported but the names of the staff were given the benefit of the most conspicuous position in the paper, *i.e.*, on the leader page The clarity of the print in the carefully reproduced speeches did not fail to emphasize the personal merits of the “ valuable—he (the Lord Mayor) would say invaluable—set of gentlemen who conducted *The Times* newspaper,” and the public spirit of “ those gentlemen who composed the body having control of *The Times* ”; amongst whom was Mr. Walter, who, while he had had “ for some time very little to do with that paper . . . even if his hand should never be out of his pocket, would do anything to carry out the objects of the establishment.” In responding to the toast of his health John Walter compared his position with that of an Englishman absent from his native land. “ Such is my position with regard to *The Times*. It is my literary and political country ; and dear to me it is ; and so

¹ See Alsager's letter and the illustration in Vol I, p. 418.

² Larpent had been Walter's opponent in two Nottingham elections. He gave up his seat after a victory in the General Election of 1841, as part of the compromise which followed Walter's petition against Hobhouse and Larpent for bribery. Larpent was a partner in the East India house of Cockerell and Larpent, which failed in the financial crisis of 1847.

THE TIMES TESTIMONIAL

are those by whom it is conducted, upon the honourable principles on which it was always conducted in its progress to its present celebrity and in conformity with that advice and those counsels which age and experience have enabled me to offer ”

Heath, the Governor of the Bank of England, testified that he, as the representative not only of all the bankers in London, but of all in Europe, could say that “ no eulogium too high could be pronounced upon *The Times* ” Thomas Baring held that the testimonial in the Royal Exchange to the “ talent, public spirit and devotion ” of the conductors of *The Times* “ but feebly expressed the unanimous approbation of the commercial world.” Baron Rothschild expressed “ his sense of the truly laudable and effectual manner in which those connected with *The Times* newspaper had honestly and faithfully discharged their duty with reference to the public interests ” As the festivities progressed other toasts of a more personal nature were offered and accepted. Mr. Alderman Hughes proposed the health of John Walter Junior, who, with his younger brother Henry, supported their father at the head of the table. John Walter Junior hoped that the company would allow him the pleasure of expressing the pride which he felt in being hereditarily connected with the establishment.

Finally, the Lord Mayor proposed “ those excellent and able gentlemen who took the most active part in the management of *The Times* newspaper.” The toast was acknowledged by the Editor, it seems, in the briefest terms. The report tells us only that :

Mr. J. T. Delane, in his own name, and in behalf of his colleagues, briefly expressed his deep sense of the kindness of the Lord Mayor and the gentlemen present for the manner in which they had drunk the toast.

The last name to be honoured was that of Alsager, the writer of the money article for *The Times*. Mr. J. D. Powles,

after mentioning that he could remember the introduction of the first “ city article,” a feature which had been continued in every newspaper since, offered one testimony to the great honesty, integrity, ability, and zeal with which that department in *The Times* had from the first been conducted. . . . The public possessed in that department the most useful communications collected from all quarters, and exhibited in a well-digested and lucid form. None of the other newspapers had in that respect at all approached *The Times*, and he defied any one to detect in any portion of the city article anything like partiality. This compliment was due to his friend Mr. Alsager ; to

him the whole of this great merit was owing, and he had no doubt that the company would think that their duty to *The Times* was ill-performed without paying that gentleman the mark of respect to which he was entitled.

Alsager, in a speech which brought the evening to a close, replied that.

It was now four times seven years since he appeared in the city as the medium of commercial communication between it and the conductors of *The Times*. During that time he thought he might say, without at all invading the province of truth, he never betrayed a friend, nor made an enemy. The principle by which all were governed on the establishment was the feeling of public independence, each being emulous, irrespective of party concerns, to perform conscientiously the important duties entrusted to him. If he ever failed it was only from want of capacity.

This September evening, and the publicity given to it, doubtless provoked in the City and elsewhere the reactions desired by the leading staff at Printing House Square. The view of the rest of the Press was respectful. Even the *Daily News*, which generally supported Hudson, the Railway King, and was politically opposed to *The Times*, declared on September 4

The good service which was thus emphatically acknowledged, richly merited such a tribute. Every one will sympathize with the natural and just pride of *The Times* and its conductors on the occasion. And every one must be impressed by the light which the whole transaction, from first to last, has thrown on the character and status of the English newspaper.

When due honour was properly done to the merits of Mr Delane and Mr. Alsager, the memory of many present must have reverted to Mr. Barnes.

Time and occasion were favourable. These tributes from high finance came at a moment when they were most welcome. The influence of its enemies would need to be powerful to overcome the effect of the praise given to *The Times* and its named conductors by the Lord Mayor, the Governor of the Bank of England, Lord Rothschild, and Thomas Baring.

But at this time, indeed during August, Walter was oppressed with a doubt—not originating in the City, however—about certain financial matters in which he, Delane, and Alsager were interested.

II

THE DEATH OF JOHN WALTER II

A FEW weeks before the City dinner with its expressions of gratitude to the "invaluable set of gentlemen who conducted *The Times*" Walter had been furnished with the figures for the first half of the year 1846. The prosperity during 1845 had been without precedent—before or since Barnes. For the year 1841 the sum available for dividend was £17,100. In 1845 the sum rose to £29,600. Walter knew that the revenue had shrunk in consequence of the rapid deflation resulting from the collapse of the railway boom, and must have looked forward to the 1846 figures with unusual concern. He saw first, and without surprise, that the totals bore little resemblance to those of the previous year. At second glance at the details he saw, or thought he saw, an inconsistency. On further examination he noted the omission, which he then regarded as a clerical oversight, of an important routine charge. Putting aside the matter for later investigation, he attended the dinner at the London Tavern and cordially joined in the tribute to his active colleagues, who were, says the report, like *The Times* itself, "so dear to him." It was not for a further week or two that he sought from the elder Delane and Alsager an explanation of the accounts. The explanation then given did not satisfy Walter, and he naturally pressed for an investigation.

The finance of Printing House Square was of vital consideration to Walter. His political expenses—to name the least important personal interest in the efficiency and prosperity of the paper—tended to increase; his feeling, as the head of a family, of responsibility for the business side naturally increased with his age. Moreover, the Chief Proprietor, and not the acting conductors and managers, was held accountable by the other proprietors. Walter knew the damage that could be done to the property by disputes among them. The discovery, therefore, that a credit balance had been obtained only by the device of holding back

THE DEATH OF JOHN WALTER II

the charge for paper so shocked Walter that he called first for the resignations of those responsible and secondly for his son's assistance in reorganizing the establishment. The task was a heavy one for an old man. Delane and Alsager naturally defended themselves, and after an association with *The Times* of nearly thirty years in the case of Alsager and fifteen years in the case of Delane the prospect of a break with the paper was painful in the extreme to both sides. Walter himself again took up residence at Printing House Square in order to deal with the situation, the technical and personal difficulties of which were still further aggravated by the estrangement from his son.

John Walter returned to the office in September, 1846. At the end of that month, which had begun so auspiciously with the great dinner presided over by the Lord Mayor, Alsager left the service of *The Times*, but it does not appear that he regarded his own conduct as being gravely censurable. His speech at the dinner had closed with the statement, curious as coming from one in the position of joint-manager, that "if he ever failed it was only from want of capacity." It may well have been that as his duty kept him outside the office his offence was a technical one. His nephew John Oxenford was allowed to remain in the City office and afterwards served the paper for many years as its music and drama critic.

The evidence does not exist to decide whether the crisis within Printing House Square had anything to do with Alsager's mental instability, now about to be revealed. The probabilities are against it. His character and his talents were held in esteem by many leading people in literary and musical circles ; and he himself never admitted to wrong-doing nor even to a mistaken action. Since the death of his wife in October of the previous year he had been a saddened man, living with his daughters at Kingston. A little over a month after leaving *The Times* he came up to his house in Queen Square, Bloomsbury, for a short stay. On the morning of November 6 he was found in bed with his throat cut. He was seriously injured, but a surgeon succeeded in reviving him ; a relapse, however, followed, and on November 15 he died. The coroner's jury found that "the deceased died from exhaustion, the effect of certain wounds inflicted on himself, but that no evidence had been produced as to his state of mind at the time he so inflicted the said wounds."¹

¹ *The Times*, November 17, 1846.

WALTER'S SUSPICIONS

The immediate circumstances of Alsager's death, and the reports in the sensational Press, were a further blow to Walter's pride. For twenty-five years he had enjoyed an unqualified belief in the completeness, efficiency and utter trustworthiness of his staff. The account (unfortunately lost) of the situation given to Peter Fraser drew the following acknowledgment.

Novr. 17th [1846]

My dear W,

This is a sad affair, and I don't know any one but you that could get or could have got through it.

My dear friend, let me counsel you one thing. Let your health be the first object. Neither sit up, nor work nor do any thing to such an extent as injures, or *may* injure that. It is unnecessary I am sure to say, that I do not (*sic*) counsel also attention to [y]our future health and happiness. I cannot at this distance enter into the minutiae of affairs, and talk them over as we were wont, nor indeed do you require it: you *know* better than I: but keep yourself in the best possible condition for business, by not overloading youself at one time, or too long.

I saw Alsager's death in the Paper. you do not mention who the other person is: I suppose it is these affairs that have brought John more into the City.

and ever yours P. FRASER.

Walter nevertheless acted with all his energy. At his age, now 70, there were indeed inevitable risks—he was bothered by a sore throat—but he took them. He had himself to meet the proprietors, all of whom had doubtless read accounts of Alsager's death.

The following memorandum, containing the only surviving account of the matter from Walter's point of view, was probably read to the meeting. The memorandum bears no date, but on internal evidence may be safely assigned to some period between the death of Alsager on November 15 and the end of the year 1846:

A misunderstanding having unhappily sprung up respecting the management of Mr Delane's departments, Mr Walter will briefly state the grounds of his dissatisfaction.

Mr Delane has had the management of the financial department of *The Times* for nearly 16 years, ~~his~~ ~~Sale~~ during which time Mr Walter placed unbounded confidence in his discretion and integrity: *the latter it is not in Mr W.'s intention to impeach in the slightest degree.*

* The significant words between the asterisks are printed as they appear in the draft. Walter, on reflection, changed his view of Delane's integrity.

THE DEATH OF JOHN WALTER II

With respect to Mr Delane's discretion, the confused state of his department as it recently existed—whether through Mr Alsager's mismanagement, or that of Mr Delane, or of both, Mr Delane having the supervision of the department—is a sufficient and painful testimony against it. Mr Walter confidently relying on that which it appears has ultimately deceived him, never enquired, till the truth was forced upon him, in what condition the financial department was : But it was decidedly Mr Delane's acknowledged duty to have informed him if any confusion, or back-accounts were taking place. This fact Mr Delane totally concealed , nor had Mr Walter the least suspicion of it until the beginning of last August. [1846]

At that time Mr Delane showed him a statement of profit & loss on the preceding half year, which a moment's inspection convinced Mr Walter was fallacious He ~~quick~~ found at a glance that Mr Delane was misleading him , and that so far from there being a reasonable profit, hardly any profit at all had been realised ; Mr Delane having brought into that account a considerable sum which Mr Walter had in a preceding half year, set aside as a " rest " to meet possible contingencies.

Mr Walter, however distressed at this discovery—and particularly at Mr Delane's breach of duty in concealing, or attempting to conceal, the state of affairs—only asked him the simple and straight forward question · " Is there any thing more ? *Have you charged every thing*—is there any *charge for paper omitted* ? " To which Mr Delane ~~answered~~ (the avowal must be made) in the most positive terms answered—" *every thing is charged*—no charge for paper is omitted." What then was Mr Walter's surprise when he found that the reverse was the fact, and that it had been agreed between the late Mr Alsager and himself that a Charge for Paper to the amount of £3500 should be carried forward, in order to produce a dividend of any kind whatever. Thus, instead of the Proprietors receiving any Dividend, if the full statemt. had been made they wd. have been called upon to make up a loss.

This is the simple statement of the chief facts connected with Mr Delane's administration—and for which, so far from offering any excuse or explanation—explanation, indeed, it needs not if by that word is meant refutation,—but so far from offering any excuse he has again and again expressed his full satisfaction with his own conduct.

Mr Walter cannot but feel particularly hurt, after the number of years during which Mr Delane has been connected with him, every year almost of which period has been marked by some testimony of regard bestowed either on Mr Delane or his nearest connexions, that

MALADMINISTRATION

Mr Delane shd have been so utterly forgetful of the common bonds of friendship, and the obligations of duty and gratitude, as to conceal from his friend, and it is even added his patron, the position to which affairs had been brought by his mismanagement, inattention, or incapacity.

No note remains of the unfortunate Alsager's side in the dispute, but he seems to have acquiesced in the manoeuvre of carrying forward the paper charge. Delane alone is accused of bringing in the reserve; he, and not Alsager, had "the supervision of the department." Alsager, however, is accused of "mismanagement," which charge seems to have been intended to cover extravagance in the conduct of certain departments, particularly the expresses.¹

Reports of the inquest on Alsager in contemporary dailies naturally gave rise to much comment outside Printing House Square. The internal affairs of *The Times*, so long guarded as secrets, were to some extent public property. Delane later gave discreet publicity to his contentions. There was a strong party in the office, which included Reeve as well as young Delane, that upheld the Treasurer's case, but it does not appear that their information was as good as their intentions. The incomplete and misleading account of the dispute as it came to John Delane, and thence to political acquaintances, was doubtless of his father's telling. Greville, under date January 2, 1847, touches on the matter thus:

There has been a *scompiglio* in *The Times* Office which threatens a revolution there. Reeve writes to me,

"[John] Delane has been here, a good deal agitated and alarmed about the affairs of the paper. It seems that Walter and his party are always up to some knavery or other (being much pressed for money) and that Delane père has resisted some of their tricks which ended in a quarrel, and he to save his son has resigned his functions which were those of Manager of the money concerns. Hereupon our friend the son feels his position horribly insecure, and the more so, as Walter is quite capable of requiring things of him which he *must* resist."

John Delane, source of Reeve's written story that "Walter and his party are always up to some knavery or other," did not think it necessary to make any change in his own position. He was already trying to keep afloat by throwing out ballast. On

¹ For details of the expresses of *The Times*, see Chapter IV, "Speeding up the News."

THE DEATH OF JOHN WALTER II

December 29, 1846, he had sent to Walter a letter, of which the following draft is preserved :

My dear Sir,

Your remark last night as to the amt of Honan's¹ draughts induces me to renew once more a proposal which I have already twice submitted to you—that I should cease to receive the £200 a year which you so generously gave me in augmentation of my salary at this time last year.

I accepted it then as a bonus in consequence of the extraordinary prosperity of that half year, and as those good times have more than passed away, I hope you will allow me to decline accepting in future an amt of salary *which I feel to be beyond my utmost deserts*²

I shall serve you as zealously & as faithfully for the original amount and shall have the satisfaction that by laborious attention I can perhaps fairly earn that sum³

The year 1846 closed with even severer troubles for Walter. His affection of the throat, originally slight, became worse at Christmas ; it proved, indeed, of a more serious nature than had ever been supposed or admitted. Crabb Robinson, writing to his brother Thomas, shows alarm :

I called this morning at young John Walter's who has taken a house on the opposite side of Russell Square—And I was induced to accept an invitation to join a family party there in the afternoon. In consequence of Alsager's death, it has been necessary to make new arrangements in Printing House Square. And the young Puseyite consents to undertake a branch of the management wch leaves him still a stranger to the Editorial department⁴

The next day I dined alone with J. Walter Snr & his wife in Printing House Square. I am sorry to say that Mr. Walter who is just my age is visited by a very alarming malady—A swelling under his chin—He has had the advice of several of the most eminent surgeons—It is a favorable circumstance that his sister some years back had a similar attack And recovered from it.

Walter was quite cordial towards me—Reminding me of knowing me now within a few weeks of 40 years, And intimated in a flattering way that he had had a confidence in me, wch he had not in any other of his numerous literary acquaintce—Mrs Walter thanked me warmly,

¹ The correspondent in Oporto

² The words italicized are deleted in the draft.

³ In the draft the Editor subscribes himself " Believe me, my dear Sir, your, and your family's, faithful sv." The reference to " your family " must refer to John Walter Junior

⁴ John Walter Junior had assumed responsibility for keeping the machine and composing accounts of the printing department in succession to Alsager and W. Delane. His handwriting first appears in the week October 3-10, 1846. See p. 29, *infra*.



JOHN WALTER II

CHIEF PROPRIETOR OF THE TIMES, 1803-1847

After a painting by an unknown artist in the possession of
John Walter, Esq.

WALTER UNWELL

& begged [me] to go & dine with them in the same manner next week which I mean to do—Walter and I are just of an age—Should this complaint prove fatal—It may, if the tumour prove eventually cancerous—it will be another memento arising from the rapid falling off of one's contemporaries

Walter himself regarded his condition with less anxiety. He probably kept it from the office, being determined to triumph over illness, business anxieties, Parliamentary opponents, and even his age, by sheer force of will. He continued to reside in Printing House Square and remained in daily contact with the business. In the meantime his temper was trying the patience of the office. On January 2 of the new year 1847, destined to be a fateful year for Walter and his colleagues, Robinson, who always mentions Walter with the greatest affection, records that, though no worse in general health, "he vexed me by betraying a violent obstinacy & rigidity of intellect which fixes him to *one* idea." Thus Walter, even when stricken by illness, seen by Robinson and other intimates to be probably mortal, could not himself regard his life as ending or even his political career as closing. In October, 1846, he had been requested to become a candidate for Reading at the next election; even in this January of 1847, while his tumour had just been opened, he was still in negotiation with his constituency. Some additional weakness manifested itself a little later, for a letter he wrote on February 3 to E. W. Gray, who appears to have been in charge of his affairs in the constituency, is thus endorsed by the recipient: "I answered this letter, and my answer was the *last* letter I addressed to this respected and ever to be lamented gentleman."

On the 15th *The Times* reprinted from the *Berkshire Chronicle* an announcement of Walter's political retirement:

Whatever may be the termination of his illness—which we sincerely hope will be favourable—he has directed it to be made publicly known that he has formed a firm determination to retire wholly from public life. . . .

Robinson, writing to his brother on February 25, had then seen Walter afflicted by a complication of complaints. Early in the following month the same visitor reported that "My poor old friend, towards whom I feel very kindly, is sinking fast. I have offered to call on him but he sees no one but the clergyman" Robinson adds that his irritability had increased. There was still

THE DEATH OF JOHN WALTER II

a certain matter concerning the Delanes that the mortally ill Chief Proprietor was determined to clear up before the new year was far advanced.

The matter was vitally important : the Walter control. The shares in the paper and the partnership in the business of printing it were, as the reader of Chapter X in Volume I remembers, not held by the same persons. The paper and the press were two distinct enterprises. At any moment Walter could have refused to print *The Times*, at any moment *The Times* could arrange to be printed elsewhere. The connexion between the two businesses was not a financial but a personal one ; John Walter's executive position in both was created and maintained by his father's will, which still left his sisters (or their families), in 1847, owning the largest part of the property in the paper. The printing house, however, was his own to do with as he thought fit. At the time of the Alsager-Delane catastrophe both managers enjoyed portions of shares in *The Times* and a partnership in the business of printing it. Alsager's share in *The Times* was his own absolutely, while his partnership in the printing business, which began in 1827, was, by agreement, to last for twenty-one years. At the death, in 1830, of Hicks, also a partner in the business, the survivors Walter and Alsager dissolved the 1827 agreement and concluded a new one, to which a few years later Barnes and Delane were admitted. An important article provided that in the event of the death of Barnes, Alsager, or Delane the respective share was to be offered on stated terms to Walter ; and if Walter died first his share also was to be offered to the survivors. The inference is that Walter was then prepared to consider ultimately the absolute sale of all his interest in the business of printing the paper—*i.e.*, his interest in what the disputants of sixty years later erroneously described as the “printing contract.” There never was a contract. The arrangement by which Walter on behalf of the beneficiaries of his father's will printed their paper for his own benefit depended for its continuance not upon any contract, but upon the understanding that it could not possibly pay him or his agents to overcharge *The Times* in which he and/or his agents were interested, and thus place it at a competitive disadvantage with contemporary journals.

Such an arrangement had worked in the main smoothly¹ and profitably for all parties concerned from the beginning of the

¹ Nothing came of Mrs. Murray's action in 1842 (See Vol. I, p. 179.)

WALTER ACTS AGAINST W. DELANE

régime of John Walter II until the tragic autumn of 1846. The disorder of the accounts changed the position. Moreover, in January, 1847, Walter was ill, and for that reason occupied with one of the most serious acts of his life—his will. With the example of his father's testament before him he determined to hand over to his son a business free from liabilities personal or financial. He had every reason to consider his disposition most carefully in order to retain his own peace of mind as parent, as Chief Proprietor, as Trustee for the other share-owners in *The Times*, and as Proprietor of the printing business. He saw himself, while making his will in January, as forced to take such action as would prevent any recurrence of disorder in the accounts or any litigation after his death. It was therefore a last and paramount duty to clear up the share situation beyond all question and to hand on the Walter control of the printing house unimpaired to his successor. This represented a major change of mind. In the year 1819 Walter, as has been seen in the first volume of this History, had determined to retire from *The Times* editorially and typographically as completely as the nature of his father's covenants governing it permitted. His desire, then expressed in the agreement with Alsager and his colleagues, was "not to be bound, or obliged to take any more active part in the management of the business than he should by his own free will and pleasure determine." Alsager and the others were to "engage to be the active though not ostensible managers and conductors of the business." Walter deliberately refrained from training any one of his sons to serve *The Times* in any capacity. It was, therefore, never his intention to educate John Walter as a working proprietor, as he himself had been from 1797 of the printing business and from 1803 of *The Times*.

During the months of November and December Walter had considered the reorganization of the management of *The Times* and determined to dismiss W. Delane, the remaining manager. Consequently Walter persuaded John back to Printing House Square on the mechanical side for the purpose of re-establishing the Walter management. John began by undertaking part responsibility for the accounts of the composition (hitherto kept by W. Delane) and of the machining (hitherto kept by Alsager) of *The Times* and *Evening Mail* as from October 3, 1846, and he took complete responsibility for these departments from December 31. John Walter Junior, it will be remembered, had entertained since

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1843 conscientious objections to the line of the paper against the Oxford Movement and had withdrawn from it on that account. He had then felt that to be concerned with the paper itself was not possible for him. When, therefore, after his appointment to a managerial position in the printing business, his father pressed him to undertake a considerable share in the direction of the paper, it may be supposed that the young man expressed himself upon the future policy of the paper and of its personnel.

No memorandum of the conversations remains, but it can hardly be doubted that John secured recognition of his religious position, which had lately been the ground of his withdrawal. It may well have been, in addition to agreeing upon the appointment of a new manager, that father and son came to an understanding on the subject of the editorial succession. On November 5, 1846, John Walter Junior was appointed Joint Manager of *The Times* with his father, and sole Manager after his death. The indenture of appointment, for a reason which is not clear, since Walter need not have sought their consent, was signed by twenty owners of shares. Among the signatories was W F A. Delane, who held a half share jointly with John Delane. This half share of *The Times* was that assigned to the two Delanes in 1842 under an agreement which, as explained earlier, provided for Walter's redemption of it whenever he should choose. He chose to exercise this power in December, 1846, and W. Delane thereupon ceased to function in connexion with the management of *The Times*.

W. Delane's share in the separate enterprise of the printing business was not so easily dealt with, and it was this difficulty that weighed heavily on the mind of the dying Chief Proprietor throughout the last six months of his life. The agreement under which Delane's property had been acquired provided for its continuance until June 30, 1848, "if all or two of them should so long live"; hence Delane could not now be bought out against his will. Moreover, the terms of the agreement provided that in the event of death Delane's share must be offered to Walter; but equally, if Walter predeceased, his share must be offered to the surviving partners. On October 15, 1846, Walter, by transferring to John, from his own holding, an interest in the business, made him a partner with himself and, since the break had not yet been completed, with Delane. By the end of 1846 the relative positions of the partners had not changed. Walter's health, however, was very much worse; in his own view he was still no more than a sick

man, but the office was aware that the malady in the throat was cancer. The Delanes believed it bound to be fatal and Greville learnt through them that Walter was dying. The general decision was that the process would be rapid. There is an imputation of insensitiveness in the suggestion that the elder Delane was interested to maintain the agreement for the short time that it would last and, consequently, to prolong discussion of the terms upon which he might or might not agree to be paid out of the partnership at this time. The matter, from his point of view, was more than a mere pecuniary one. To Delane the acceptance of Walter's compensation would be the acceptance of Walter's view of the dispute; it would be, in effect, a confession of guilt. Walter, on the other hand, was set upon breaking with Delane immediately—and, if possible, on his own terms. But to break with a man of Delane's talent in business diplomacy was no easy task even for a very determined Walter; and the agreement did not naturally expire until the lapse of eighteen months.

Notwithstanding this deadlock between these two former colleagues, John Walter Junior and John Delane were, from January, 1847, with the assistance of George Dasent, bringing out *The Times*. It is conceivable that the young Editor was unaware of the true causes of the dispute; probable that he was not in the position to appreciate their significance. His mind on this subject was entirely dominated by his father. John Walter Junior was certainly informed of the facts, and it must be assumed that in accepting from his father a large measure of responsibility for *The Times* and the printing business he associated himself more or less completely with Walter's policy towards Delane. It is evident, however, that neither Walter nor his son permitted the dispute to affect their attitude towards John Delane, even when it was known that the disgraced treasurer's resignation from the printing partnership, when asked for, was not forthcoming. Nevertheless, the position of John Delane must have been rendered extremely uncomfortable at the beginning of 1847, and, towards the summer, positively undignified. He undoubtedly wished with all his heart to retain his position as Editor and in order to do so was ready for sacrifices not ordinarily made by men, young or old. The range of his ability and experience, widened though it had been by seven years in the office of *The Times*, hardly rendered him superior in any point of journalistic competence to other eminent editors

THE DEATH OF JOHN WALTER II

of the period If, irrespective of a virtual ignorance of the causes of the Chief Proprietor's changed attitude towards his father, he had reasons of personal self-respect to offer his own resignation, Walter's health cautioned him to take no precipitate action. It is even possible that Walter Junior, as a young man having had differences with his father, might have used his influence to dissuade Delane Junior from making an offer to resign. Moreover, he saw himself as the only alternative editor to John Delane and such a solution was out of the question, for no one man could manage a printing office, direct the paper, edit it, and, as would be expected of the young Chief Proprietor, perform the duties of a landowner and a Member of Parliament, while carrying out his responsibilities as head of a family. John Delane as Editor of *The Times* was even more apt a choice in 1847 than in 1841 John Walter, who had determined, with his father's approbation, to lead a public life necessarily incompatible with the day-to-day conduct of a newspaper, would therefore wish to sustain John Delane in the editorial chair The position, anxious and difficult as it had been in December, became critical in the new year, when the elder Delane positively declined to retire or resign from the printing business Towards the ex-treasurer, nevertheless, the Chief's will was fixed , he must be got out of the partnership. In spite of support within the office, John Delane's position became extremely precarious He came to the conclusion, as revealed in the following letter from Reeve, that he was soon to be displaced :

Bowood,

Sunday [January 3, 1847]

Dear Delane,

I received an interesting note from you written on Friday, (not Thursday), which is I presume that which you thought might have miscarried. I assure you that I take a much deeper interest in the affair to which it relates than a mere "good-natured sympathy," for I should regard anything which might displace you as a serious private misfortune to you & to myself, besides being a public evil

I have learned however, from the experience of the last few years that what one values most is precisely that which one must be prepared to give up ; and especially the exercise of great power, such as you undoubtedly possess, is almost inseparable from that uncertainty of tenure, which in official life is proverbial. It creates too much envy to be powerful with entire security.

"IF DELANE GOES TO THE WALL"

If anything should happen, I need hardly say that all my own influence & that of my friends shall be exerted to make you some compensation. But I cannot conceive it possible that under circumstances of difficulty & in presence of active competition¹ anybody interested in the paper will be so mad as to cut its best writers & its most valuable connections. That would be a refinement in the Art of Sinking, with a vengeance!

I return to town early tomorrow morning, & shall send you a thing on those very remarkable dispatches of Lord Castlereagh.

I enclose a line for your father.

Ever yrs faithfully,

H REEVE.

The reference to "cutting the best writers and most valuable connections" hints at the threat of a general secession if John Delane's appointment as Editor were terminated. Reeve reported the situation to Greville, who replied from Paris on January 8, 1847: "I am also very anxious to hear about *The Times*, and shall be sincerely sorry if Delane goes to the wall; I think if this happens we must march over in a body with drums beating and colours flying to the *Daily News*, and batter *The Times* with three-penny pounders." Evidently it was still thought that Walter was wholly in the wrong and that he would not hesitate to bring pressure to bear upon W. Delane by forcing the Editor to resign. There can be no doubt, however, that Walter for many excellent reasons long hesitated before even considering such a step.

But the Editor's forboding remained. Doubtless with a view to preparing himself for an alternative career in case he should be deprived of the editorship of *The Times*, Delane was at this time eating dinners at the Inner Temple. That his dismissal was at this time considered imminent (and that his departure was likely to deprive the Whig Government of the moderate support it was then receiving from *The Times*) is to be seen from a letter of Clarendon to Reeve:

Jan 4/47

. . . I am very sorry for what you tell me about the revolution in P.H. Square; nothing probably would be more injurious to the Paper than a quarrel with D. and the loss of the good advice and information he commands, but it would be very injurious to other interests as well, and on public as well as on personal grounds I should lament the oppn. of *The Times* at a moment when the Govt. is in diffcs. both abroad

¹ The reference is, no doubt, to the foundation of the *Daily News*.

THE DEATH OF JOHN WALTER II

and at home and will want to be supported and *kept strait* by public opinion.

There is no evidence of political bias in Walter's attitude towards either of the Delanes or towards Reeve, whom he does not appear to have known. The original source of Clarendon's information, and, consequently, his opinions, was, of course, John Delane's father. Hence Clarendon's letter, like that of Reeve to John Delane, exhibits a complete ignorance of the charges against W. Delane made in Walter's memorandum. It concluded : "I am glad old Walter has only 3 or 4 mths to live, but he may do a good deal of harm in that time, and then who will reign in his stead? Walter the 2nd I suppose. Can anything be done to propitiate either of them ? "

Walter, truly with but three or four months to live, insisted all the more strongly upon Delane's leaving the printing partnership. Their respective lawyers failing to reconcile the disputants, a point was reached when the parties were not polite to each other during interviews. Meanwhile the Editor continued to occupy the chair in hope and fear. The internal situation at Printing House Square became daily more anxious. Walter's condition was at last openly admitted to be dangerous. In the summer John Delane exercised all his powers to bring the parties together. The ostensible point upon which agreement was lacking in May was the amount of compensation to be paid to Delane for the unexpired term of his partnership. On and from July 1, 1847, John Walter Junior was appointed sole manager in succession to his father, whose death was thus plainly anticipated. The change was doubtless kept secret, but it may be taken for granted that the son used every exertion to promote a settlement between his father and the Delanes.

Walter was now almost completely unable to attend to business. It was apparent that his days were numbered. Crabb Robinson was sent for and came to Printing House Square on the 3rd :

I called by desire on my old friend *John Walter*. It was a very sad sight and yet not of the worst description, for he does not suffer violent pain—He looked ghastly tho' the seat of his malady was covered—His eyes dim, his hand quite fleshless, His voice so inarticulate that Mrs. Walter was forced to repeat every word he said—He listened to me while I addressed myself to Mrs. W. His mind reverted to a colleague on *The Times* in the early period of his own active management. He

WALTER'S CRITICAL CONDITION

enquired abo^t John Collier¹ And said he had communicated his sentiments concerning him to those who would succeed him—This was an agreeable intimation of kind interest in him—Had he retained his health And had Collier wished it I have no doubt he would have given C: an appointmt But he has not heard a *Times* read for these two months—He alluded to religion only by saying “I do not feel devout enough.” He sees scarcely any one but cleigymen—He is very closely and most kindly nursed by Mis. Walter—I shall consider it good news when I hear of his departure. . .

Walter being in this condition, the Editor made another effort to settle the dispute Reference to it is contained in a letter from the family solicitor, Francis Blake, to the younger Delane. Blake was employed by the Delanes to treat with Dobie, the solicitor of the Walters and of the paper, on the financial questions involved It will be seen from the letter that on July 7, 1847, the date when it was written, a settlement was scarcely in sight :

Owing to Mr Dobie's numerous engagements out of doors I have been unable, until to day, to obtain an Interview with him.

I communicated to him the renewal of your attempt to bring about an arrangement between Mr Walter & your Father relative to the printing Business, and stated that I had called to ascertain how far he, Mr Dobie, & myself could agree upon pecuniary matters supposing your Father should, on further consideration, feel inclined to waive any retraction of the offensive expressions which escaped from Mr Walter in your former Interview with him on the same subject

Mr Dobie said he would recommend Mr Walter to pay your Father £1000 for his Interest in the Printing Business, but would not go further. As this is a much less sum than Mr Dobie gave me to understand at our preceding Interview he would recommend Mr Walter to pay I fear there is little or no chance of your Father's agreeing to accept it.

If Mr Dobie & myself could have agreed upon a sum of money to be paid to your Father which should be satisfactory to him, I would willingly have exerted my utmost efforts to have induced him to waive the retraction of the offensive expressions.

I am sorry that my communication is not of the character I hoped & expected it to have borne.

Fruitless as was this effort of the first week of July, the desperate condition of the old Chief Proprietor worked to bring

¹ John Payne Collier, member of *The Times* staff from 1808 to 1821, when he was dismissed by Barnes. (See Vol I, pp 129, 136-7)

THE DEATH OF JOHN WALTER II

settlement nearer. Delay, it was seen, could only help the ex-treasurer, while it was a matter of the greatest importance to the dying man that an agreement be signed cancelling all the elder Delane's claims upon the business. Walter's will of February 9 was made on the understanding that all such claims had been satisfied. The £1,000 offered by Dobie on July 7, which was refused by Blake on the same day, was perhaps a fair sum, though regarded by Delane as insufficient. He regarded the amount, it seems, as unsatisfactory in itself, and the more so in view of certain "offensive expressions" made by Walter in an interview at which, apparently, both Delanes were present. At the middle of the month the prospect that John Delane would continue to serve as Editor of *The Times* hardly existed. His last efforts to induce his father to agree to Walter's terms had failed; his situation could not be worse.

In these critical circumstances the Delane family's confidant was once more resorted to. Lionel Rothschild pressed William Delane to accept Walter's terms for the sake of his son's future. A new discussion between Delane and Walter took place soon after the middle of July. Agreement was at last reached. In consideration of the sum of £1,300 Delane "released, acquitted, exonerated and discharged the said John Walter, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns of and from the share of profits payable in respect of the said printing business prior to and inclusive of the aforesaid month of February 1847"—the date of Walter's will.

The way was now clear for Walter to arrange a new understanding with the Editor. Notes were exchanged. A draft of John Delane's reply to Walter has survived. It is undated but may be placed between July 20 and 25.

My dear Sir

I am sure I need not express the gratification your very kind reply to my note has afforded me. I take it as evidence that in the very embarrassing circumstances of the past six months I have not lost the good opinion it has been the object of seven years of my life to deserve

You may rely that no exertion and no sacrifice to retain it shall be spared by

Yours faithfully

[J. T. DELANE]

Thus ended the crisis which had for so long hung over John Delane. The signing of the agreement by Walter and Delane

DELANE'S POSITION CONFIRMED

took place on July 20. The date ranks as one of the most decisive in the annals of *The Times*, the life of John Walter II, now 71 years of age, of John Walter III, aged 29, and of John Thadeus Delane, now 30. Henceforward the Editor's position lacked nothing in security, though it was to grow immensely in power, responsibility in the office and fame outside. But the life of John Walter II was all but finished.

Friends in Nottingham, who had elected him in 1841, had not forgotten him, and now offered the candidature for his old seat to his eldest son. So great was their affection for the family that they offered to conduct the election without a visit from the candidate himself, who must remain at what was now seen to be his father's deathbed.

Two members of *The Times* staff, Tyas and Neilson, went to Nottingham to assist in the campaign, and in the result Walter was triumphantly elected. Tyas¹ commented that he "had done more than Caesar—for he came, saw & conquered; whilst Walter neither came, nor saw, yet conquered." But in the morning of the same day, July 28, 1847, at a quarter to two, the Chief Proprietor of *The Times* died in Printing House Square—exactly half a century since the year when his father gave him a working partnership.

The Times devoted three and a half columns to the obituary notice of John Walter II. They are, however, agreeably with tradition, exceedingly reticent in all that concerns the paper, and particularly its editorial side.² No event in its history later than 1814 is specifically mentioned, the name of no member of the staff is revealed, and the account of Walter's own work is practically limited to his early successes in news-gathering and his pioneer achievements with the steam press. But the features of his character on which the writer (his knowledge of certain details suggests the name of Peter Fraser) chose to lay the main stress of his panegyric were probably those which a reader of the more complete narrative of his career set out in the preceding Volume.

¹ Not Delane, as stated by A. I. Dasent, *John Thadeus Delane* (2 Vols., London, 1908), Vol. I, p. 61.

² The account of Walter not being considered sufficiently inclusive was supplemented on September 16, 1847. Here, also, none of those who "contributed their lucubrations to the leading columns of his journal" is named. This second article deals in some detail with Walter's political life, and there is a new tendency to maximize his powers as the controller of *The Times*.

THE DEATH OF JOHN WALTER II

will agree to have been the most admirable. The first paragraph may be quoted here :

The myriads who daily peruse these columns have before them the monument of his merits and his powers. It was his active and well-directed enterprise, his fertility of invention, and lavish generosity, that first drew a continual stream of intelligence from the furthest realms of the civilized world, instructed and enlightened in return by his political genius and sagacity, as well as frequently charmed and won over to his convictions by the eloquence which he retained, directed, and approved. Mr Walter was the prime author and the chief upholder of that celebrity and influence which *The Times* journal possesses. Though always ready to show the kindest and most flattering confidence in those whom he had trained to the honourable service, he never withdrew, even after he ceased to be ostensible manager, the aid of those counsels which they could not too highly appreciate. He may rightly, therefore, be considered the sole architect of the mighty fabric which is without a rival in its dignity and proportions, and the foundations of which are so deeply laid in the affections and esteem of the public as to defy all ordinary and probable vicissitudes and attacks.

The article offered no personal details. Only his political independence and integrity were remarked. His family was not mentioned. Crabb Robinson, while finding "some exaggeration in the praise," considered it to be "more just than will be generally acknowledged."

The Editor's feelings appear, in the light of the entry in his diary, to be characteristically self-centred :

He [John Walter II] was a strange man, & in many respects a hard one, but still by no means destitute of good.

Towards myself his kindness was undeviating and extreme until these late unhappy troubles ; but even then he appeared to experience a true pleasure in making up with me.¹

¹ Delane's diary, July 28, 1847, *apud* Dasent, I, 61. The diaries which Delane began in 1847 disappeared some time between 1908 and 1922, they have not been available to the present writers.

III

THE NEW RÉGIME

ON July 1, 1847, four weeks before his father died, John Walter III succeeded to his position as owner of the printing business and Manager of *The Times* on behalf of the various part-proprietors, in whom it was vested under the terms of the will of John Walter I.

As John Walter II lay dead in Printing House Square, there was general curiosity in political circles in London about the character and ability of his son and successor. It was a curiosity that was perhaps never wholly satisfied. John Walter III moved through life reserved and aloof, his handsome face redeeming an appearance which was otherwise unimpressive, discharging with punctilious efficiency his duties as country gentleman and member of Parliament, but revealing to the world little of his real character, little of his real ability. The dispute over Puseyism with his father proved that he was a man of strong convictions. When responsibility for Printing House Square came to him he accepted it also, in a spirit of conviction. That responsibility he maintained in its integrity; more, he brought to his inheritance a new view of its place in society. A visionary with a practical turn of mind, Walter, slowly and firmly, throughout all political and economic changes, impressed his conception of *The Times* upon his staff of collaborators. In time they saw the paper, as he did from the first, as an institution with a particular function in English life.

Walter began his career in the office by delegating certain functions, but to his death in 1894 he never, as his father had done, yielded that complete direction of the establishment which he accepted in 1847. On the contrary, as the years passed and his own appointments succeeded to positions rendered vacant by retirement through age, the new Chief Proprietor consolidated his direction of all departments.

THE NEW RÉGIME

The control, as the most prominent members of the staff, editorial or other, keenly and instantly felt, remained with Walter. He reigned over *The Times* with a conscious despotism that was, notwithstanding, ever benevolent. It would have been easy for a man in Walter's position to have withdrawn more and more into country and parliamentary life, and to have regarded *The Times* as a hereditary affair, the family business ; he could even have looked at it merely as a dividend-producing concern, which could and therefore must run of its own accord. Walter, so far from doing this, saw himself as the heir of a great trust, occupying a position that carried with it obligations which must be respected without regard to their concomitant financial benefits. He felt himself personally responsible for the commercial prosperity and the general political tone of the paper, its faith, its morals, its English. He accepted a large measure of responsibility for the well-being of the hundreds of men engaged in producing the paper ; he regarded them as in his personal employment and personal service. This sense of responsibility explains, what might at first sight seem surprising, the extent of Walter's direction of editorial matters.

It has been recorded that Walter in his very early days in Printing House Square wrote reviews and leading articles for the paper—principally on religious matters. After his father's death he initiated articles and letters only occasionally.¹ But although Walter's leading articles were rare, his influence over the leader page was marked and constant. When a personal visit was prevented it was his custom to send Delane his written comments on political subjects of interest to him with the intention that his views should be laid before the leader-writer ; and sometimes, if the article was not especially urgent, he would alter it very considerably in proof or even rewrite it.

"I find it quite impossible," he wrote to Delane on one occasion,

to mend Woodham's article, and I have not had time to write a new one—so for the present you must go without one—Indeed I don't know that there would be any use in having one on that subject, except for the purpose of shewing the wilering effects of a despotic Government like that of France, upon all freedom of thought and action. The thing is hardly worth discussion—a free Press could no

¹ Two leading articles that were certainly from his pen were the one on Stowe's death (see p. 184) and one on the question of flogging at Eton. (*The Times*, November 14, 1856.)

THE NEW CHIEF

more exist under the French system of Government than it could exist at an English public school. The French nation is *in statu pupillari*, and it is as absurd for it to ask for a free press, while in that state, as for the boys at Eton to claim a right to publish a weekly journal commenting on their masters.

During Delane's absences on holiday Walter took a more active part in the editorial work because, while he had recognized the quality of Delane's foresight and judgment, similar reliance was never extended to Dasent.¹ Delane was always willing, but Walter equally unwilling, to see Dasent in sole control of the paper, and the Chief Proprietor invariably contrived to take his holiday at a different time of the year from Delane. Nor did Walter care for Delane to be away from London while he was on holiday. "He [J.W.] says he will go abroad on the 12th and has hinted a wish that I should stay in town until he returns, at the end of November," Delane had to tell Dasent. This did not mean that Walter was always in the office when Delane was away, it did mean that proofs of articles, when they were not urgent, must first be sent down by the daily parcel² to Bear Wood. Walter would then correct and modify the articles where necessary, returning them in time for the next day's paper. The following is typical of many letters to Delane's chief assistant:

Oct. 21 1859.

I have looked carefully over the review of Canning's life and see little to alter in it: but as Canning, with all his faults, was too fine an animal to be compared to a jay in peacock's feathers, or to Bottom the weaver, I have struck out that paragraph and substituted another . . .

B.L.'s³ article is a very good one, but I think the paragraph which I have marked is open to misconstruction, in pitting talent against wealth as a qualification for Parliament. What we really want is a combination of both.

John Walter III had a nice, deliberate sense of style. He thought Pope should be studied; he read (and quoted) Boswell. In protesting against some slipshod English in a leading article he once gave Dasent the, to him, exasperating advice to "try translating the first sentence into Latin prose," and on another occasion he ordered "Never admit the word 'reticence.'" Delane, unlike

¹ For George Webbe Dasent, the Assistant Editor, see Chapter VI, "Delane's Staff."

² Thus, which contained the paper for the day and communications from the Editor and Manager, was sent daily by train to Reading and thence by road to Bear Wood.

³ For Robert ("Bob") Lowe, then a leader-writer, see Chapters VI and XII.

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Dasent, had no academic pretensions, but possessed, what Walter valued equally, a cautious, keen, and trustworthy judgment, and was spared such instructions.

Walter was generally a restraining influence. In returning a leader he once commented, "The enclosed will make a very good roar on the part of the British Lion ; but having made it, I would advise that he should lie quiet a bit, to see the effect." This same wise counsel was given on the occasion of Delane's squabble with Cobden, when Walter urged the Editor to refrain from making public reply to Cobden above his own signature.

In the matter of staff appointments also Walter exercised direct influence. Delane he inherited, Dasent also, and Reeve ; but, besides Morris, the connexion of two most distinguished writers—Mozley and Brodrick—with the paper is due to him. Mozley he doubtless encountered first at Oxford. In Brodrick's case he was so favourably impressed by reading his "Essay on Representative Government" that he forthwith wrote to him asking him to join the staff of the paper as a leader-writer. Walter had a notable loyalty to his University ; the close connexion which has since subsisted between *The Times* and Oxford may be attributed to him.

It was natural that Delane and Dasent, two brothers-in-law, working night after night in Printing House Square with all the ordered efficiency of many years' experience of editorial work, should have regarded Walter's control as an "interference." They were resentful and even contemptuous of the work of "The Griff"¹—the inexperienced amateur ; they were the practical men, they did the work. They brought out the paper every night. It irritated Delane and Dasent that their employer was in the background looking out for mistakes, never hesitating to point them out.

Most provoking were Walter's visits to the office at night. Delane would return from dining out to find the Griff ensconced at the Editor's table, the proofs jumbled up, and ready, at the most inconvenient of all minutes, to debate some, so it seemed to Delane, trivial political topic which had little to do with the night's work. It was this experience that made him sigh on one occasion, and write to Dasent about Walter that "If he know

¹ "Griff," a shortened form of "griffin," meaning a grim looking or extremely vigilant guardian (O.E.D.), and applied in the Delane-Dasent correspondence from the early days of their association.

PRINTING HOUSE SQUARE IN 1847

'From a Water-colour in the collection of
Mr. John Walter



WALTER'S CONTROL OF THE PAPER

how much his absence was appreciated " he would keep more in the background.¹ While Delane, Dasent, and Morris agreed that " Griff is not a bad fellow in the main," they were also in agreement that " consideration for other people's feelings is just the point on which he always fails." There was, however, nothing in his general treatment of Morris, Delane, and Dasent that justifies this stricture. Delane frequently testified that he was always most handsome over money matters, and his salary as Editor, supplemented by bonuses, rose steadily Walter's efforts to save the Editor from overwork may be appreciated from the following letter, typical of many :

B.W. Sunday Nov. 20 [185-]

My dear Delane,

I shall be sorry to lose your company here, but for your own sake I am heartily rejoiced at yr determination to go to Paris, as I have no doubt the change will do you good—I will only annex one condition to your breach of faith—that you do not stint yourself as to time, as I shall be quite ready to undertake any amount of work for you in case of an emergency.

Yours ever
J. WALTER.

Now pray don't be in a hurry to get back, but make good use of your holiday, and take care of your eyes.

The truth is that, whatever the momentary irritations felt by Delane and Dasent, Walter's controlling influence over the paper, always cautious and judicial and on the side of good taste, was of incalculable value to *The Times*. It may be thought that his influence over editorial policy did not, in detail, amount to very much ; that his visits at night and his expostulations to Delane had little effect on what went into the paper. That was not so. But, because it sprang from his character and personality, Walter's influence over the paper cannot be measured by the amount of work he did for it, or even by his close relations with the editorial staff.

As the Editor of *The Times* Delane enjoyed the acquaintance of many exalted persons, but in his dealings with Walter he was careful to observe the formal relationships of

¹ Once when Mowbray Morris was staying at Bear Wood and when both had been out for a long day's hunting John Walter suddenly announced that they would go up to the office. Delane returned to find them both in his room and Mowbray Morris half asleep

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employment. The views and wishes of the Proprietor, no less than his prejudices and his whims, were so familiar to the Editor that they must have been constantly before his mind every night he edited and brought out the paper *The Times*, whether its Proprietor was at Bear Wood, in lodgings at the seaside with his family, or in Europe or America, bore the impress of his will as surely as if he had been conferring with Delane at the editorial desk. Walter's detachment from literary or political circles in London, his spacious outlook on life, his scrupulous scholarship and his sense of proportion were all admirable complements to the intuition and enterprise of Delane. He saw *The Times* from outside, at least from Bear Wood. He moved through life fully conscious of the responsibilities of the Walter sovereignty which had descended to him, but he was never weighed down by them. He impressed all men by his integrity and simplicity and won from one who knew him well the golden tribute "I do not believe that a more honest or conscientious man ever existed"¹

Walter was not, in any sense of the word, brilliant—indeed, he would have suspected brilliance. His intellectual powers were faithfully represented by his degree at Oxford—a second in Greats. His curiosity, ranging rapidly, if not profoundly, over many interests, was insatiable. There was no subject upon which he was not prepared to urge his view—from high matters of foreign or ecclesiastical policy, education, the law (he was a barrister), protection, reform and housing—down to the correct spelling of mistletoe or the sorts of flowering shrubs best suited for Hyde Park. The hundreds of his letters which are preserved in the archives of Printing House Square leave the reader with the impression of a man who viewed the broad stream of human life from some remote distance, yet was fascinated and entertained by what he saw. Typical of his generation, he was satisfied with the world he knew; more satisfied still with the small world of England he loved, and, above all, satisfied with his own position in that world. He had in consequence an insular side to his character that is reflected, for instance, in his comment on the food in Germany—"this villainous food made me long for a basin of good English broth, with round puddings in it." Something of the same sense of satisfaction is deducible from Walter's views on teaching in England, "English education is the best in the world, and is not likely to be

¹ Brodrick, *Memoirs and Impressions*, p. 144.

“A TRAVELLER”

mended by substituting Tennyson and Miss Martineau for Homer and Aristotle ” Yet he was by no means a reactionary. He called himself a Liberal and could fairly be described as a right wing but consistent supporter of the principles of that party rather than of the party itself From 1847 to 1859 he sat as M P for Nottingham and thereafter as regularly for Berkshire He usually attracted a measure of Conservative support It was withheld, however, in the election of 1865, and he was out of the House for three years.

His adaptability and his eagerness to learn are illustrated by his visit to the United States in 1866, just after the close of the Civil War It was characteristic of his curiosity and practicality (he had engines in Printing House Square) that shortly after embarking he found his way to the engine-room of the steamer and “ spent an hour very pleasantly with the presiding deity of that department.” He was so favourably impressed by much that he saw in the States that he considered the possibility of starting some of his younger sons there, prophesying that the Americans “ will cut us out in everything (except in respectable newspapers), before the end of this century ” On his return to England he contributed a long anonymous letter to *The Times* (of February 11, 1867) over the signature “ A Traveller ” in which he urged his fellow-countrymen to visit the United States in order to make themselves acquainted with the peoples and institutions of that country.

Unlike Delane, Walter had few friends, nor did he have Delane’s professional need to cultivate eminent acquaintances ; he felt at home in the country, in society he was shy and retiring He cared rather for landscape gardening than for sport, though he played cricket well. For recreation he travelled, often taking his own carriage with him and on occasion his own horses. He kept a liberal table, but, as the staff knew, the consumption of much alcohol was not encouraged. Walter was not a club-man, though he dined occasionally at the Reform with Delane, Dasent, and MacDonald, who were members. Indeed, there was an austerity about him which was almost Dombeyesque. But to his family and to close friends, among whom both Delane and Dasent must be numbered, he showed a whimsical sense of humour. His letters, often stilted and even pompous in style, are relieved by flashes of humour. That he was capable of laughing at himself appears from a letter written to Dasent. In 1867, after

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they had been working together for twenty years, he observed : " What a couple of old fogies we shall be, should we be spared to see a second period of equal length."

Walter's early religious sympathies have been described in the previous chapter. Like many supporters of the Oxford Movement he later became alarmed and horrified at the conversion of some of its leaders to the Church of Rome. This affected him in two ways. He became convinced that the tendency to a higher form of ritual, which resulted from the Oxford Movement and characterized the Anglo-Catholics, was a step along the path inevitably leading to Rome. Speaking in the debate on the Public Worship Regulation Bill in 1874 he referred to his early connexion with the Oxford Movement and to the simplicity and plainness of the church services then conducted by Newman, and added " There was in the language of those men nothing that was likely to lead the student of theology to Rome, but now in the display of acolytes and the dresses used in the churches he referred to, that was the precise and deliberate intention "¹

The other effect of the secessions to Rome was to stiffen Walter's ingrained hostility to that Church and explains his conviction that " Popery is not a fit religion for an Englishman." In the same spirit he described Cardinal Manning in 1866 as " a Papist to the backbone," and went on to say " It is all nonsense using apologetic tones towards such fellows ; they ought to be attacked, as our old divines (Jer. Taylor, e g) attacked them, with hammer and tongs, and instead of trying to convert us, they will find they have enough to do to defend themselves." But Walter could take a liberal view of dogma in 1870. He then wrote : " I never repeat the 'damnable clauses' in the Athanasian Creed, and don't want to force others to do so. It is curious that the burden, such as it is, falls upon the laity. The Clergy keep out of the scrape." He was the patron of four livings, and daily prayers, with the servants in attendance, were regularly conducted by Walter from a book specially printed for use at Bear Wood.

Against the background of what Mozley once called " his little temporal sovereignty " Walter radiated confidence. His first marriage to Emily Francis Court was most happy. John, his eldest son, destined to be tragically lost after preparation for succession to the Chief Proprietorship, was born in 1844², and

¹ Hansard, July 15, 1874.

² See Chapter XXIII for an account of the death by drowning of John Walter IV.



JOHN WALTER III IN 1847
From a contemporary wood-engraving

THE NEW BEAR WOOD

Arthur, to whom was to fall the succession, was born in 1846. The Victorian passion for real property as the incontestable mark of solid worth was experienced by him to the full. As he inherited it from his father the country property of Bear Wood¹ was modest; he left to his children a country mansion of a vastness much greater than he had ever intended, called in jest, but not without truth, "the second palace of Berkshire," and described by himself in the following words "My house painfully impresses me with the belief that it will survive every Institution of this country, except perhaps, the Press." Walter made a second happy marriage in 1861 to Flora, daughter of J. M. Macnabb, of Highfield Park, Hants. His ninth son, Godfrey, was born in 1866, and Ralph, the tenth, in 1871. With this large family and his large and increasing income from Printing House Square, Walter, perhaps naturally, was tempted to substitute something more magnificent and more symbolic of his position for the homely comforts of the early nineteenth-century house he had inherited.

As the following remark in a letter from Delane to Dasent suggests, the idea was simmering for some time before action was taken:

Jan. 6 1865. I hope Griff will consent to act by the advice of this Mr. Kerr for he has talked and thought and drawn plans so long about his house as to have made himself altogether incapable of a decision.

The building was begun and took ten years to complete. The house was designed in a style which may be described as "late Tudor," and consisted of four storeys. It was very large, and exceedingly well built in red brick and stone. The carpenters' and joiners' work was said to be as good as could be found anywhere in England. Walter was his own builder. The bricks used in the building were made on the estate, and the whole of the woodwork was turned out in the private workshops across the lake. Walter's hobby was building, and as a guarantee of quality he preferred that the material as well as the workmanship for all his numerous undertakings² should be supplied from Bear Wood.

The central and principal room of the house was the long picture gallery, lit from the top by a double skylight, and designed

¹ See Vol. I, pp. 171 ff.

² Among other buildings of his may be mentioned St Paul's Church, Wokingham, the schools at Wokingham, Finchampstead, and Sandhurst, the family residence in Upper Grosvenor Street, and the new offices for *The Times* erected between 1872 and 1883. (See Chapter XXII.)

THE NEW RÉGIME

to house the choice collection of Dutch eighteenth-century masters which had been acquired from time to time by John Walter II. Opening out of this room were the ballroom and drawing room, while on either side of it were the no less impressive dining room, library and study. The central tower formed the well of a fine oak staircase of easy gradient, leading to the first and second floors, where were the private suites and principal bedrooms, while the whole of the east wing, flanked by the water tower, was occupied by the offices and servants' quarters. The whole gave an impression of spacious magnificence that would appear somewhat excessive if compared with the more modest requirements of these days. The immediate surroundings left little to be desired. To the north the view extended across the Thames at Sonning far into Buckinghamshire, while from the broad terrace which extended along the south and west fronts the lawns sloped gently down to a lake of about forty acres, which contained several well-wooded islands and was dominated on all sides by a forest of beech and Scotch fir. The whole property comprised some 7,500 acres, including the parishes of Finchampstead and Barkham, and the village of Sindlesham, where, to round everything off, the public-house was called "The Walter Arms."

Goldwin Smith, always inimical to rich men in general, and especially to *The Times* on account of its policy towards the American Civil War, thus described Bear Wood shortly after it was completed:

... The other day I passed, in travelling, a colossal pile newly built. In bulk it resembled a monster hotel, but as the district in which it stood was too rural to tempt the enterprise of even the most insane limited liability company, I concluded that it must be some institution of public charity or utility, a convalescent hospital or a great agricultural college. On enquiry, however, I found that it was dedicated to private ostentation and luxury . . . ministering to one man's pride and pleasure.¹

Goldwin Smith's picture of the Lord of Bear Wood living a life of almost Eastern self-indulgence bore little resemblance to the truth. No one could be more hospitable than John Walter, particularly to the members of the staff of *The Times*. The first considerable entertainment after the house was finished was given to the members of the staff on August 4, 1868. This was followed by a party in October to mark his 50th birthday.

¹ This letter was reproduced in the *Berkshire Chronicle* of September 5, 1868.

JOHN THADEUS DELANE

"Patriarchal," the word once used by Mozley to describe John Walter, was strikingly apt. As he reigned at Printing House Square over the Editor, the Manager, the Engineer, and their staffs, he reigned at Bear Wood over a large family of sons and daughters, over a large staff of servants and dependents. MacDonald, in his diary for July 27, 1862, writes "Absent in Paris all the week seeing Exhibition with J.W and his sons More struck with his management of them than with almost anything I saw." With equal distinction Walter managed the affairs of his estate. Parliamentary business, the absence of Delane on holiday, or some exigency in Printing House Square might demand his presence in London for short periods, but Bear Wood was his home—the real centre of his life. To that he had looked forward as a young man. Management of Printing House Square was unsought and unexpected. His father had considered training him for the Church or for the diplomatic service, at no time had it been considered necessary to train him for the post of responsible head of the greatest newspaper enterprise of the period. When the Alsager-Delane crisis and his father's illness brought young John Walter III back to manage Printing House Square, in 1847, he had nothing but an Eton and Oxford education to help him. The efficient, businesslike way in which this scholarly country gentleman directed *The Times* is the surest proof of the sterling qualities of the man. John Walter III was by no means without foibles, but his prejudices concerned things rather than persons. Thus his attitude to the Delane situation, described in the previous chapter, was detached, his determination was to do something about it that should be, in respect of the paper itself, practical and salutary.

John Delane, for his own part, had seen even before the death of John Walter II that he must work harmoniously with the young "Griff," his junior by a year, if he would secure his position as Editor. Security meant everything to John Delane, above all in 1846 and 1847. These years form a dubious passage in his history. He can be credited with standing by his father in his hour of need; but that hour was also his own. An early adept in diplomacy, he proved a prudent counsellor to both disputant parties—but was prepared for no heroic self-sacrifice in this crisis of his fortune.

John Walter III inherited much of the business instinct, aptitude for affairs, and judgment of men which so conspicuously distinguished his father. He inherited, too, the advantages of security which accrue from the ownership of a successful commercial

THE NEW RÉGIME

enterprise and the enjoyment of territorial possessions Those advantages of worldly goods had been denied to John Thadeus Delane, henceforth to be his chosen Editor all through a long period, a period of sweeping innovations in newspaper development, a period of contending emotions and violent movements in social life, and a period which, counting the early years of probation, amounted to thirty-seven years

Delane's family, perhaps more ancient than his chief's, was scantly endowed with material possessions His grandfather, Cavin Delane, had migrated from Ireland in the eighteenth century and had been appointed in 1775 one of the serjeants-at-arms to King George III. Cavin Delane's only son, appropriately christened for the son of one in Royal service, William Frederick Augustus, inherited at least a competence from his father which enabled him to marry at the age of 21 though without any professional prospects Either through the carelessness of trustees or the financial slump of the 1820's, William F. A. Delane lost the greater part of his private means. For a time he practised at the Bar, and in 1831 he came to *The Times*.

William Delane had nine children¹, the second, John Thadeus Delane, was born on October 11, 1817. His training, though the best given to any of the family, was haphazard John Thadeus's strong individuality, however, makes it doubtful if he would have benefited from a more consistently academic discipline. Both as child and youth John was conspicuous less for acquired knowledge than for quickness of natural talents, less for application to study than for the enjoyment of bodily exercises But one trait noted by those who knew him in his formative years was significantly prophetic of the special place he was to win in the world—his quick intuition. He astonished even his intimates by forecasts of events. This, above all other qualities, perhaps, gave him his dominating place in the history of the newspaper press. A bare hint, symbolizing little or nothing to most men, would send his mind scurrying to find the sequel.

This intuitive power gave John, even in his youth, the reputation of being a highly intelligent boy It served him as substitute for

¹ John Delane's eldest brother, William, lived in Norfolk and died unmarried. His next brother, George, was a Major-General in Bengal and married a sister of Mowbray Morris. His youngest brother, Walter, was a Colonel in the Royal Horse Artillery. His eldest sister, Elizabeth, married Frederick Arthur Magnay and died when she was 26, his next sister, Georgina, kept house for him at Ascot Heath after his mother's death His third sister, Fanny, married G. W. Dasent. His fourth sister, Isabella, married the Rev. William Campbell, and his youngest sister, Emily, married Mowbray Morris as his second wife.

THE PRACTICAL MAN

the lack of ability, or desire, to concentrate on studies. While for the purpose of examinations he could quickly acquire the knowledge necessary to secure a pass, his nature craved other acquirements than book learning. From early days to the end of his life he had a passion for the country and for country pursuits. Riding and hunting were inexhaustible pleasures, which his parents had to curb as whole-time occupations during his time first at various private schools and afterwards at Magdalen Hall, Oxford. At none of these places did Delane show signs of intellectual ability above the average and—strange in one who came to find his chief solace in laborious days—no particular liking for hard work. Towards the end of his time at Oxford he is discovered making a revealing appeal, “under the influence of a panic,” he explains, to George Dasent—his close friend since 1836, or earlier, when they were boys together at King’s College. He had been spending his time “as idly and as pleasantly as usual,” but

I meant before we left Oxford to have asked you two or three questions about the Great Go Examination and matters of that sort of which I am, as you know, about as ignorant as if I had never been within a hundred miles of the University.

His distaste for the grinding of knowledge out of books characterizes another early letter to Dasent, to whom he lamented that his friend’s liking for reading was not contagious like cholera: “As to this said reading, just in mercy have the goodness to let me, unhappy wretch, whenever that subject is mentioned, know what in the name of all the saints there is to read.” This amused indifference to examiners and their ways was reflected in the undistinguished degree with which he left Oxford in 1839.

Delane’s faculties all his life were of the practical order. From his father he seems to have derived that respect for material advantages which cannot be reckoned among the most companionable of traits, and also that abiding regard for the interests of the Delane family which was to result in instances of nepotism. But it may be said—he certainly would have said so—that he owed his success in life primarily to his mother. She was not above the standards of her generation either in learning or in intellect, but she possessed to a marked degree shrewdness and grit. She brought up her large family on resources that were slender in view of their ambitions. John’s devotion to her was shown in his habit of writing frequent reports to her on the

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world's happenings. "You have become to me," he said in one letter, "the mainspring of my existence." The qualities of independence, sound judgment, self-reliance, and sense of responsibility notable in his mother were also remarked by all who knew Delane as a young man.

John indeed, as the second child of nine, was by that fact himself early acquainted with responsibility. From his youth a shrewd observer of men and things, he learned more and shone more in the clubs and drawing rooms of London than he ever did in the class rooms. He found the true impulsion to his spirit in Printing House Square, and his appointment to the staff of *The Times* in July, 1840, when Barnes's reign had less than a year to run, decided his destiny. John Walter II had become acquainted with old Delane by a geographical accident—both families resided in Berkshire, and Delane and his son had been of some assistance to Walter in his electioneering. The Chief Proprietor had observed with favour the young man's personality and abilities. He was offered a post in the office of *The Times* in order to discover the direction of his talent and the opportunities he could make of its exercise. John was then 23 years of age, though with little about him to warrant the term of immaturity; he was sturdy of build, and the discipline of riding, boxing, tennis, walking, swimming had been no bad school for his natural gifts of clear intelligence, quick decision, and acute judgment. He possessed also that tolerance which issues from good nature. From its very beginning, John was determined to succeed in his chosen career. The possession of much sense of humour has not infrequently proved an obstacle in a public career. Delane was not balked by such a handicap; his humour, such as it was, was blunt and obvious. Such was Delane on the threshold of his career—to all observers a young man ordained to success in some sphere. The times, too, were propitious, and Delane was ever, except in one notable and unhappy experience to be noted later, a fortunate man. And as Delane was in his twenties, so he remained till overwork broke him down. Estimates of men are apt to be wider of the mark than estimates of things. Yet Delane can be seen fairly well in relation to the society and the environment that brought him forth; he was eminently a product of the vigorous Victorian age. He had in abundance that Victorian John Bullish abruptness that got its own way. During his editorship *The Times* was the epitome of English thought and feeling in its

DELANE'S TOLERANCE

earnestness, its desires, its prejudices, prepossessions and foibles, in all its major and all its minor characteristics.

The difficulties which faced Delane on entering Printing House Square were, however, formidable and might well have proved overwhelming to a young man less determined to carve a way to distinction. It is natural to suppose that the old guard of reporters accustomed to the long rule of Barnes would react against the exercise of authority by so young a man. No doubt incidents of this kind were to some extent avoided by the more active part taken in the office by John Walter, but Delane from the first seems to have had no difficulty in winning their confidence and loyalty, although there were small conflicts with Tyas and others.

Delane encountered similar difficulties in his relations with men on the leader-writing side—his own immediate colleagues. It would be no light matter for a newcomer to assert authority over Roundell Palmer. Delane's knowledge of human nature is revealed in his determination not to curb Henry Reeve but to work in double harness with him in conducting the foreign policy of the paper. He used his authority always effectively but never aggressively, keeping control by the steady fire of personality, which was acknowledged by all, even the forceful, resistant Reeve. His hand fell heavily on folly—but he was quick to forget faults. Neither early nor late in life was there capricious tyranny in his command of affairs.

As Barnes inherited a certain body of journalistic practice from Walter, Delane doubtless learned much from the example of Barnes. It meant much to Delane that his predecessor had been acquainted with such persons at the hub of affairs as Lord Aberdeen, Lord Holland, and Greville. They knew the value of *The Times*; they knew also the value of Barnes, who may have done little to seek them out but at least welcomed their visits to him. Within a few months of Barnes's death Greville, one of the best informed men in England, introduced himself to the new man at Printing House Square offering the outline of an article, and in less than two years Aberdeen was in touch with him. Delane's relations with this statesman soon ripened into a close understanding which proved a most valuable political tutelage for the young Editor. But if statesmen received the unknown Delane, his introduction was still the prestige won for *The Times* by his predecessor: the time was distant when a leader of Palmerston's standing would in Parliament declare that his friendship with

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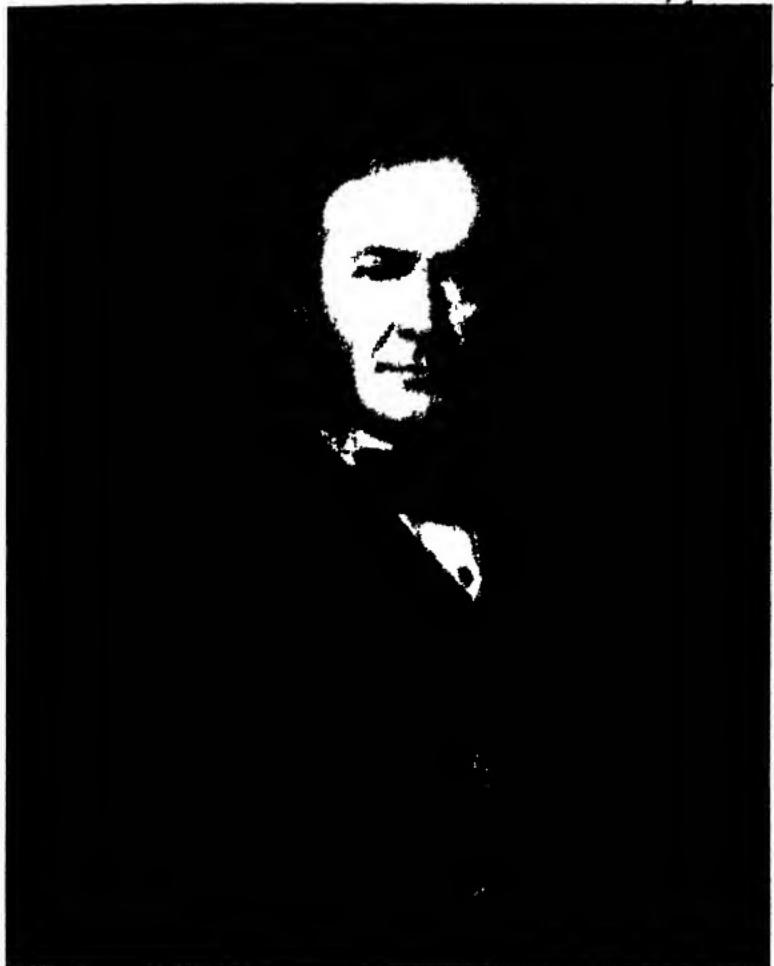
Delane could not be counted as a criticism but welcomed as a tribute, that the influences which had "fortunately" brought them together were "none other than the influences of society." His first *coup*, the exclusive announcement of the names of Peel's Cabinet, came only four months after Barnes's death.

Apart from Aberdeen, however, statesmen of the first rank did not personally cultivate the young Delane, and his information was collected chiefly from the Press department managed by the administration. He was connected with the Government through such party officials as Fremantle and Sir Denis Le Marchant, who corresponded freely with the Editor of *The Times* as with other journalists. Another informant was John MacGregor, who later became M.P. for Glasgow, and left the country hurriedly in 1856 as a result of financial malpractices. Benjamin Hawes,¹ who was appointed Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in Lord John Russell's Government, was a constant source of information on colonial matters. One article on emigration (December 26, 1848) was directly inspired by him and he thanked Delane for working his "rough ore into such pure metal."

Later in the 1840's these sources of information were strengthened by far more influential ones, among them Sir Charles Wood (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), Lord Clarendon (the Viceroy of Ireland) and Lord Granville. They were mindful only that the policy of the Government or party which they represented should be fairly set before the public, and they put great trust in Delane's discretion and integrity. There is very little evidence that Delane's head was turned by the courtesies of famous people; but he was certainly influenced by their attention to him. Introductions to society by Greville and Reeve were of high value to Delane and he enjoyed being lionized. Some commentators then and since were not only impressed but irritated by the popularity of the Editor of a paper which had a preponderating circulation all over the country. Cobden, for instance, found something malign in this, or any, editor dining with Cabinet Ministers, Ambassadors and Bishops.

The difference between Delane's going out and Barnes's habit of staying regally in his office or at home in assurance that the really informed among public persons—the only kind he cared about—would come to him is clear enough. What Barnes would

¹ He subsequently became Permanent Under-Secretary for War. At his death in 1862 Lord Palmerston offered his post to Delane.



JOHN THADEUS DELANE
BY AUGUST SCHIOTT
From the National Portrait Gallery, London

DELANE COMPARED WITH BARNES

have done in Delane's period and circumstances is less clear. An epoch of scientific invention which impelled great changes in newspaper organization, as in all other branches of industry and commerce, in itself enforced new methods. For one thing the mere size of *The Times* as it developed under the new régime would have modified Barnes's ideas of *The Times* and altered the technique of its editorship. Delane was more completely a newspaper man than was Barnes, whose devotion to his task—the paper's average was eight pages against Delane's twelve or sixteen—still enabled him to read widely in literature. A life of Barnes outside his office as Editor of *The Times* would still be a readable study. A life of Delane outside that office would be impossible. Apart from all other considerations, the bulk of *The Times* as it was in the 'sixties and 'seventies, and the closer responsibility imposed upon him by the Chief Proprietor, prevented Delane from living a life, cultural or other, apart from his professional duty.

The Times was emblematic of Barnes; Delane was emblematic of *The Times*. Barnes used *The Times* as a musician uses an instrument. He was primarily a writer with an attitude to life; the newspaper his medium of expression. Delane was not by nature a writer, and he never became one by practice. With the growth of *The Times* the task of editorship grew to proportions which Barnes never knew. A conscientious worker such as Delane, who directed a vigilant eye on leader writers, reporters and printers, besides dealing rapidly with a flood of correspondence, would have but little time for writing even if he possessed the talent and the inclination. But in any case Delane had no particular attitude to life in the large sense—*The Times* filled the vision, the dream and the duty. His attendance at social gatherings was in the interests of the paper; certainly, it satisfied the gregarious, amiable side of him, but primarily it kept him in touch with the social and political world, its knowledge of coming events, its gossip, its rumours and its temper. Yet it was done as a duty—sometimes, but not always, wholly agreeable. In middle-age he granted a glimpse of his innermost feeling about this shoulder-rubbing with personages. "Swelling" was his own word for it in a letter written to Dasent from Palmerston's house; and he found it "very laborious." The following extract from a letter of his to Bayley, written in 1854, is revealing:

Of late years the connexion of Ministers and heads of parties with the press has become more intimate and more avowed and one's

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position has become more that of a Parisian Journalist than it used to be. To many this change would be very agreeable but I have the bad taste not to greatly admire the society of Dukes and Duchesses, and a nearer acquaintance with the stuff out of which "great men" are made certainly does not raise one's opinion either of their honesty or capacity. So though I go more among the Swells than heretofore I live just as much in my own coterie and shall be rejoiced to welcome you back in it. . . .

One other thing is significant. No disapprobation of Delane as a man is to be found in the memoirs of the time, even by those who had political excuse for antagonism; on the other hand, there are many expressions of admiration, even of affection, by those in closest touch with him day by day. Morley himself, putting the best case he can for Cobden on the general controversy over anonymity, confesses that his hero, who jealously noted any post that was conferred on a writer in *The Times*, was "rather apt to make mountains out of extremely small molehills"¹ Moreover, it was the general agreement of all who were acquainted with Delane that one of his most pronounced characteristics was his good nature. He was ever anxious to help friends and relations, and he was in a position to do them good service. Yet a more sensitive man would have kept a closer watch upon these affectionate loyalties. When in 1842 he is found soliciting a promotion for his brother, then in the service of the Board of Customs, Aberdeen sends the Editor's application to Peel, with the comment that John Delane seems "perfectly well disposed and ready to make his paper of as much use as possible."

This lack of perception in certain affairs of taste amounted only to a slight infirmity. The files of *The Times* demolish the suggestion that its free opinion was circumscribed by this obtuseness in Delane. In public matters he was without an eye to self. Even when giving general support to the Government the paper took its individual line, frequently to the alarm of its friends in office; and the memoirs of the nineteenth century carry sufficient witness that it was the politicians who granted favours. There is just as little substance in the allegation made in 1846 by the Prince Consort, and by others at later dates, that *The Times*—that "wicked paper," to use the Royal phraseology—could be "got over" by "giving it exclusive

¹ See *infra* Chapter XVI for Delane's controversy with Cobden

DELANE'S CONCEPTION OF DUTY

information." The change in Delane's attitude in relation to Palmerston, a former foe, is described later in this History

Delane's conception of the journal's function as a newspaper, inherited from Barnes and developed by him into a principle by which *The Times* should rule its conduct from day to day, gave no occasion for servility and little for bargaining. It was natural that Governments appreciated Delane's support; and in periods of crisis they were nervously aware of the precarious nature of approval from Printing House Square. That appreciation sprang from knowledge of its circulation, so long overwhelming, its independence was the consequence of public favour. It acknowledged no master but the public whose opinions it reflected. As Lord Clarendon put it at a time of trouble in Ireland in 1849, it "forms, or guides, or reflects—no matter which—the public opinion of England." To have surrendered that splendid security in exchange for a Government favour would have been worse than venality: it would have been precipitation into imbecility. The principles underlying Delane's conception of journalism and the relations which should subsist between the newspaper and the Government of the day were clear and definite; they are described in detail in a later chapter.¹ Finally, to complete the picture, there is Palmerston's offer to Delane of a high office in the Civil Service, which would have necessitated resignation of his editorship. "My whole life is bound up with the paper," was Delane's comment to Walter; "I must either work for it or not at all."

That Delane's life was truly bound up with the paper is proved by the files. *The Times* for a period of nearly forty years is his epitaph. The paper is the touchstone by which his entire significance is to be tested. In the smaller human blessings which most of mankind find vital to a tolerable passage through the earthly pilgrimage he was deficient. There was a touch of grimness in this man so "florid, bright-eyed, brimming with zeal" (the description is Kinglake's). He attended balls but he did not dance; nor did he smoke, although he enjoyed to the full his glass of wine. Palmerston's liquor at Broadlands, he once noted, was not of the best. There was something boisterous, almost aggressive, in his good spirits, but his firm mouth rarely relaxed into a smile. All his other senses seemed in abeyance to his journalistic sense. He passed his years in thinking of *The Times*, how to

¹ See Chapter VIII, "Journalism Defined."

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embellish it, how to maintain it as a great national organ. He travelled sometimes, but no scene impressed him like Printing House Square. There he had set up his tabernacle ; there was his devotion. Nor was his mind ever made uneasy by brooding over the world's burdens. Fancy cannot picture him meditating, as John Walter did, on the worth of metaphysical speculations. He was never in the twilight of knowledge ; rather, within the limits of his vision all things—all things that mattered to him as Editor—were clear. He was the man for practical emergencies, and he brought a massive concentration to that work to which his comparatively early retirement and death themselves bear irrefragable witness. It was a witness that was admitted in the most critical of all places, in the office itself. His colleagues recognized, because with their own eyes they had seen, what manner of Editor he was. In certain directions it must be acknowledged that Delane enhanced the prestige of the editorship at the expense of *The Times*. But that was not consequent upon deliberate pursuit of self-interest, and was almost inevitable as, with the passage of time, the man became inseparable, in the world's eye, from the paper, criticism here, too, is a little blunted by his simple unconsciousness that his own interests and the prestige of *The Times* might be separable.

The anonymous journalist has a precarious tenure of fame. Painters, musicians, writers of imaginative literature are known by their works. But honour should not be niggardly because of the ephemeral nature of a daily paper. Delane, who had no lively sprayings of fancy, directed the whole of his intense energy to the affairs of Printing House Square. His title to greatness as an editor is grounded in the increase of power it attained by his devotion to its interests. He presents to the mind the living personification of the news sense. He was awake to one aspect only of the events of his exciting world ; wars, the discoveries of science, movements in literature, painting and music, the catastrophes of Nature, railway disasters, crime, famine, the fall of dynasties interested him little and only in so far as they needed recording in *The Times*. Delane concentrated upon the major lines of national and international events ; his firm command of their circumstances so stimulated the paper that his editorship is reckoned to-day, as it was reckoned by his contemporaries, as a performance not less than consummate.

He conceived his mission as twofold. It was to maintain *The Times* as the best mirror of events and as an unrivalled barometer

"A GOOD MURDER"

of national feeling. To these ends he neglected nothing in organization and never spared himself. He used even his holidays as extended opportunities for business ; he seldom absented himself for long when Parliament was sitting ; his recreative trips abroad would be turned into occasions for calling on the paper's correspondents in the capitals and for meeting influential people whose views would be of value to a newspaper man. Nor did he take a one-sided view of his responsibilities to the paper as a whole. There was also the class of readers who could pass from perusal of the Parliamentary debates to learn of dishevelled lives that led to the divorce or the criminal courts. They also were well served, and Delane appreciated their demands "That was a good murder you had last week," he would write to Dasent.

The display of the paper was also a constant concern. "Those devils of printers," he protested to his assistant editor, "continuously spoil the appearance of the paper by taking out half the leads¹ from every article or letter in which you leave them any discretion"; and on another occasion he expressed his annoyance at this method of saving a quarter of a column at "the expense of disfiguring the whole paper." His courage never faltered in grappling with a powerful antagonist in politics, but it did hesitate before offending the susceptibilities of the "goodies," as he on another occasion called them—"our own dear public"—and a book notably heterodox in the general view he would either not touch at all, or would send to a reviewer for slaughter. But he would brook no individual interference with his prerogative. When Disraeli ventured to suggest a certain reviewer for his life of Lord George Bentinck he received such a rebuff from Delane that he apologized for the "stupid suggestion." Similar attempts in the secular political field received like treatment. Delane was no doctrinaire. Many instances could be cited to illustrate the gift of intuition which enabled him to divine the political and social movements of the age. They will unfold themselves in their rightful places in this History, as will the few errors into which he slipped. To be imposed upon by faked political news—it happened twice in the year 1866—vexed his spirit like a personal humiliation.

The daily routine which he imposed upon himself was exacting. He always lived within easy walking distance of the office. In very early days he lived at 4, Chatham Place, within sight of the

¹ I.e., spaces inserted between the lines of composed type.

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office, moving from there to 22, New Bridge Street—between Ludgate Circus and Blackfriars Bridge. In 1847 he moved to 16, Serjeant's Inn, one of the small Inns of Chancery, where he lived for the rest of his working life. He seldom left *The Times* Office before 5 o'clock in the morning, and claimed to have seen more sunrises than any man alive. He remained in bed until shortly before luncheon, turning that meal into breakfast. For an hour or two after this he used to work in Serjeant's Inn on his correspondence. In the afternoon he generally rode in the Park, and after dinner the real work of the day began. He generally reached Printing House Square at 10. The leading articles were his first care. Two or three writers would be in attendance at the office, preparing their articles on the lines of instructions already sent to them by Delane earlier in the day. He would either interview them or send them a note drawing their attention to the latest news affecting their subjects and suggesting certain lines of treatment. Delane, as all his colleagues testified, excelled in these notes of instruction. A few lines smeared across the paper with a broad quill (he particularly disliked a steel "nib") guided the writer to the direction he should take.

Having set his leader-writers to work, he then tackled the letters sent in for publication. The task of reading them through and sorting them out occupied as much as three hours, since they averaged 200 a day. It was a heavy task. He writes to Dasent: "Except for the letters (damn 'em) the work has been very light." After 1853 he employed an assistant to sort out the editorial post. Having dealt with the letters, he settled down to the task of editorial revision, not only paring and improving the leading articles but going carefully over the whole text of the paper. There followed the vital work of condensing matter in order to fit the available space, and this, in Delane's words, "reduced that little business of Herod's to a joke." He enjoyed it nevertheless. "I believe," he once wrote to an absent colleague, "not a column has been published in *The Times* which had not some of my handwriting in the margin." Lord Clarendon, in a letter to Delane dated May 20, 1864, pays the following tribute:

I know something about work, and it has been a constant marvel to me how you have been able to go through such continuous and responsible labour without breaking down or appearing to be the

DELANE'S STYLE

worse for it. My wonder has not been unmixed with envy as I should be wholly incapable of it.

Observers like Clarendon and others outside the office had a heightened impression of Delane's powers from lack of knowledge of what went on within it. In one respect, but in that alone, it was not justified by the facts. Authorship was attributed to the Editor of articles which he did not write nor could have written. His original contributions were rare. The leading articles on the Tangier question on August 21 and August 28, 1844, were from his pen, also the first leader on October 4, 1848, on Irish taxation.¹ It was not, perhaps, humanly possible to extend the task of editing as Delane practised it to the composition of articles ; but in any case his gifts did not lie in that direction. Yet, if his letters rarely break into a phrase or into a simile, he was not unaware of what style meant in the work of others. For himself, however, he made a virtue of his limitations. In his written directions on a line of argument to be taken there were no subtle traps and cunning pitfalls of expression to leave excuse for mistake in meaning. Wanting ornament, he made a definite homely vigour his aim. In his revisions of leading articles and reports, he imposed the same terseness ; cultivating it, indeed, to a degree that, falling short of style, cannot be denied a recognizable manner.

It has been explained that a veil of ambiguity prevents a complete view of Delane's position on the paper during the first few years following the death of Barnes. No letter, no agreement, survives to fix the date of his accession to full Editorship, but John Walter III seeing that in the necessary reconstruction of the organization on the editorial side there was no alternative but to appoint as Editor the son of William Delane, the extruded Manager, he gave John Delane full confidence. The renewed prosperity for the paper was rewarded by increases of salary for the Editor. In a letter to John Walter dated July 5, 1855, Delane expresses his gratitude for a " storm of favours " and rejoices that " the great enterprise, whose success is the dearest object of my life, is prosperous enough to afford such magnificent rewards and that you so highly appreciate my entire devotion to you and to it ".

¹ P.H.S., D. Vol. 3, 65.

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The new Chief Proprietor, young as he was, took the right step in very difficult circumstances when he confirmed John Delane as Editor. Simultaneously Walter had become a Member of Parliament and controller of *The Times*, and, within a month, he also inherited his father's considerable responsibilities as a landowner. He divested himself of some part of this heavy burden by delegating to a new Manager the functions that he had himself taken over from Alsager and William Delane at the beginning of the year. The earliest surviving mention of the transfer occurs in a letter from Mowbray Morris dated August 21, 1847, to the effect that "the management of *The Times* has been committed to me by Mr Walter"; on September 7 Walter himself wrote to the Paris correspondent to introduce "my friend Mr Morris, who is acting as my deputy, & with full authority to make such regulations as he may consider necessary for the welfare of this concern". The functions transferred comprised the general supervision of all the commercial affairs of the paper, including the nomination of agents and correspondents at home and abroad, the terms of their appointment; also the control of the advertisement columns. The supervision of the printing office, which was then no part of the property known as *The Times*, was reserved to Walter, who appointed other officers to manage the composing and machining departments. Henceforth *The Times* was to be controlled by two equals, the Editor and the Manager, independent of one another and linked only by their common subordination to the Chief Proprietor. The degree of that subordination was now very much the same in both departments. Walter's right to intervene at any time in either was unchallenged, and he did intervene in matters of detail whenever he felt close personal interest in them. But, in general, both Morris and Delane were trusted with a very wide discretion, and Walter preserved the attitude of a detached and much respected adviser of both. The Manager was charged in a special sense with the personal interests of the Proprietor, and so was regarded more definitely as his agent than the Editor. No doubt it was in order to avoid any suggestion that the Editor was the less close associate of the two that Walter, when he was able to pay a bonus on the year's working to the Editor, always made a point of himself sending the cheque direct to Delane, and not through Morris.

Mowbray Morris, the son of John Ball Morris, a West Indian merchant, was born in Jamaica in 1819. He was brought to

MOWBRAY MORRIS

England in his youth and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, coming down, as the gentlemanly way often was at that time, without a degree. He then entered the Inner Temple and was called to the Bar in 1841. Mowbray Morris was thus 28 years of age when he was appointed Manager, being a year younger than John Walter and two years younger than John Delane. No memorandum has survived to note for posterity the time and manner of his introduction to the Chief Proprietor, or the circumstances and conditions of his appointment. There can be little doubt, however, that in the peculiar circumstances of the year 1847 Walter deliberately searched out and chose for the post of successor to William Delane a man whose absolutely unimpeachable straightforwardness, administrative ability and force of character should correct the faults of the previous régime. Walter chose well. Morris's personal integrity was complete, his attachment to principle inflexible, and his loyalty to the Chief Proprietor undeviating, while his devotion to *The Times* was as great as that of Delane. He was strikingly immune from any form of nepotism, having rather a coldness towards his relations-in-law than a desire to promote their interests. For years he remained on unfriendly terms with Delane's elder brother, William, who, as partner in the firm of Delane, Magnay and Company, received a portion of *The Times* order for newsprint, and the letter-books disclose that he had frequently to protest to that firm about the quality of the paper supplied. Morris, with children and grandchildren, later maintained a considerable family establishment. His first wife died in 1857 and he married, secondly, in the following year the Editor's sister, Emily. In 1870 his sister Louisa married George Delane, the Editor's brother. John Delane was by no means pleased about this match; with characteristic pragmatism he was convinced that his brother could and should have done better for himself.

Although there are reports that Morris at one time wrote a good deal for the paper, there is no documentary evidence of it. Nevertheless, he was well equipped for the manifold duties of his office, which comprised the supervision of critics and correspondents as well as the business management of the paper, and, as these pages will show, he could write an admirably effective letter to a contributor in need of guidance or of reproof. His political sympathies were limited, but his judgment was sound; his greatest error was his attitude towards the American Civil

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War, and this is to be explained by his dislike of democracy and by his West Indian birth, which prejudiced him in favour of the South. His interests lay in literature and art, and his friends, few and intimate, were chosen from the world of letters. He was long friendly with Dickens and Thackeray, and with several members of *The Times* editorial staff, notably Wingrove Cooke, leader-writer and historian, and Woodham. The last-named, who knew him with some intimacy, was wont to remark a strain of morbidity in Morris which was relieved by occasional outbreaks of what Woodham described as "Byronics."

In the main, however, Morris lived a retired life. "I live entirely out of society," he wrote to Delane in 1853; nor did his tastes change with time. He took no part in public affairs, and never identified himself outside the office with the persons, policies or causes sponsored by *The Times*. He appears to have regarded his position as requiring the application of the highest professional standards. He exacted from the staff a complete loyalty to the paper, affording them his own conscientious and hard-working example. As an administrator, he was strict, scrutinizing very carefully the work done in respect to the payment made. He was often generous even in unexpected directions—as, for example, to George Eccarius, whom he certainly knew to be Marx's faithful disciple in the International Working Men's Association. When, in his managerial position, he had to write to sick members of the staff or to their relatives, his letters are models of their kind. Morris had an agreeable facility of expression, but his natural pride, combined with the aloofness and detachment which he regarded as essential to his professional efficiency, frequently found expression in a certain formality which some of the members of the staff, W. H. Russell for instance, found disagreeable. With Delane himself Morris was scarcely on terms of the completest intimacy or understanding. They had the greatest respect for each other as colleagues, but it would not appear that the two men, so closely linked by their occupations, and, after 1858, by their family connexion, spent much time together until towards the last years of Morris's life. Comparatively little consultation took place between the Editor and the Manager. Even in respect to the foreign department of the paper, appointments and dismissals, though often made in the Editor's name, were generally initiated by the Manager. The first reason, no doubt, was that the conduct of the correspondence with the



MOWBRAY MORRIS

MANAGER OF *THE TIMES*, 1847-1873

After a painting in oils by George Richmond, R.A.

A GREAT WORKER

foreign agents of *The Times* inevitably touched direct financial matters such as expresses, and, later, cables, travelling expenses, and the like, secondly, that the amount of letter-writing which the organization of the foreign service necessitated was much greater than Delane's other duties would permit him the time to handle. Morris's efficiency enabled him to conduct (in his own hand, for dictation was rarely resorted to even by Delane and never by Morris) a vast volume of correspondence with home as well as foreign agents belonging to the editorial as well as the commercial departments of the paper.

Morris did not, like Delane, sink his personality in *The Times*. He was Manager only during office hours, Delane was Editor at all times. Nevertheless, Morris had a high conception of the paper's duty to the public. "It is in our power," he wrote to the music critic, J. W. Davison, "to do a great deal by way of giving the public a good musical taste, & our immense circulation, independent of any confidence that people may have in our judgment, entails upon us a very serious responsibility." In his view, his duty as Manager demanded not merely that he should look after the business interests of the paper, but also that he should educate the artistic and literary taste of the public and supply them with the fullest and most accurate foreign news.

Morris's relations with Walter, though friendly, were also in the main professional. The Manager always regarded himself as directly responsible to the Chief Proprietor for the conduct of his office and, provided he had the approval of his own judgment and that of Walter, nourished no other ambition inside or outside the office. Like Delane, he was often restive against the Chief Proprietor's readiness to intervene in principle and in detail, and there are signs that Walter's distribution of power between the departments without close delimitation of the respective spheres of its exercise was repugnant to him. He is found objecting on more than one occasion to certain self-contradictions to which the office was exposed by the intervention of others in what Morris, taking the strict professional view natural to him, regarded as his own province. Notwithstanding such occasions of friction, and others inevitable in any commercial situation, the management of the paper was conducted by him for more than twenty-six years without any serious dispute between the three ruling officers—the Chief Proprietor, the Editor, and the Manager.

All were united in the pursuit of what they had individually seen was the ultimate reason for the supremacy of *The Times*. They

THE NEW RÉGIME

sought to publish the "earliest and most correct intelligence of the events of the time, and instantly, by disclosing them, to make them the common property of the nation"; to "investigate truth and to apply it on fixed principles to the affairs of the world." Chief among these principles was an undertaking that criticism of events and persons should not be factious or arbitrary, but representative. It should be safeguarded by knowledge of contemporary political feeling, which the conductors of the paper, Delane especially, were ever active in sounding. "If we do not represent the opinion of the country, we are nothing," wrote *The Times* in formal statement of its right to criticize all men and all methods¹

When Walter took over control there was, in spite of internal troubles, a feeling of assurance in the office that the leadership of *The Times* in circulation, as in other things, was not to be disturbed by upstart newspapers. This conviction was to be rudely shaken. A crisis of competition was looming which became real in the next decade. This could be met in two ways: by lowering the standard and standing of *The Times* or by elevating them. The latter was Walter's choice, and to make it needed courage added to a deep-rooted moral conviction. Circulation might be circumscribed—but there could be no rival unless a like-minded proprietor should enter the field.

Walter's aim was the application of the art of writing to the full and faithful reporting of the world's events in politics, drama, books, pictures, and the law—a daily history—with the commentary of informed minds on those events. Other journals could do their utmost with their shrewd promoters, their clever writers, and their dependence on the news agencies. Walter envisaged nothing less than a national repository of history to which intelligent people would willingly go for the authentic day-to-day account.

If the public for such a journal could not be what the later jargon of competing proprietors was to call "the million," it was nevertheless reasonable to count upon a body of subscribers strong enough in influence and numbers to content both the mind and the exchequer of the Chief Proprietor. Fearlessness was needed to persist in the aim, but there was something rather conservative than experimental or novel in Walter's mature conception of the character of *The Times*. What, indeed, was

¹ The quotations in this paragraph are taken from the two leading articles published on February 6 and 7, 1852. For the circumstances in which these articles were published see Chapter VIII, *infra*.

WALTER'S IMMEDIATE TASK

remarkable was the solidity of Walter's conviction and its cumulative effect not only upon the office and the paper but also upon the public. Walter's consistency of purpose not only secured the character of *The Times* at his succession, but during his long proprietorship knit the body of inherited practices with the newer necessities of his own time into a standard so high yet so firm that neither grave political disaster nor resultant poverty could weaken it.

At the beginning of his régime, the new Chief Proprietor, who had inherited a depleted bank balance, found that he had succeeded also to the immediate duty of making decisions regarding that most important department of the paper : the foreign news service.

IV

SPEEDING UP THE NEWS

FAST transmission of foreign news, "expressing" or, to use the modern term, speeding up, progressed, in Delane's period, from the "express" coach, the "extraordinary express" coach, and the "special engine" to the overhead wire, the Morse Code, and the submarine cable. Important services were also rendered by the carrier pigeon. Not political events alone possessed "news value"; market prices were of equal importance. By organizing special couriers, steamers, and locomotives, *The Times* had been enabled upon numerous occasions to anticipate not only its rivals but also, as in the previous generation, the Government departments and the private resources of banks and broking houses. It was natural that the enterprise by which John Walter had placed *The Times* in the front rank, by which Barnes and Alsager had maintained its position, should be continued by William Delane and later by Mowbray Morris.

The interest then taken in "expressing" is strictly comparable with that taken in the acceleration of Empire air communication at the present day. In 1825 the time taken by the best mail steamer from Falmouth to Calcutta *via* the Cape was nearly four months. The first practical overland route (not the earlier Bir-Euphrates route) opened up by Waghorn—by Red Sea steamer to Suez, and overland through Cairo to Alexandria, thence by steamer to Malta and Europe—effected a great saving of time. *The Times* made early use of the new route. By 1834 the regular transmission from Bombay to London was forty-seven days. Waghorn in 1837 pressed for a route from Marseilles to Boulogne which cut 1,045 miles off the regular line of the Peninsular Steam Navigation Company from Gibraltar to Falmouth. By accelerating the services at other points in the second half of the trip it was hoped considerably to improve upon this time. In 1839 the Admiralty steamers were organized to convey the mails from Alexandria to Malta and Marseilles. Their use in journalism was initiated by

THE "EXTRAORDINARY"

W. Delane and T. M. Alsager in 1839, and, as will appear, this was the service by which in 1846 Peel received important news from India, which he handed exclusively to *The Times*. The Admiralty steamers were, however, regarded as altogether too slow and undependable.¹ *The Times* thereupon organized its own "extraordinary



Fig. 1. Waghorn's overland route, 1837

"express," the cost of which was from the first a very serious item. First of all, paid forwarding agents had to be appointed at Alexandria and Malta. Their salaries needed to be good, for the success of the enterprise depended upon the punctual and immediate performance of their duties to expedite with the greatest

¹ See *The Times*, "The Overland Mail," February 9, 1846, on the "very indifferent quality of the British Post Office steamers in the Mediterranean."

SPEEDING UP THE NEWS

dispatch, by whatever steamer was the quickest, the packets addressed to Printing House Square. Another permanent agent, stationed at Marseilles, was responsible for the transmission of the packets, not by the ordinary but by special courier, to Boulogne. The head of this organization was *The Times* correspondent in Paris, O'Reilly.

The courier himself had first a retaining fee of £100 a year. Secondly, he was paid £1 an hour for every journey made in sixty hours from Marseilles to Paris. The normal passenger in a hurry who used the new day and night diligence service set up by Louis Philippe took seventy-five hours. Thirdly, he received another £1 per hour if he succeeded in getting from Paris to Boulogne in fourteen hours. If compelled by circumstances to choose Calais, he received £16 provided he reached that port in 16½ hours. In addition, he received £2 for any and every hour he could save on this schedule. At Boulogne, immediately upon delivery to him of the express from Paris, the agent of *The Times* handed it over to the waiting master of *The Times* fast cross-Channel steamer, already in steam. At Dover the agent of the paper, without loss of time, placed the dispatches on a special train hauled by an engine reserved for the purpose. In two hours they were in London.

This elaborate and expensive organization was originally undertaken largely in consequence of the Whig *Morning Chronicle's* determination, regardless of cost, to wrest the title of "leading journal" from *The Times*; and, also, there was encountered later the similar and equally inconvenient rivalry of the *Morning Herald*. The overland mail, as managed by William Delane (with what degree of authority from John Walter II is unknown), ran *The Times* into something over £10,000 a year. To this expense there were added other difficulties, partly political. That *The Times* should maintain its own exclusive courier was, after some years, made a grievance by the French Government. To use special couriers in order that *The Times* should anticipate other journals might perhaps be tolerated, but it was felt to be inconvenient that Printing House Square should have the power regularly to anticipate the Government of France, or journals which that Government had determined to favour. The Administration of Louis Philippe suddenly withdrew facilities from the courier employed by *The Times* for the Marseilles-Paris-Boulogne route, and required that the dispatches for Printing House Square

GUIZOT AGAINST THE TIMES

be forwarded by the ordinary channels of the French Post Office. William Delane protested to Guizot, Prime Minister, and to Humann, the Minister of Posts, but although he secured legal opinion from an eminent Paris jurist the Government was not to be moved. By October, 1841, these restrictions paralysed the organization carefully built up by *The Times*. The paper's couriers were stopped, searched, and their dispatches confiscated. W. Delane energetically addressed himself to Lord Aberdeen, reminding him that

The rapidity with which by means of these couriers Intelligence has been conveyed through France has enabled him on several occasions to afford useful Information to H M.'s Govt & to the East India Company and the immediate & impartial publication of the News has, he is assured, been of great Service to the Commercial World in preventing fraudulent operations upon the Stock Exchange and checking dishonest speculations in the many other Branches of Trade which are affected by the state of Affairs in the East.¹

Aberdeen at once instructed Lord Cowley to request the removal of restrictions upon *The Times* couriers. This Guizot professed himself unable to do, on the ground taken by the responsible Minister that the employment of persons for the regular transport through France of papers of any kind was reserved to his department by law of 1796. The Minister was prepared to forward a single letter of great importance, but he would not agree to let *The Times* run "un véritable service de poste à côté de celui du Gouvernement."

O'Reilly in Paris assured Lord Cowley that the French action had been stimulated by the *Chronicle*, the *Herald*, and the *Post*. Despite the Ambassador's warm advocacy of *The Times* cause, Guizot was not then to be moved. Nevertheless, he wavered, for his position was soon assailed by a new danger. In September, 1842, Lord Cowley wrote to Aberdeen :

M. Guizot adverting to some new arrangements which are in contemplation between the French and English Post Offices, informed me yesterday, that M. de St. Aulaire, who is to return to London on the 20th inst., would be instructed to enter with your Lordship upon a consideration of those arrangements with a view to their final adoption. Among other regulations, he said permission would be granted to the Proprietors of Newspapers, to transmit their correspondence

¹ W. F. A. Delane to Lord Aberdeen, undated (received on November 24, 1841). (P.R.O., F.O. 27/642). For other correspondence see Appendix, Sources IV.

SPEEDING UP THE NEWS

from Marseilles to Boulogne or Calais, by their own Couriers, and that every obstacle which had stood in the way of the quick transmission of intelligence would be removed.

Rumours having been prevalent lately that Her Majesty's Government have it in contemplation to change the route for the conveyance of the correspondence from the east, and to land the dispatches at Venice instead of Marseilles. This, I conclude has alarmed the French Govt and has led to the determination of affording such facilities to the conveyance of intelligence through France, as may induce Her Majesty's Govt. not to abandon the old route of Marseilles.¹

The tactics of the authorities in France, even when the risk of transfer to another port vanished for the time being, were as unconcealed as they were vexatious. In addition to the difficulties of quarantine, and the elaborate filling up of forms of which other Continental travellers have been known to complain, Waghorn was kept waiting at Marseilles while the French mails were opened and an abstract prepared of the Einstein news for transmission to the Governments of both France and England. Yet another source of grievance was the procrastination of the French Government in completing the railway from Marseilles to Calais. The upshot was that Waghorn determined, and in three years attempted, to test the possibility of an alternative route, not passing through France at all.²

Waghorn's experiment was with the mail that arrived at Suez on October 19, 1845. Here a man on a swift camel picked it up, and riding without a stop across the desert delivered it next day to Waghorn himself, who was waiting in Alexandria harbour on an Austrian ship, with steam already up. He crossed the Mediterranean to Dwino, twelve miles from Trieste, where his reception was in gratifying contrast with the irritations he had been accustomed to undergo in France. He thus described it in a letter to *The Times* of November 6, 1845 :

I may now mention, Sir, an extraordinary instance of Austrian alacrity and attention. His Excellency the Governor of Trieste, Count Stadion, Chevalier de Bruck, the head of the Austrian Lloyd's Company, and all the élite of the merchants of Trieste, were waiting

¹ Cowley to Aberdeen, September 16, 1842 (F O 27/652, No 324)

² It has been stated that his attempt was financed by John Walter, but a search of the contemporary documents has not brought to light the authority for this statement. A leading article in *The Times* (December 31, 1845) shortly after the success of the experiment says that he "brought with him the Indian despatches for all the papers without distinction."

WAGHORN HELPS

for me at Dwino, though at the hour of half-past 12 at night, and one of the darkest I ever experienced we were guided only to Dwino by the rockets sent up by them My passport was given by order of the Emperor of Austria, and countersigned at Vienna by the representatives of Belgium, Baden, and Bavaria, countries through which I passed, indeed I was not asked a question throughout the journey.

At Mannheim a special steamer was in waiting to take Waghorn to Cologne ; thence he went on by special train to Ostend and another special steamer to Dover, and the ordinary railway service finally brought him to London at half-past four in the morning of October 31. The news he carried appeared in *The Times* and other London newspapers of the same day, and was on sale in Paris, notwithstanding that the French Government were straining every nerve to outstrip Waghorn, before the ordinary mail by Marseilles reached that city.

The French Government counter-attacked at once Guizot entered into an alliance with a rival of *The Times*, the *Morning Herald*, and set out to prove that the Marseilles route could eclipse that by Trieste. As soon as this treaty was known at Printing House Square O'Reilly was sent to call at the Hôtel des Affaires Etrangères and ask for *The Times* to be admitted to participation in it. Guizot replied that "this is a joint affair of ours and the *Morning Herald*, and consequently we cannot—and we regret it—allow *The Times* to participate in an advantage for which the *Morning Herald* is at the greater part of the expense" A vessel of the French Navy was lent for the service, and the *Morning Herald* at the end of December was enabled to publish the Indian news forty-eight hours before *The Times*. *The Times* could do no more than express its surprise that "a public man and the Prime Minister of France, prosecuting a public undertaking, enters into a private partnership with the proprietor of a newspaper, and on the ground of private interest, excludes all the world, save his partner alone, from a share in the advantage." "We are more proud, however, of our defeat than of our most remarkable success. We have spared no expense and no exertion, but we would not barter English interests for intelligence—we would not purchase M. Guizot's favour by slavish adulation ; and if success can only be won at such a price, we are well content to copy, as we now do, our Indian intelligence from the *Morning Herald*." (December 30-31, 1845.)

SPEEDING UP THE NEWS

This has the surface appearance of acquiescence ; but *The Times* was far from prepared to admit itself beaten ; on the contrary, Alsager and Delane were more determined than ever not to lose what they thought was really involved, namely, the " City " connexion with the paper. Fortunately for *The Times* the Austrian Government now came to the help of Waghorn, and the next phase of the struggle was a race by two ships of war, Austrian and French, with the news from Alexandria. By the accident of a gale that swept the Western Mediterranean, leaving the Adriatic sheltered, Waghorn scored a resounding victory, *The Times* being this time a whole fortnight ahead with the news. The packets, delivered to *The Times* agent at Trieste, were dispatched through Austria to Cologne and thence through Verviers to Ostend, where, again, it was necessary for *The Times* to maintain a special steamer.

It has been shown that the expense of maintaining such a transcontinental service, whether through France or Austria, for one newspaper exclusively was, by the standards of that day or this, very great. The dispatches, it is essential to realize, were used only once in the columns of *The Times* and in the thrice-weekly summary *The Evening Mail*. News was not then sold to subscribing foreign journals. Thus the cost of each column of printed extraordinary news, gathered at first hand, represented an immense outlay. Business common sense, even in the absence of change of policy in France, was bound eventually to secure accommodation between the rival English newspapers, but there is no sign that this was realized in 1845 or 1846. As the competition raged it involved the most uneconomic extravagances. *The Times* after 1839 was spending lavishly, after 1841 still more so. Other offices followed the compelling example of Printing House Square ; all overspent themselves on the Eastern news account, and all were glad later to economize by exchanging competition for cooperation.

The special means taken to secure priority for *The Times* of the Indian mail did, however, appear in the closing years of Barnes's period and the beginning of Delane's to be abundantly justified on purely journalistic grounds. The reputation of the paper in the City had risen as it regularly anticipated all competitors with the latest Eastern market prices. Moreover, there were at this time in India political events of a disturbing tenor. Thus, on

THE VALUE OF THE OVERLAND ROUTE

February 5, 1846, *The Times* printed in a conspicuous position an important Eastern dispatch headed as in Fig. 2.

INDIA AND CHINA.

THE
OVERLAND MAIL.

EXTRAORDINARY
EXPRESS.

VIA TRIESTE.

We have received by extraordinary express our despatches in anticipation of the Bombay mails of the 1st of January, containing the important news that the Sikh army had crossed the Sutlej, and that they having thus declared war against the British, the Governor-General had issued the following proclamation on the 13th of December.

Fig. 2. From *The Times*, February 5, 1846.

In Whitehall the paper enjoyed corresponding fame, for the Editor systematically communicated to Ministers in his own hand news as yet undelivered by the Government couriers. Between 1841 and 1846 Delane is frequently found in correspondence with Peel and Aberdeen, sending them abstracts from foreign intelligence and occasionally asking for news in return.¹ A notable instance of the value to the Government of *The Times* special service is available. The Indian mail left Bombay on February 1,

¹ Cf. Peel Papers, B M., MSS Addl., 40519, 110 (Indian Mail, November 22, 1842); 40523, 217-33, asking for latest information concerning Macnaghten, who shot Edward Drummond, Peel's secretary, in mistake for the Prime Minister himself "The bearer is a gentleman for many years in the service of *The Times* and who may be relied on as a discreet & trustworthy person." (Delane to Peel, January 20, 1843.) On other occasions William Delane forwarded the Indian dispatch to Peel (40584, 376, February 4, 1846.)

SPEEDING UP THE NEWS

1846, carrying dispatches with further news of the Sikh disturbances already reported (see Fig. 2). Though imminently expected in London soon after the middle of March, they failed to arrive, and official anxiety increased daily. It was known by telegraph that the dispatches left Malta in H M S. *Virago* on March 17, but the ship of war broke down. Unorthodox measures were taken to express the official matter from Marseilles to Downing Street. The Government courier from the *Virago* succeeded in getting to Boulogne, but found that his only agency for an immediate crossing was the private steamer of *The Times*.

A letter from Delane to Peel relates the arrangements made between the Government courier and the paper :

The Times Office
12 o'clock [24 March 1846]

Mr Delane has the honour to present his Compliments to Sir R. Peel and to forward a despatch which was delivered to his agent at Boulogne this afternoon for more speedy transmission to England.

The only means of conveyance was the special steamer employed by *The Times* to wait the arrival of the Indian Mail at Boulogne & Mr Hamilton [of the Foreign Office] as Mr Delane is informed, took upon himself to promise that the contents of the enclosed despatch should be communicated to *The Times* this evening as the price of its transmission to London.

It has been conveyed by special steamer from Boulogne to Folkestone and by special train from Folkestone to London &, as Lord Aberdeen is not in town, Mr Delane takes the liberty of forwarding it without further delay to Sir R. Peel.

Mr Delane trusts that the despatch itself will contain some explanation of the strange arrangement which has led to its reaching his hands & that Sir R. Peel will find no difficulty in fulfilling the conditions upon which alone Mr Delane's agent undertook to transmit the despatch.¹

Peel duly gave Delane the despatch, and the exclusive publication of the "DEFEAT OF THE SIKHS/BY EXTRAORDINARY EXPRESS" was made in a special second edition of the issue for March 24, 1846. The news was introduced by a paragraph which informed readers : "the following intelligence conveyed from Marseilles to Boulogne, by special steamer from Boulogne to Folkestone, and by special train thence to London, has just reached us."

¹ B.M., MSS. Addl. 40508/76.

THE TIMES OF SERVICE TO PEEL

As this instance proves, the efficiency of the means taken by *The Times* to secure early Eastern news in advance of other newspapers—and Governments—fully justified the pride of both Delanes. And, moreover, the enterprise was one which the public had learnt to expect from Printing House Square. But unfortunately “extraordinary express” entailed such extraordinary expense that the maintenance of the service became a

SECOND EDITION

INDIA AND CHINA.

**THE
OVERLAND MAIL.**

DEFEAT

OF

THE SIKHS.

**BY EXTRAORDINARY
EXPRESS.**

*THE TIMES-OFFICE, Tuesday Morning.
MALTA, MARCH 17.*

We have received India news yesterday by the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer Oriental, although she brought no mail, of the following dates:—Calcutta, February 7; Bombay, 15th.

Fig. 3. From the second edition, March 24, 1846.

serious financial embarrassment to *The Times*. A severe price had to be paid for the journalistic successes it brought. The paper's share of the cost of running the Trieste route was heavy and it could print its exclusive dispatches only in one single morning issue; or, if the “extra” arrived late, in the special afternoon or second edition published about 2 p.m., when it appeared in the form shown in Fig. 3.

SPEEDING UP THE NEWS

Exceptional events might be held to justify a third edition. Thus on Tuesday, March 24, 1846, the office not only published the second edition with the overland mail, but later in the same day brought out a third edition with a continental dispatch displayed as in Fig 4

THIRD EDITION.

SPAIN.

BY EXTRAORDINARY
EXPRESS.

THE TIMES-OFFICE, Tuesday Morning.

We have received by express from Paris a letter from our correspondent, dated half-past 3 o'clock yesterday, in which we find the following.—

"Despatches were received from Madrid this morning of a most important, and you will perceive, of a very menacing character, fully confirmatory of the anticipation I communicated to you some 8 or 10 days since, that General Narvaez meditated a *coup d'état*."

Fig. 4. From the third edition, March 24, 1846.

The Extraordinary Expresses which occasioned second or third editions were reproduced as a matter of course in the following morning's paper under the heading :

[The following appeared in the greater part of our impression of yesterday].—

This was the utmost exploitation of a news "scoop" then possible, and unhappily the Extraordinary Express upon which *The Times* laid out such an immense sum could be quoted all over the country on the next day and in London on the same evening without the contribution of a penny towards the cost. No newspaper, even *The Times*, could support such an expenditure indefinitely. The cost grew until Morris, looking over his unfortunate predecessor's figures, could describe it as

THE "OVERLAND'S" EXPENSE

"enormous." In the autumn of 1846 the London journals, at last taught by experience, learnt to pool their resources and to organize an Indian service which should be, above all, economic as well as regular. The arrangement was considered satisfactory at Printing House Square, and in 1847 *The Times* agreed to allow the *Herald* and the *Chronicle* to share the Boulogne-Dover service, and later the *Daily News* was added to the combination in order still further to remove the motive for competition. The agreed rule was that there was to be no more extraordinary expressing save on extraordinary occasions. The shared cost borne by each newspaper was no less than £4,000 a year. Thus Morris settled the urgent question of economy on the extraordinary express without impairing the reputation of the paper.¹

The maintenance of the ordinary express with regularity and economy became correspondingly important. In these respects, and in reliability, the railway gradually made a handsome contribution to the home and continental news services. Accidents had been a frequent occurrence in express coaching and during the winter even express coaches were slow coaches, while only the severest weather blocked the new railroads. Railway building stimulated Stock Exchange speculation, which, with industrial expansion, became a potent factor in newspaper development. There had always been a small private but pressing demand in London for the latest daily market prices of funds on the Bourses of Paris and Berlin. Bankers and discounters naturally went to considerable pains to secure and, if possible, by their own private enterprise, to anticipate other houses with closing prices; more especially as the development of the railway in France was for long curiously slow.

The Times, for the purpose of speeding up the publication of latest market prices ruling in European capitals, had been obliged in 1837 to establish a pigeon post between Paris and Boulogne. At the latter place the tissue record of the closing prices was taken from its fine silk container under the homing pigeon's wing,²

¹ That the German route was not entirely abandoned is indicated by a letter, from Morris to the Bombay correspondent (September 9, 1856) "In order that we may have the best chance of early intelligence, our agent at Alexandria is instructed to send the latest Bombay, Calcutta, & China papers through Germany; but the bulk of our dispatches always go thro' France. The latter route is almost always the quickest, but the former has the best of the race two or three times a year" (P.H.S. Papers, M. 6/123).

² Or the tissue was slipped into a tube attached to the tail. See the diagram accompanying the historical sketch of the pigeon post during the Siege of Paris, 1870, in Maury, *Hist. des Timbres-Postes Français* (Paris, 1907, I, 203).

SPEEDING UP THE NEWS

copied, and sent to Dover by *The Times* steamer. The birds flew from Paris to Boulogne in an average time of four hours. As they were sometimes lost, two, and sometimes three, were dispatched with identical messages. The service was rapid, economical, and, up to a point, trustworthy. The curator of the pigeons was L. A. Samson, who shared the labour with a son, partly dependent for his living upon a bill-brokering business in the City of London. While it cannot be doubted that the son's interest in the figures brought by his father's pigeons was more than journalistic, some division of interest was inevitable, for the pigeon post could only be carried on during the summer months. "Large sums," the Manager reported to Walter, "were paid to them for the use of the pigeons."¹ When, some years later, the curator's work increased with the Indian mail and with the frequency of railroad expresses from Amiens to Boulogne on the line opened in 1839, Samson was authorized to avail himself of the whole-time assistance of his son.

In the meantime Belgium and Germany developed their railways systematically. By 1842 there was through connexion between Ostend, Ghent, Antwerp, Brussels, Liège. Within six years connexion was made with the German system at Aix-la-Chapelle which enabled passenger and goods traffic to pass direct from Ostend to Munich. Not until the end of 1856 was it possible to travel direct from Paris to Marseilles.² The news-trade came but slowly into possession of the means of transmission upon which it was to become completely dependent from 1868. The explanation is that at first news dispatches were not sent by the electric telegraph. During the early years the invention's main use was that of signalling apparatus, valuable principally to the railway industry, which expanded quickly at home, in Belgium, and in Germany.

It was in 1837 that *The Times* established its pigeon post, from Paris to Boulogne, and in the same year that Cooke and Wheatstone laid the first electric magnetic telegraph wires alongside the London and Birmingham railway from Euston

¹ Morris in a statement on the salaries of L. A. and R. Samson dated June 9, 1852, John Merrick, of *Bell's Life*, reported to the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Telegraphs that before the wires were developed pigeons were used by his paper and "they were often shot down" (*Report*, 1868, p. 65). L. A. Samson died in 1849.

² The Paris-Dijon line, opened in 1851, was continued to Lyons in 1854. The connexion with the Lyons-Mâcon line was not made until 1856 (November 10). The two companies were formed into the P.L.M. in 1857.

BIRTH OF A PRINCE

to Camden Town. Two years later Brunel wired the Great Western line from Paddington to West Drayton. Although *The Times* was glad to be the earliest journal to use the invention, it did not for many years look favourably upon telegraphic transmission save as an exceptional resource. News of the birth of Queen Victoria's second son, Alfred Ernest, was thus

THE ACCOUCHEMENT OF HER MAJESTY.

BIRTH OF A PRINCE.

*THE TIMES-OFFICE, Tuesday Morning
Half-past 8 o'Clock.*

We have the happiness to announce that the Queen has been safely delivered of a PRINCE.

We are happy to state that Her Majesty is doing well.

We are indebted to the extraordinary power of the Electro-Magnetic Telegraph for the rapid communication of this important announcement.

Fig. 5. From THE TIMES, second edition, August 6, 1844.

published in the second edition of August 6, 1844, and displayed as in Fig. 5. The event took place at Windsor at 7.50 a.m. ; the second edition containing the news was dated forty minutes later. No other paper used the telegraph, and only the *Morning Herald* claimed to have received the news as early as 8.30. Readers of the *Morning Chronicle* had to wait two hours longer, the second edition of this paper with the announcement being dated 10.20 a.m.

SPEEDING UP THE NEWS

The use of the telegraph by the Marseilles agent¹ of *The Times* was frequently of value in forwarding a summary of important

SECOND EDITION.

ANTICIPATION OF THE OVERLAND MAIL.

BY EXTRAORDINARY EXPRESS

THE TIMES OFFICE, Saturday Afternoon

We have received the following important intelligence by the telegraphic despatch from Marseilles —

“The Bombay papers of the 29th July, state that a new reduction had been effected in the army.

“The Goomsor was on fire from one extremity to the other.

“The affairs of the Nizam continued to be in the greatest confusion.

“The Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief were at Simla. The former was to return to Calcutta in October.

“All was tranquil in the Punjab. There was an appearance of tranquility in Afghanistan (*sic*)

“Dost Mahomed was desirous of contracting an alliance with the Government of India.

“There was nothing now from Scinde.”

Fig. 6 From the issue of Saturday, July 31, 1847

Eastern news At this early period of development the historic phrase “Extraordinary Express” was combined with mention of the telegraph in the paper of March 23, 1846. In the following year the Marseilles telegraph began to supersede the overland mail as “Extraordinary Express.” By July, 1847, its triumph was clearly recognized, as Fig. 6 shows.

¹ “[Michael George] Mitchell the [Marseilles] correspondent. I never saw a man on whose face Knave was more distinctly written” Deane in thus writing to Dasent, September 26, 1849, gave a more or less correct estimate of the successful *Morning Herald* agent he had induced to join *The Times* in 1845. M G Mitchell, then officially “Director of Indian Mails,” was also a secret agent for France and among other activities spied on other correspondents of *The Times*. He received a salary of 12,000fr for some years until August 10, 1859, from the Ministère de Police (Paris, Archives Nationales, F. 18,310.) See Sources VIII, *infra*

THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH

A feat of transmission made possible by the railway and the telegraph created much astonishment in 1849. Some 150 copies of *The Times* of December 11, 1849, were delivered at 1.30 p.m. in Paris on the day of publication. Such an exploit had never before been achieved by any English newspaper. "The Bourse was actually in amazement and the speculators could scarcely credit their eyes when a commissary exhibited to the astonished crowd the copies he had just received and which came by express *via Folkestone and Boulogne*"—so ran the Paris Correspondent's report printed in the second edition of the following day's paper. In the ordinary way of the post Paris speculators received *The Times* between 12 and 1 o'clock the day after publication. But on this occasion a number of English shareholders in the Boulogne-Amiens Railway Company¹ were anxious to demonstrate that the London-Paris mails could be carried more quickly by their line than by the longer Calais-Lille line, which then possessed the contract. They left Charing Cross Station at 7 o'clock in the morning with *The Times* of that day, crossed from Folkestone to Boulogne and arrived in Paris after four hours' run over their own metals. The copies of *The Times* were taken straight to the Bourse, where they were received with the greatest astonishment and with due gratitude to the Amiens railway. *The Times* itself, in a leading article on December 13, drew several lessons from the establishment of this "record." "It will soon be possible, with an insignificant loss of time and at a trivial expense for all Londoners to visit the French capital . . . a fixed and moderate payment will clear the traveller between the two capitals . . . the pestilent frivolity of passports will have ceased to exist, so that there will be no further annoyance from this source." The paper trusted that the English would not be slow to avail themselves of this new opportunity to exercise their powers of observation, Paris being a place where "there is much to be learnt" and where men can see "much which should permanently refine and improve their taste and enlarge their sympathies with human nature."

The last paragraph of this very long leading article embodied a business consideration :

It is now proved that by way of Folkestone and Boulogne the journey between London and Paris occupies nine hours. The line of railroad by Calais is $65\frac{1}{2}$ miles longer than that by way of Boulogne, and yet the mails have been removed from the Boulogne to the Calais

¹ Later absorbed by the Cie du C.d.f. du Nord

SPEEDING UP THE NEWS

line. It is impossible that so monstrous an anomaly should be allowed to continue. A hurried traveller naturally follows the course of the mails. If he posts himself, so to speak, in London, he trusts to being delivered in Paris in the shortest possible time. But by this ridiculous deviation by the Calais and Lille route, the traveller is taken 65½ miles out of his way, and made to smart in pocket and comfort for the annoyance and loss of time. So preposterous an arrangement cannot last. The experiment of Tuesday is decisive against it.

A curious omission marks the article and reveals the prejudice of *The Times* against the wire : it ignores the essential part played by the telegraph in the setting up of this "record." The gentlemen of the Paris Bourse were able to read in *The Times* at 1.30 p.m. the previous evening's Paris closing prices, not only on account of the services rendered by the Paris-Amiens-Boulogne railway, and the special Channel steamer, but because the Dover telegraph had, with extraordinary rapidity, transmitted the prices to London during the night. It was not until 1.30 a.m. on December 11 that the Paris Correspondent's dispatch of 320 words, plus the Bourse prices, was handed over to the Dover operators of the electro-magnetic machines of the South Eastern Railway. The chief telegraphic engineer of the line, C V Walker, reported that the dispatch occupied eighteen minutes.¹ Only thus were early copies of the paper got off the press just in time for delivery at Charing Cross Station to Messrs Wright, Tryleafe and Potter, energetic directors of the Boulogne-Amiens Railway Company.

Notwithstanding this and similar telegraphic successes, *The Times* at this period continued to rely chiefly upon the letters written by its correspondents directly, without the aid of any intermediary process or person but the Post Office. A curious instance of the paper's preference for the written communication of its "own" correspondent may be seen in the Extraordinary Edition for Sunday, February 27, 1848, which was issued gratis in order to content the public curiosity concerning the crisis in France.² The single slight reference to the telegraph occurs at

¹ Chambers, W and R., *Railways, Steamers, and Telegraphs* (London, 1867), p. 245

² There is a lively account of the rivalry on the railway between the couriers of *The Times* and the *Morning Herald* at the time of the Revolution in *Einest Struggles, or the Life of a Station Master*, Vol II, p. 193. The source for the story is stated to be the engine driver who actually conveyed *The Times* reporter to London. The two papers paid to have an engine always in readiness and thirty pounds for the journey. They did not bother about carriages. When the *Herald* train got ahead, his rival offered his driver £3 if he got in front again, the driver passed the other engine when it was taking water in a siding, so *The Times* won the race, if very narrowly.

AN "EXTRAORDINARY"

the end of the correspondent's narrative which came to hand by post on Saturday afternoon



EXTRAORDINARY.

G R A T I S.

*THE TIMES OFFICE, Sunday Morning,
February 27*

**THE
REVOLUTION IN FRANCE.**

Our Paris letters of Friday evening continue briefly the narrative of events passing in the metropolis of France

"I announced to you this morning," says our correspondent, "the surrender of the Fortress of Vincennes to the people. I ought to have said that the garrison has declared for the Republic. Since then the Military School and, I believe, all the other dépôts of artillery, army, and ammunition have equally been occupied by the people. The detached forts will all have been taken possession of in the course of the day.

*Fig. 7. Portion (about one-third) of the issue for Sunday,
February 27, 1848.*

The concluding portion states that "A telegraphic despatch from Dover informs us that the Duke of Nemours and part of the ex-King's family have arrived." This extraordinary was printed in column-form on one side of the slip only

Moiris found ample justification for his distrust of the foreign wire. It was untrustworthy as well as expensive in comparison with the post. Such high transmission rates as 12s. for a minimum of twelve words not too accurately spelt forced the smaller

SPEEDING UP THE NEWS

metropolitan and provincial newspapers to combine, and, by thus sharing the messages, to lower the cost to each. *The Times* was not anxious to share telegrams from its own correspondents; never did it wish to use those of other journals, for the paper chose its own correspondents with the greatest care for their integrity of character and independence of outlook. The paper then, as for a generation past, set immense store by its freedom from obligation to any public official or private company. John Walter II's early struggles with the Post Office were not forgotten, and post letters were rightly regarded as a more confidential medium of communication than messages open to any telegraphist's eye. For messages of importance and urgency the paper grudged nothing, yet correspondents were tempted by the public curiosity, or the Manager was forced by competition to encourage them, to wire trivial matter which would have lost nothing, and been more accurately conveyed, had it been sent by mail. A combined postal and telegraphic medium was, in certain circumstances, considered reasonable. Thus Conybeare, the Bombay Correspondent, was instructed to forward a specially written summary addressed in a separate cover to Corlett, the agent of *The Times* at Alexandria. In 1851 Corlett forwarded it to the Austrian Lloyd's telegraphist at Trieste, but the mail itself went on to Marseilles as in earlier days. In the same year the paper's steamer was transferred from Boulogne to Calais.

In the summer of 1853, by an entirely new arrangement agreeable to the French Administration, the British Postmaster General took charge of the Indian mails at Marseilles and conveyed them to Dover. Thus finally ended the hostilities between *The Times* and the French Government. The Indian news summary written by the Bombay Correspondent continued to be wired from Trieste to Verviers and then to London. There was, however, still no enthusiasm for the telegraph. It was found—for, as has been seen, there were lacunae in the Boulogne-Amiens-Paris-Laroche-Dijon-Lyons-Marscilles line until 1856—that messages were still so frequently liable to inaccurate transmission that the paper and its readers were over and over again victimized. "I have no faith in the French telegraph," wrote Morris to the Marseilles Correspondent as to others in France, "nor have I any confidence that your messages by that route will be correctly forwarded." But the public's appetite

NECESSARY ECONOMY

for speed regardless of significance left *The Times* without any option but, first, to do its best with the telegraph somehow, and, secondly, to spread the expense. Thus "The latest from Paris by electric telegraph" was a daily feature in 1847 regularly "listed" by the following day's provincial papers. It was found to be so expensive that the cost of transmission was shared with other London journals. This arrangement, however, was only of short duration, and the Paris Correspondent of *The Times* was, within twelve months, ordered to use the wire only for the transmission "of really important facts." In the early years of the system frequent and unaccountable delays exasperated the Manager. If Morris was sceptical about the French wires, he found it necessary in 1853 to inform the Berlin Correspondent that "I do not confide much in the telegraph, and I would it had never been invented." But, with the establishment of the telegraph and as one of its direct journalistic consequences, Morris had to consider another "invention," one of fundamental importance to the journalistic profession.

After a few years' experience the early telegraph companies, both at home and abroad, seeing in the growing newspaper industry a possible main source of revenue in addition to what they drew from the railways, refused to sell their service to the journals on terms similar to those given to commercial houses—a rate-per-word service based upon a minimum volume of matter forwarded by the paper's "own" correspondent. The wires, they said, could not be made to pay upon such a basis. They refused a rate for messages composed by the journals' representatives, and offered them instead a message written by themselves at a fee which included the cost of collection, writing, and transmission. The companies simply could not ignore the fact that profit was being made by the newly established agencies of Garnier (founded 1832) and Havas (founded 1835), both of which sold news that could not have been gathered and sold if the telegraph had not been invented.

Both these founders of the modern news-exchange began by using the economical and rapidly worked lithographic press. The pioneer organization, the Correspondance Garnier, collected extracts from dispatches and portions of the leading articles of the great journals of all Europe and delivered them daily to the subscribing metropolitan and provincial French journals. A colleague, Charles Havas, when he founded his own firm in

SPEEDING UP THE NEWS

the year 1835, did the same Israel ben Iosaphat (later Paul Julius) Reuter set up for himself, originally as a pigeon postman between Brussels and Aix-la-Chapelle. In 1849, using the new telegraph between Berlin and Aix-la-Chapelle, he offered the world copies of dispatches, not necessarily copied from the local morning or evening journals, but compiled by agents of his in various cities—his “own” (in the journalistic sense) correspondents. The telegraph companies did not fail to note that by subscribing to Reuter’s dispatches the Continental newspapers found a means of securing more news at a fraction of the charges they would individually have paid to their “Own Correspondents” and to the several telegraph companies. When the wires were extended from Aix-la-Chapelle to the Belgo-French frontier, and from Valenciennes to Paris—the break of five miles being overcome by horses—Reuter, in association with Havas, was able to handle direct messages from Berlin to Paris and *vice versa*. Moreover, by a service of pigeons, he was able to deliver the closing prices of bonds and stocks in Brussels, and later in Cologne to be re-wired thence. On December 5, 1850, Morris wrote to Monsieur Reuter at Verviers agreeing to consider his proposal to receive and forward to England all dispatches which might be telegraphed for *The Times* to Verviers (to which place the line had been extended from Aix in 1848). When other English journals accepted Reuter’s offer, the owners of the wires immediately set to work organizing a competitive correspondence. It was the more easy for them to do so, as they were in any case bound to maintain offices in every considerable town. By 1850, to take the instance of Berlin, Morris had the choice either of maintaining for *The Times* its “own” correspondent or of subscribing through Reuter to a telegraphic service that would include dispatches from Berlin and all parts of the Continent special to *The Times*, or of employing the Berlin Telegraphische Anstalt being organized by Wolff. But Morris was in no hurry to make the choice between Reuter and Wolff, much as he appreciated the economy and convenience of their services. Morris’s expression of willingness “to consider” Reuter meant that he was determined to postpone action. No business was done before the lapse of eight years.

The Times, moreover, had long considered it necessary to its journalistic policy to be represented in Berlin and Paris by British subjects known personally to the management. The principles

MORRIS ON THE AGENCIES

ruling the appointment of foreign correspondents and the journal's resolute determination, notwithstanding the advantages of the telegraphed intelligence, to be faithful to them are well stated in Morris's letter to the paper's Berlin representative, Wilkinson. The correspondent had forwarded at Wolff's request an offer to serve *The Times*. Morris replied to Wilkinson :

The effect of such an arrangement as has been proposed would be to supersede, or at least to render almost useless, the office with which we have entrusted you. It has been the constant endeavour of the conductors of this journal to obtain authentic intelligence from every quarter of the globe where British interests are concerned, & for that purpose they retain correspondents whose duty it is to supply them with such intelligence. These gentlemen are of course responsible for the information they give, & it is this responsibility which constitutes the chief security of their employers. The system you recommend is exactly the reverse of this, & would substitute for the individual responsibility of a gentleman specially retained to serve a particular journal the absence of all responsibility necessarily implied by the very constitution of the Institution in question. Now we have already sufficient experience of the vague & frequently false character of the private news that reaches Paris by telegraph, & we circulate it with reluctance even after it has been sifted by our own correspondent in that city; but it seems that you not only do not propose to exercise your judgment in the matter, but that you are expressly precluded from doing so. We would much rather remain in ignorance of information conveyed in such a manner. . .

Morris, if taking, as usual, a conservative line towards a new invention, was clearly correct in insisting upon the difference between messages guaranteed by the personal responsibility of a trained journalist and those forwarded by a team of anonymous electricians. The original companies, like most experimental organizations, were small and none too well financed; but although cooperation had developed into fusion, the big amalgamations which made for increased efficiency were still to come. The pioneer companies founded *circa* 1838 came together in 1846 to form the Electric and International Telegraph Company. The Magnetic Telegraph Company (founded 1851) and the British Telegraph Company (founded 1852) were merged in the British and Irish Magnetic Telegraph Company of 1857. The London District Telegraph Company, which served the metropolis in 1859, became the London and Provincial in 1861. The Submarine Telegraph Company was promoted under a French Charter in 1850 and under an English

SPEEDING UP THE NEWS

Royal Charter in 1852 The chairman of the Electric Telegraph Company, J. L. Ricardo, M.P., who early agitated for the transfer of the telegraphs to the Post Office for the sake of their more efficient and popular, domestic and not merely commercial, use, realized the extent to which telegraphy and cheap journalism would act and react upon each other. In the debate on the newspaper stamp in April, 1855, Ricardo acknowledged that ·

. . . [Every morning] The Electric Telegraph Company purchased a copy of *The Times*, in which such intelligence was recorded, and they telegraphed it down to every town in the country ; but, if they were not to do that, if there were no telegraph, then *The Times* would be sent down five or six hours after, and the article itself would be extracted and posted in the Exchange-rooms, or wherever the place might be, just exactly in the same manner as it would have been had the Electric Telegraph Company transmitted it.

That being the fact, and since, in spite of numerous well-wishers in the Commons, there was no prospect of enactment of a copyright protecting *The Times*, the Manager sought to make what arrangement he could with Ricardo. In June, 1855, Morris signed, on behalf of *The Times*, an agreement with these provisions ·

1. *The Times* to give to the company copies of all their telegraphic despatches from all parts of Europe, arriving between the publication of the last edition and of the first edition of the following day , such copies to be delivered to the Company in the form in which they are intended to be published ; and none to be delivered before midnight.
2. *The Times* does not bind itself to publish such despatches, but reserves to itself the right to suppress or alter them at any moment.
3. The Company to convey *The Times* messages free over its British system—that is in England, Scotland and Ireland—and from Amsterdam.
4. The Company to be at liberty to sell *The Times* despatches to the provincial papers, but not to any paper published in London or within a circle of thirty miles round London ; provided that the said papers shall quote such despatches as from *The Times* and shall not communicate them either publicly or privately directly or indirectly except in the usual way in their own columns ; and upon proof of any infringement of the last mentioned proviso the company shall, upon request by *The Times*, withhold the news from the paper so infringing.

THE TELEGRAPH CONTRACT

5. The contract between the company and the provincial papers to whom *The Times* despatches may be supplied, to be submitted to *The Times* for approval, except as regards price which need not be disclosed

Thus, stimulated by the Crimean War and the extension of the cheap Press after 1855, conspicuous progress was at last made in commercial telegraphy. In 1851 *The Times* and other London newspapers congratulated themselves upon being able to reserve exclusively for the Press certain night hours at an attractive charge. They found, too, that from 1855 the attitude of the companies was changing. The latter now saw that the volume of matter sent during the Crimean excitement was of such business interest to themselves that they could consider the Press traffic as enabling them to forward domestic day messages at a lower standard rate.

And the war demonstrated, as nothing else could, that the telegraph as now developed must henceforth be regarded, even by the conservative Morris, as indispensable to Printing House Square. The submarine cable from Balaclava to the Bulgarian port of Varna was found of the utmost value to *The Times*, eager to satisfy a public whose appetite it had been so largely responsible for creating. It enabled the paper to ignore the closing of the St. Petersburg wire. From Varna to Rustchuk there was a telegraph and a gap only as far as Bucharest¹. The agreement with the Electric Telegraph Company was, therefore, an excellent stroke. The expense, an item of very serious consideration to *The Times*, which printed a greater volume of urgent foreign news than any other journal, was satisfactorily overcome by the ingenious clause which virtually gave the telegraph company the status of *The Times* news agency.

By these devices the cost of the European service was thus made manageable to the content of the Press generally, and not least to that of the Manager of *The Times*, one of whose paramount duties it was to maintain the paper's unequalled continental news service and thus protect it from dependence upon the Foreign Office.

¹ There were difficulties. The Bucharest-Balaclava line was laid by the English Submarine Company under a convention between the English and French Governments, whose exclusive property it became. There was a deliberate veto on messages for *The Times*, as Russell's letters to Delane prove. British officers were allowed to send private messages (price 12s.). For a period messages for *The Times* were forwarded by steamer from the Crimea to Varna, on several occasions *The Times* had to use the steamer to Constantinople and the direct wire thence.

V

THE TIMES AND LORD ABERDEEN,
1841 - 1855

FOREIGN Office communications had, since the early stages of the Press, been of such news-value that all editors eagerly sought the good will of the Foreign Secretary. The Minister himself felt it necessary, on grounds of policy, to maintain connexions with the newspapers. By the middle of the nineteenth century the support of *The Times* was valued above that of any other newspaper. In a letter to Henry Reeve, Lord Clarendon thus justified himself: "I don't care a straw what any other newspaper thinks or says. They are all regarded on the Continent as representing persons or cliques, but *The Times* is considered to be the exponent of what English public opinion is or will be and as it is thought that whatever public opinion determines with us, the Government ultimately does, an extraordinary & universal importance attaches to the views of *The Times*" (June 18, 1848)

After the death of Barnes the conduct of the foreign policy of *The Times* fell into the hands of two young men, Delane and Reeve. It was natural that the fourth Earl of Aberdeen—Byron's "travell'd thane, Athenian Aberdeen"—who returned to the Foreign Office in 1841 in the last Ministry of Sir Robert Peel, should turn his attention to the new men in Printing House Square. At first the attitude of the statesman to John Delane was aloof and polite, though obliging. Friendship was a later growth—and it never became intimacy. Henry Reeve, not on close terms with Aberdeen himself, was very friendly with the statesman's friends Guizot and Princess Lieven. Aberdeen respected Reeve, little as he knew him personally. "I have very little personal acquaintance with Mr. Reeve," he wrote in 1845, "but he is a sensible man, and has been for some time rather intimate with Guizot. I believe he was brought into the Council Office by

ABERDEEN'S INFLUENCE

Lord Lansdowne, to whom he is attached, and whose political opinions he may be supposed to adopt." The Foreign Secretary, who shortly before Barnes's death had been negotiating with the Editor for his support in Scottish ecclesiastical affairs, was already acquainted with Delane.¹ He felt that with the prestige of *The Times* under Barnes and increasing circulation under Delane this acquaintance was worth cultivating; in effect from 1841 his connexion with the paper was dependent upon his personal relationship with the Editor.² While it continued to give him general support, Aberdeen authorized the Foreign Office to give *The Times* that information which, as the phrase went, may properly be given to the Press, and he himself also gave Delane some startling pieces of exclusive information on general topics, as, for example, on the Corn Law question. Henry Reeve, as much as Delane, was of Aberdeen's way of thinking, and it often happened that the statesman would write to the Editor to commend a leading article which, though not inspired by him, expressed his own views.

From time to time there was actual inspiration of policy from the Foreign Office. In October, 1845, for example, Lord Aberdeen complained that Palmerstonian newspapers had accused him of permitting British influence at the Porte to be weakened by French activities. He wrote to Delane:

The fact is, that British influence was never more cordially admitted, or more perfectly established at Constantinople, than at the present moment. All our complaints are redressed: and questions which had remained unsettled during Lord Ponsonby's Embassy, have been brought to a successful issue. Of this success there are several examples: and it is rather a clumsy contrivance to attribute all this to the energy and ability of Sir Stratford Canning, in spite of the opposite tendency of his Instructions.

Three days later *The Times* concluded a leading article with this paragraph:

The fact is, that British influence was never more cordially admitted, or more perfectly established or more usefully employed for the real benefit of the Ottoman Empire, than it is at the present moment at Constantinople. All our complaints are redressed, and questions

¹ One of Barnes's last communications to Delane advised him to adhere in a leading article to Aberdeen's opinions. See Vol I, p 447.

² In 1849, when he learned that the Editor was going abroad, Aberdeen wrote "Do you propose to make a long stay in Italy? I hope not for I shall feel no security in the view taken of our Foreign Affairs during your absence."

which had remained unsettled during Lord Ponsonby's embassy have been brought to a successful issue . . . Although this result has been promoted by the energy and ability of Sir Stratford Canning, it is a disingenuous mode of paying him a compliment to attribute the success of his embassy to the envoy, in spite of the supposed opposite tendency of his instructions from home. (October 28, 1845)

Such faithful reproductions are not altogether rare, especially in the years immediately following Barnes's death, in which *The Times* was naturally most dependent upon outside influence. Reeve's reply to Lord Palmerston's attacks upon the Ashburton Treaty was directly based upon hints from Greville. *The Times* had opposed the treaty, but when Palmerston fired off a series of articles of very severe criticism, Reeve answered him according to Greville's advice.

Sir Robert Peel did not fail to recognize the value of his colleague's influence with Delane. Thus, in November, 1842, he wrote to Aberdeen, suggesting that articles in *The Times* against the proposed Franco-Belgian treaty would be useful. He wanted especially an appeal to the Belgians, "to their pride and patriotism if they have any."¹ Aberdeen thereupon saw Delane and the Editor communicated his wishes to Henry Reeve, pointing out that, as formerly only the commercial effects of the proposed treaty had been considered, it would now be advisable to discuss its grave political importance. He outlined the contents of such an article: "The best way to effect the object would, I think, be to have one article addressed principally to the Belgians reminding them of their independence and appealing to their nationality that they should not again permit their country to become a French province as it would virtually be, and in short awakening all the vanity by which the *Braves* have always been distinguished." A few days later, *The Times* published two articles warning the Belgians that the treaty would bring Belgium "in the relation of a province to France, whose interests will be unscrupulously sacrificed whenever they conflict, or are supposed to conflict, with those of the larger community."

Peel was at first content to see *The Times* in what Greville called "a sort of alliance with the Foreign Office," in spite of his own lack of support from the paper. But *The Times* was not a Conservative organ, and during the course of his administration

¹ Peel to Aberdeen, November 16, 1842. (B.M., MSS. Addl. 40453.)

PEEL ANNOYED BY THE TIMES

Peel alienated it by his domestic policy and by his personal attitude towards John Walter II. In 1845 Greville noted that the attacks upon the Prime Minister were "as mischievous as malignity could make them, and by far the most disgraceful that ever appeared on a political subject in any public journal." Peel himself smarted under the lash. He told Aberdeen that *The Times* was "scandalous towards Graham," the Home Secretary, whose unfeeling administration of the Poor Law had antagonized the principal proprietor of *The Times*, and he suggested that it should be punished by "the discontinuance of all communications from the Foreign Office."

This proposal arose partly from wounded feelings but also from the representations of competitors. *The Morning Herald* did not care to see *The Times* securing advantages from what it regarded, with reason, as its own political camp. In Paris *The Times* had things much its own way, owing to the friendship of Guizot for Reeve and to the energy of its correspondent; Dr. Giffard, editor of the *Herald*, wanted special facilities from the British Embassy in Paris, and Aberdeen, at Peel's request, wrote to Lord Cowley to ask for them. But he would not cut himself off from *The Times*, though admitting that its support was "so uncertain that it would be unwise, in the hope of obtaining it, really to injure that part of the Daily Press upon which we can rely"¹

Delane's independence grew with his experience. During the course of the year 1844 Lord Aberdeen began to find that *The Times*, besides offending his colleagues, could also disregard his own wishes, although the paper agreed in the main with his policy. He had, from the first, set his heart upon restoring the Entente Cordiale, shattered by Palmerston's Near Eastern policy. In this main effort he knew he had the good will of *The Times*, which was believed even to publish articles from the hand of Guizot himself.

There was grave danger that all Aberdeen's work of reconciliation would be destroyed, and war itself was felt to be imminent when in 1844 Anglo-French relations were strained by a wave of expansionism in France, which was resented by the English public. The French King and Lord Aberdeen equally blamed the Press of both countries. Aberdeen hoped that *The Times*

¹ Aberdeen to Cowley, May 7, 1844. (B.M., MSS Addl 43130/53.)

would soothe public opinion in England by making little of the grievances of the over-zealous Pritchard¹ in Tahiti and by countering the exaggerated fears of French activities in Morocco. But the paper disappointed him, and in striking fashion

The Times had the forethought to secure certain "special" correspondents. They were three officers on board the *Warspite*, which lay off Tangier, when, on August 7, 1844, the French bombarded that town. Their descriptions of the action were published in *The Times* on August 24, and being eye-witness accounts by experts had a great success. But unfortunately all three, besides discharging their proper business—to forward accurate descriptions of what they saw—felt moved to criticize the conduct of the French and to condemn their seamanship, not omitting even to accuse of cowardice the Prince de Joinville, commander of the fleet. A leading article, commenting upon these letters, while admitting that their "hearty John Bull sentiments with respect to the expediency of a war with France" went rather too far, concurred in their statement of British naval superiority.

That leader and the letters, which were condemned by a number of English papers, aroused enormous ill-feeling in France. Aberdeen was greatly upset, feeling the letters to be "very reprehensible," while the Queen thought them "outrageous." An investigation was ordered and the identity of one of the culprits ascertained. the Chaplain of the *Warspite*. He was reprimanded by the Admiral; the other writers were never discovered. Captain Wallis, of the *Warspite*, under order, called upon the French Consul at Gibraltar and proffered an official disclaimer. But *The Times* uttered never a word of repentance.

Although badly shaken by this episode, Aberdeen did not cease from maintaining a close contact with Delane. But the aims of the two men differed. The Minister was intent upon negotiating a peaceful settlement, while the Editor, desiring peace no less ardently, believed war to be inevitable and imminent, and that it was therefore his duty to prepare his public for it. Thus he wrote to Reeve:

It is our business to keep in quite as high a tone as before; so that if war is the result of these manifold encroachments the national spirit may be raised to meet it in a becoming manner. In fact I car

¹ Pritchard, English Consul and missionary, advised Queen Pomare to defy France over the Catholic missions, only to bring the unfortunate ruler to submission before a French gunboat. In the course of the trouble Pritchard was assaulted by a French naval officer. Later, France deposed the Queen and annexed the island.

THE TANGIER INCIDENT

see pretty plainly that, in spite of what has been said so long and so often, a war feeling is getting up here and will before long be strong enough to force any Ministry into a more decided course of policy than has been pursued since the Peace (August 28, 1844.)

This "war feeling" was Delane's reason for publishing letters asserting that the French Tangier fleet could be destroyed by a handful of Englishmen. This belligerency led to charges that *The Times* wished for war. In fact, it was only Delane's idea of avoiding it, he was prompt to assist Lord Aberdeen in every reasonable effort to preserve peace. At the height of the Warspite trouble the Foreign Secretary suggested to Delane a justification of the French attack upon an island off Mogador which, against their agreement with Great Britain, the French had occupied, thus arousing the apprehension of the British public and consequently attacks in several newspapers. At Aberdeen's suggestion, and in his words, Delane himself wrote an article, arguing that the occupation was but a temporary measure, due to strategic necessities. "England," the article said, in reply to the demands that the French should be forbidden to occupy the island, "cannot direct France how to besiege Moorish towns or demolish Moorish forts." In the very same article, however, *The Times*, with what looks like inconsistency but can be explained by the necessities of a diplomacy which directed its aim at a desired goal while scattering concessions right and left, drove home the criticism of French seamanship, with only a slight gesture of friendliness in terming French "slovenliness" merely "comparative."

Morocco, as was suggested above, was not the only ground of Anglo-French discord. The Tahiti affair gave much trouble to Guizot and Aberdeen, who eagerly sought a solution that would not leave them open to the charge of sacrificing the honour and interest of their own countries. The solution was found towards the end of August, 1844. On September 3 *The Times*, acting on a hint from authority, said: "We beg to congratulate the country on the truly gratifying intelligence of a probable arrangement of the Tahiti question, and a termination to all fears of a rupture between ourselves and France." The British Government did not receive news of the French policy until the 4th,¹ and on that same day Greville informed Reeve, who was in Paris, that Aberdeen had told him that *The Times* statement "was all untrue, and nothing settled." Greville, naturally enough, had

¹ Peel to the Queen, September 4, 1844. (B M , MSS. Addl. 40439, 51-52.)

assumed that Delane received his information from Aberdeen; and Aberdeen, in telling Greville the strict truth, did not add that he had given Delane enough information to make an inference. He could have no desire to emphasize his connexion with *The Times* at a moment when the paper was advocating a less temperate line than his own. "Nothing settled", "nothing" indeed, yet Aberdeen had just received a dispatch from Lord Cowley, in which the Ambassador had stated that the French King's information to him in conversation was that the French Government intended to express regret for the violence done to Pritchard.¹ This dispatch arrived on September 2, and next day Delane wrote to Reeve that "The Cabinet met yesterday but, as I learn, no actual decision was come to although there was enough settled to warrant the article of to-day." Reeve, having received Greville's letter, must have questioned the Editor closely on the matter, for Delane afterwards admitted to him that the news of September 3 had, at the time, been published in advance of the facts. His forecast, however, was justified by the event. On the 5th, he had the satisfaction of producing a special edition, which gave Peel's statement in the House of Commons that a solution to the Tahiti problem had been reached.

The French not only expressed regret but promised an indemnity for the molestation of Pritchard. Delane declared to Reeve that he himself was "very much vexed and annoyed indeed about this so-called settlement of the Tahiti question," but he was ready to defend it against the attacks of the Whig papers, since, as he said, "public opinion will . . . be with us in deprecating war upon such a ridiculous squabble." Here, of course, he was echoing Aberdeen's sentiments, for whatever his own "vexed" feelings might be, he saw that on this occasion he must not offend the Foreign Secretary and thus jeopardize the connexion. As he explained to Reeve, "We were in the position either of quarrelling irreparably with the only department of the Govt. with which we have been able to keep on terms or of drawing in our horns after a fashion I by no means approve" He chose the latter alternative.

During the course of the winter, the vigour of the Whig attack upon the settlement, which was not finding favour with the public, made Aberdeen more than ever desirous of using *The*

¹ Cowley to Aberdeen, August 30, 1844 (P R O , F O 27/699.)

Foreign Office
Feb 2. 1845.

Dear Sir

I beg to express my thanks for your kindness in sending me the article on the Portudie claims, which I now return, and in which I have no objection to suggest. It is too much to hope that the matter will be allowed to rest here, after the species of attack commenced in the Chronicle yesterday; and should any additional article be thought desirable, I will venture to submit some observations for your consideration.

I think it likely that the controversy
will be confined to the Peers, as I do not see
any disposition to take up the question
in the House of Commons.

Free Church
and the
Abolition

J. J. Selane Esq.

ABERDEEN ENTREATS

ABERDEEN ENTREATS

Times to defend it. Delane's position had been strengthened by the statesman's difficulties, and he could give expression to more independent views. In January, 1845, Aberdeen appealed to him to enter the lists against the *Globe* and the *Chronicle*; Guizot, meanwhile, made advances to *The Times* correspondent in Paris¹. Greville has a highly coloured description of their attempt to gain the paper's support.

Aberdeen wrote to Delane, entreating he would deal with this matter in a more favourable manner than he had lately been doing, and the consequence was that he came to Reeve's room at the Council Office, when these two young gentlemen, the one Editor of *The Times* and the other Law Clerk to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, took into consideration in what manner they should treat the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the French Prime Minister, and after a long consultation they resolved in regard to the former, that they *would not quite abandon him*, and though they could not approve of his conduct, they would insert a moderate and neutral article. This was accordingly done, and with no small dexterity they contrived to elbow aside each of the Ministers. . . . On the other side of the water Guizot sent for O'Reilly, the correspondent of *The Times*, and asked him why *The Times* treated him in that manner; that he knew it was because he had given some earlier information to the *Morning Herald*. The representative of the mighty Broadsheet replied, that they certainly had nothing to thank him for, but they were not aware he had anything to complain of, as they had been extremely moderate, and had said nothing but the truth. "Well," said Guizot, "what do you want, what can I do for you?" O'Reilly replied that he could do very little, and in truth the paper was of much greater importance to him than he could be to the paper, inasmuch as it was not above once or twice in a year that any occasion of serving *The Times* could occur while they wrote every day in the week. "Well," said Guizot, "take those papers" (pointing to some on the table) "and no other English paper shall have them for 24 hours."²

Aberdeen took the trouble to write a long letter which outlined the course *The Times* might take. In the main, the paper adopted his suggestions; but Delane did not follow him in blaming the Press for having made a serious matter out of the affair, and, instead, praised the newspapers for reminding "both the English

¹ Guizot had offended *The Times* by denying to it the special postal favours he was giving to the *Morning Herald* See Chapter IV

² *Memoirs*, January 18, 1845.

and French Ministers of the real exigencies of the case" Rather, "in the present state of public opinion," wrote *The Times*, "the press is indeed the most vigilant guardian of the public honour."¹

Peel's Government quitted office in June, 1846. Palmerston became Foreign Minister, a change which, nevertheless, did not sever personal intercourse between the Editor and Aberdeen. Delane, indeed, now had to face the problem presented to most editors on a change of Government: that of treating with a new set of Ministers for the regular supply of exclusive information His contact with the Government was through Sir Charles Wood, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, while Reeve was in contact with Lord Clarendon. The results were highly satisfactory to the paper.² In the circumstances of 1846,³ however, Aberdeen remained the most considerable influence upon the formation of Delane's opinions; almost necessarily, as it was impossible to secure information from Palmerston without giving him support. Delane remained dependent upon Aberdeen, while Reeve depended largely upon Gieville; both influences acted upon the paper, not always harmoniously. When the Whigs returned to office, new troubles between France and England were already in sight. Queen Isabella II of Spain had recently arrived at a marriageable age, and the two Powers could not agree upon the husband. Louis Philippe strongly desired a French Consort for her; Great Britain, as strongly, wished to prevent any French prince from sharing the throne of Spain. A compromise had been arranged by Aberdeen,⁴ but that was destroyed by Guizot's distrust of his successor, Palmerston, whom he believed to be working to secure the Queen's hand for a Coburg prince. The French statesman began to negotiate for the marriage of the Queen to her cousin, Don Francisco, and simultaneously of her sister the Infanta Marie Luise to the Duc de Montpensier, younger son of King Louis Philippe. As Don Francisco was generally believed to be impotent, opponents of the marriage believed there was a danger that the Spanish Crown would pass to a French prince.

¹ Aberdeen to Delane, January 15, 1845; and *The Times*, January 16, 1845

² So close an alliance was secured between the Government and *The Times* that Sir John Easthope, the proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*, complained bitterly of the "subserviency" of *The Times* and of the Government's "treason" to himself. (Memo by the Prince Albert, July 6, 1846, *Queen Victoria's Letters*, I, p. 102.)

³ In 1846, Delane's mind was concerned, if not preoccupied, with the anxieties of his personal position in Printing House Square. See Chapter II.

⁴ Delane had been informed of some of his views under a seal of strict confidence (*Greyville Memoirs*, September 19, 1843.)

THE SPANISH MARRIAGES

Some historians to-day are inclined to think that this objection to Don Francisco was invented by anti-French politicians to further their own designs. At the time the British public believed that Guizot had broken his word with results highly detrimental to British interests.

On August 28, 1846, an announcement in the *Madrid Gazette* relating to the proposed marriages raised the diplomatic temperature to a dangerous degree. Reeve went on holiday at the end of the month and Delane on September 6. In their absence *The Times* was left in the hands of Dasent, while Greville, Reeve's colleague at the Council Office, assisted the paper, which, cut off from official inspiration, hardly knew what line to take. Greville reported to Reeve:

The Times has been quite at sea . . . On arriving in Town on Monday I found a letter from Delane full of anxiety to see me - not knowing what to think or say . angry with the Government: accusing Palmerston of subserviency and indignant at the Montpensier match : . . I wrote . . immediately to C[larendon] and sent him Delane's letter. He replied, "It is very vexatious that you should have missed Delane. His letter shows how ill these folks guess and how unable they are to go alone. He was never more mistaken in his life than in thinking P. has been subservient; no man in Europe has probably been more annoyed at the event, and he must have been equally surprised and vexed at *The Times* applauding such a detestable and tricky arrangement. The conduct of Fiance has been marked with great duplicity, and, if the Montpensier marriage can even now be got rid of, it will be, as far as depends upon us. But we found it so far advanced, and Aberdeen had so far committed himself not to depart from it, that we have really not had time, even if we had the power, to put our veto upon what will extinguish the small remains of Spanish independence."

On receiving this I sent for Dasent (who seems a very puny and inadequate representative of the thundering journal) and told him, and put on paper what I have written to you, and advised the course *The Times* should take, cautious, severe, suspicious, malcontent: but reserving itself for more ample information and the course of events. The worst is there is, I fear, no delicate diplomatic hand to be relied on. Dasent owned to me that the man he relied on to work my material was absent, but to be got at. I have, at all events, taken means to prevent them blundering on in ignorance of our sentiments.¹

¹ Greville to Reeve, September 9, 1846 (B.M., MSS. Addl. 41184/372-373); printed in *Greville-Reeve Letters*, pp. 150-151. In the printed version the quotation marks are misplaced.

The adjectives suggested by Greville were immediately adopted by the paper, for although its leading articles were severe they were cautious. Henry Lytton Bulwer, the British Minister in Madrid, was in communication with *The Times* Paris Correspondent, to whom he described in lurid terms the clandestine and overbearing dealings of Bresson, the French Minister. This news stimulated the paper to stronger expression, and on September 21, 1846, a leading article denounced "an extremity of outrage which it would almost be a sin to expect and provide against" Greville was alarmed at the fury he had aroused by exhorting Dasent to write with spirit "Some days past," he noted in his diary on the 24th, "the articles have been rather more vigorous than I should have suggested. I have no doubt they will have thrown the French Government into a fury of rage." The tone of *The Times*, indeed, became so anti-French that it was necessary to deny on November 25 the *Standard's* allegation that the paper's articles on foreign politics came from the pen of, or were influenced by, Lord Palmerston.

When Delane returned from the Continent he reopened communications with Aberdeen, who had been quite without influence upon the paper in the Editor's absence. Aberdeen indicated his belief that its ignorance of the trend of opinion had thrown *The Times* completely into the arms of the Government.

Your letter . . . has greatly surprised me [he wrote], for I not only felt persuaded that you had established a very intimate connexion with the Government, but that it had been effected on their part by the sacrifice of older friends and adherents. As you tell me that this is not the case, I fully rely upon your assurances, and shall feel no objection to communicate with you confidentially upon the subject of the Spanish marriages, or upon any other you may desire.

He proceeded to assert his friendly disposition towards the new Government and its foreign policy, though believing that, had he remained in office, Guizot would not have broken faith. But, "viewing the whole transaction as it deserves, and being prepared to stigmatize it accordingly, I am still anxious that it should not lead to any national difference."

Acting at once on these hints, *The Times* devoted its efforts to the calming of English opinion. Reprehensible as the conduct of the French Government had been, Louis Philippe had derived so little profit from the whole affair, and the credit of England

THE PEACE OF EUROPE

in Europe had been by comparison so greatly enhanced, that there was no occasion for vindictive feeling. This attitude was warmly appreciated by Aberdeen. He wrote on November 22 ·

The position of England and France is becoming very critical . . . You have at this moment, a great deal in your power. I may almost say that the question of Peace, or War, is very much in your hands A little more excitement may place it beyond control in both countries. I need not tell you how much I incline to a pacifick course . . .

Meanwhile the purely Palmerstonian *Morning Chronicle* was publishing violently anti-French articles, and, not merely Aberdeen, but the Prime Minister also was anxious for *The Times* to adopt a different tone. Lord John Russell, who always kept the Press at a distance, informed Delane through Clarendon that he "was quite prepared to communicate with them on the subject." Greville meanwhile "concerted with Reeve what *The Times* should say, and when I told Clarendon I found it tallied precisely with his ideas and met his wishes." Thus counselled by leading statesmen of both Government and Opposition, the paper achieved a notable success, for anti-French feeling remained below the explosion point until the collapse of the Bourgeois Monarchy altered the whole situation.

Annoyed by the *Chronicle's* attacks upon himself, Aberdeen encouraged *The Times* to condemn Palmerston for his conduct of the negotiations. It responded with vigour. If this line of attack had Aberdeen as its inspiration, the fierceness of its terms originated in Reeve's personal attitude towards Palmerston. Greville, nervously commenting upon the incident in his diary (the Palmers suspected him of complicity in these attacks), placed the entire responsibility upon his junior colleague, "who has written those articles out of personal spite to Palmerston and wishes to give effect to his *engouement* for Guizot, his antipathy to the other I have had a correspondence with him on the subject, reproaching him bitterly for the line he has taken. . . "1

Greville was at this time in Paris. Observing the effect of Reeve's articles upon French opinion, he effectively protested to him, and on January 28 was thus able to congratulate him : "I feel bound to write a few lines to-day after all I have written before. I beg you will tell Delane, if you see him, that the article

¹ *Memoirs*, January 24, 1847

in Tuesday's *Times* commands my full concurrence: it is the right tone to speak in, and it will do much good here" But these articles, which pleased Greville, offended Aberdeen, who complained of "the gratuitous and rancorous extravagance" displayed against France.

The affair of the Spanish marriages did not destroy Reeve's friendship with Guizot, but by a coincidence his French sympathies were replaced by personal connexions with Prussia, for he was now cultivated by Bunsen, the Minister of Prussia, which was at this time passing through a semi-Liberal stage Bunsen brought him into touch with the Prince Consort and Baron Stockmar. In consequence, the foreign policy of *The Times* developed a new tendency against France and therefore against Aberdeen. Thus *The Times* warmly supported the Constitution promulgated by the King of Prussia, to the alarm of Aberdeen, who wrote to Delane on March 8, 1847:

It is not without some apprehension that I have read your Prussian article this morning. It seems to me to indicate a new system of foreign policy, greatly at variance with that which we have hitherto pursued, and which you have supported. Of course we must be friendly to all constitutions, whether good or bad, or whether in Prussia or anywhere else But I should have thought that good will and support might have been extended to the Prussian constitution, without putting an end altogether to the French alliance, which is done by your article pretty nearly in express terms.

Delane told Reeve that Aberdeen "rather pooh-poohs your notion of an Anglo-Prussian alliance," but "fails, I think, to make out . . . his case."

The Times therefore continued to advocate Reeve's ideas on Prussia and Aberdeen's on peace. By tradition an advocate of constitutional government, it had, like its friend, Lord Aberdeen, a consistent bias towards moderate methods. In its desire to conserve the existing order it was aware that that policy must be alive to abuses which could lead to destruction, and it therefore favoured reforms to ameliorate conditions which might, if disregarded, mean decay or revolution. That motive was at the root of its policy at home or abroad. In the constitution-making age that preceded the revolutions *The Times* was always on the side of the more liberal Conservatives Thus the Liberal Pope, Pius IX, who aroused the scorn of Mazzini, won its praise. Delane even discussed with Le Marchant in August, 1847, the possibility

METTERNICH

of giving him English support and sending a Minister to the Vatican, for Pius was "a most liberal and enlightened Prince" It seems that they forgot the constitutional obstacle, for Le Marchant wrote in a postscript to a letter to Delane (August 29). "When we were talking of a Minister to the Pope, we forgot Canning's joke about the *Praemunire*. An act of Parliament is, I believe, an indispensable preliminary"

This period of semi-Liberalism did not last long, for in 1848 both Delane and Reeve were to come down on the side of authority. "For my own part," wrote Reeve, sharply defining his own attitude, "all revolutions have the effect of throwing my sympathies into the opposite scale."¹ Reeve's sympathies very quickly took him farther than the paper would follow him, and as early as March, 1848, he had a brush with John Walter.² Nevertheless, Delane concurred with him in preferring the cautious Aberdeen to the dangerously active Palmerston. Yet, unlike Aberdeen, *The Times* had some idea of a united Italy, although it did not, when the troubles in Italy began, look forward with enthusiasm, or even hope, to changes effected by violent means. It wished Metternich, whom the paper disliked, had organized a commercial league, or even laid the basis of a political confederation. (February 18, 1848.)

The paper's attitude towards the Austrian statesman caused a disagreement between Delane and Lord Aberdeen, who thought of Austria as a traditional ally. When Metternich was expelled from Vienna on March 20, *The Times* devoted a leading article to his career and fall. Delane sent it in advance to Aberdeen, whose comment was unequivocal: "A more unjust and prejudiced statement I have seldom seen;—and this is sent to an old friend, for correction" When the article appeared, the only perceptible alteration in its text was the deletion of an accusation of vulgarity, against which Aberdeen had protested.

¹ Reeve to Bunsen, June 19, 1848 (J. K. Laughton, *Reeve*, II, 199)

² Thus Greville wrote to Clarendon. "There was some difference between Reeve and *The Times* at the outbreak of the revolution—the former fling off an article in a strong reactionary sense—Walter called on me, told me he had found the article, and stopped its insertion, thinking it a very injudicious line to take—accordingly another was prepared by somebody else, and inserted. I told Walter I thought he was quite right and that I by no means took Reeve's view of the matter. R was much disgusted at the fact, and talked of not writing any more, and was rather absurd about that and Palmerston, but he has since calmed down, owns his first notions were wrong, and that we are right. You will have seen yesterday and to-day articles by different hands on French affairs—his vastly superior in style, and both days, good in matter." (March 2, 1848, Clarendon Papers.)

The French Revolution came suddenly ; for, while on January 1, 1848, *The Times* had written : "The King of the French may now feel tolerably secure of peace in his own time," on February 24 Louis Philippe was no longer King, and was soon to land at Newhaven as "Mr. Smith." *The Times* had no regret for the destruction of "an unpopular and unconstitutional system" (February 26, 1848), and attributed the King's fall to the dangerous egotism, "which clogged his judgment, lulled his caution and deprived him of respect and affection of his people" (March 2, 1848.) The paper, later, became so bitter that Walter wrote to ask Dasent to moderate the tone of articles on the Orleans family and especially to give the ex-King "due credit for those good qualities which he does possess."¹ The new régime in France was not favoured by *The Times*. Democratic opinions were now more than suspect in Printing House Square. It was only when General Cavaignac became Premier that *The Times* gave its firm support to a French Government.

The troubles in Italy did not provide *The Times* with so clear-cut a picture. It did not wholly agree with Aberdeen's determined support of the established powers ; but it feared that Palmerston might intervene too actively. The policy of *The Times* was guided on the one hand by consideration of the best interests of Great Britain and of the ultimate good of the Italians, on the other by fears of revolution and intervention.

This last was certainly a danger to be reckoned with. Republican France might offer help to the insurgents in Lombardy ; the English squadron in the Mediterranean might at any moment be ordered by Palmerston to intervene on behalf of the rebels against King Bomba. Both possibilities were strongly deprecated by *The Times*. The policy of Charles Albert of Sardinia, which Aberdeen roundly condemned, was not admired in Printing House Square ; there the Pope was regarded as the only fit head of a united Italy. Intervention could be ruled out, since this would mean war with Austria. (October 10, 1848.)

The disreputable King of the two Sicilies was not so easy to defend as the Austrian Empire, and mediation in favour of the rebels was regarded as advisable, but only with the caution that there was a great difference between mediation and "an arbitrary and uncalled-for resistance to the incontestable rights

¹ J. Walter to Dasent. Bear Wood, October 13, 1849. (Delane Correspondence, 3/96.)

THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

of the Neapolitan Government." Mme. de Lieven called this article "un chef-d'œuvre," and Lord Aberdeen expressed his warm approval. The end of the year of revolutions found *The Times* firmly on the Conservative side and completely in harmony with Lord Aberdeen. Even its old enemy, Prince Metternich, now wrote that the leading articles of *The Times* might be read as "offrant le complément de ma propre pensée."

The element of pure reaction, which for a time was increasingly sponsored by *The Times*, was due to Reeve, by whom all revolutions and revolutionaries were equally condemned. Reeve as a frequent writer necessarily felt tempted to systematize his thought in the interest of consistency. Delane, whose disposition was more pragmatic and consequently less opinionated, found it necessary thus to warn Dasent. "Only take care that R. is not too reactionary—we get no good by it . . . our own dear public likes to see discord and revolution abroad however little it may care for liberation itself"¹

Delane himself, coached by Sir Charles Wood, looked rather to the effect which changes would have upon the balance of power than to considerations of interest to the political theorist; thus he agreed with Aberdeen that a strong Austria was necessary to British security, but felt that the best solution of the Italian question would be to add Lombardy to Sardinia, not so much to satisfy national aspirations as in order to raise another barrier against France² In consequence, though friendly towards the Austrians in Italy, he was not wholeheartedly in agreement with their policy. On the other hand, when the Hungarian revolt broke out, his sympathies were entirely with the Austrian Empire, in spite of the wild surge of feeling which swept the country in favour of the rebels. By its championship of an unpopular cause *The Times*, which had reviled the decrepit court of Vienna in 1847, came to be described in 1849 as the "organ of Austrian diplomacy."³

Lord Aberdeen assisted in holding Delane to this path. When Mme. de Lieven wrote to him in praise of an article "si calme, si modéré, et si vrai," he replied with delicious egoism: "It was well executed: but cannot you conjecture from whence it was inspired?" He also helped Delane in the troubles the Editor had

¹ P H S. Papers, Delane-Dasent Correspondence, Vienna, November 1, 1851.

² Delane to Reeve, September 2, 1848.

³ The *Daily News*, May 7, 1849.

with his correspondents in Austria and Hungary. Throughout the Hungarian troubles *The Times* persistently advocated a policy of moderate conservatism. Nevertheless, with his finger upon the pulse of public opinion, Delane knew that *The Times* by itself could not oppose and divert the popular current.

From 1848 onwards *The Times* was fighting Palmerston, a struggle in which it had the decided encouragement and assistance of Lord Aberdeen. The Conservative party as a whole, however, failed to support the campaign and Delane lost his enthusiasm for it, it was not until Palmerston's final indiscretion of 1852 that a sufficient force was marshalled behind *The Times* to secure the statesman's defeat.

The conflict in the Cabinet between Lord John Russell and Palmerston destroyed the Whig Government in 1852, and, after a half-hearted attempt by the Derbyite Tories to maintain a Government, Aberdeen faced in December of that year the problem of forming a Coalition Ministry. In this he had the cordial assistance of Printing House Square. There the fall of the Derby Government was immediately hailed as the end of a political epoch. The paper, now backed by elements of both parties under the leadership of Aberdeen, felt itself as on the point of coming into power. An article of December 8 had thrown out the suggestion of a Coalition, and on December 18 *The Times*, announcing that Derby had left for Osborne, added that "we believe that it is upon the Earl of Aberdeen that the formation of the new Cabinet will devolve, with the active cooperation, not only of his former colleagues, but of Lord John Russell and the chiefs of the Whig party." This prediction—which was immediately fulfilled—is likely to have been made by arrangement with Aberdeen. The statesman was henceforth in regular communication with the Editor. Thus Delane wrote on December 19 to Dasent, saying that Aberdeen "was summoned by telegraph this morning, and went down at once by the 10 o'clock train. I shall see him this evening on my way from Higgins's.¹ This may make me a little late at the office, but everything is arranged." That Delane was admitted to Aberdeen's confidence in at least some of the business of Cabinet-making may also be regarded as certain. Monckton Milnes, for instance, urged him to voice the supreme importance of getting Palmerston into the Government at

¹ Matthew James Higgins, a constant contributor to *The Times*, well known under the pseudonym "Jacob Omnimus."

GOVERNMENT BY COALITION

the moment when Aberdeen's most difficult problem was to hold the balance between Palmerston and Russell. Whether Delane transmitted Milnes's exhortations or argued independently on his own account, it can scarcely be doubted that he discussed the crucial question with the new Prime Minister, for Aberdeen wrote to him on December 22 : "Difficult as it is, everything is going on favourably and will, I trust, be speedily completed"; but he added "do not allude at present to the positions of Lord John or Lord Palmerston."

Meanwhile *The Times* was steadily supporting the projects of Aberdeen. The theory of coalition was lifted to a principle and became an article of faith. Leading articles dilated against party government. To Disraeli's warning that "England does not love coalitions," *The Times* retorted that parties were becoming obsolete "Nothing suits the people to be governed and the measures to be passed so well as a good coalition"

The intimacy between *The Times* and Aberdeen at this period is again well seen in the episode of Sir William Molesworth, who represented the Radicals in the Coalition. He was originally offered a minor place, and wrote to Delane about it; Delane approached Aberdeen, and Molesworth was given a seat in the Cabinet. Molesworth felt, and acknowledged to the Editor, that he owed his place to Delane's exertions. But the paper was by no means a mere subservient organ of the Prime Minister. It reserved the right to criticize his appointments, and did so vigorously when Russell accepted the Foreign Secretariship. Lord John, it declared, "has so little of the accomplishments required for his new office that we can only suppose he is keeping it for a successor, most probably Lord Clarendon, who otherwise will not have a seat in the Cabinet." This was, in fact, the understanding on which Russell had taken the Foreign Office, instead of the Leadership of the House without Seals that he had proposed for himself. Intimation of the bargain had doubtless come from the Prime Minister to Delane, though it can hardly have been at Aberdeen's direction that *The Times* printed the news.

According to Greville, both Clarendon and Russell resented publication of this paragraph and remonstrated with the Prime Minister. Clarendon communicated his annoyance to Reeve and added that he had "never seen him [Russell] so mortified and annoyed because the friendship between Lord Aberdeen & Delane is, as he said, well known and nobody will suppose

that attacks on him would find their way into *The Times* unless they were agreeable to Ld A." Aberdeen expressed the greatest indignation against the Editor. "'I have not seen *that fellow*,' he is represented as saying, 'for several days, but if it will be any satisfaction to John Russell, I will engage never to let him into my house again.' Such a reparation, however, Clarendon did not by any means think it would be advisable to exact"¹ On the day before this entry in Greville's journal, Aberdeen sent a note to the Editor asking him in perfectly friendly terms to call at Argyll House that evening after dinner in order to receive a complete list of the Ministry, and concluding "I have not forgotten your alarming prediction respecting the Income Tax; but I cannot help thanking you for an excellent article on the subject this morning"

Delane could view with confidence the position of his paper under the new Ministry, and, moreover, when, as *The Times* predicted, Clarendon did succeed Russell at the Foreign Office, the Editor gained yet another generous source of information. A Foreign Secretary naturally stands in a special position, distinct from that of other politicians and statesmen, in respect to newspapers. The new Foreign Secretary realized the value to him of a connexion with the leading organ of public opinion; Reeve enjoyed a long-standing intimacy with him, and though his relations with the Editor were not quite so close as with the leader-writer, Delane was always given direct access² Indeed, under the Coalition, Clarendon rather than Aberdeen was the principal official link with *The Times*, and the extent of his covert influence on its policy during 1853 almost equalled that of Aberdeen between 1841 and 1846 and of Palmerston after 1855.³

Soon after Clarendon's entrance into office, a dispute over the Holy Places broadened into a general Eastern crisis when Russia seemed to threaten the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. The British Cabinet was divided. The British Ambassador at Constantinople, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, believed that the safest policy was for the Turks to present a bold front to the Russian demands. Clarendon and Stratford tended to estrange each other by their mutual distrust. In

¹ Greville, *Memoirs*, December 28, 1852

² In March, 1853, Clarendon wrote to Delane. "Events may be coming on quickly in the East and I should like to know where I had better send immediate communis. to— to your house, or to *The Times* Office?"

³ For *The Times* and Palmerston, see Chapters XII and XIX

EASTERN CRISIS

the development of this estrangement, *The Times*, being wholly on the side of peace and hostile towards the Embassy—where *The Times* was the “infamous paper”—played an involuntary part.¹ Its connexion with Aberdeen and Clarendon was well known—to Stratford as to others. Their position was delicate, for they had opponents within the Cabinet as well as in the Embassy at Constantinople. *The Times*, though in principle their convinced advocate, did not always assent to what it considered the inessentials of their policy. Aberdeen and Clarendon therefore found it necessary to treat *The Times* with the greatest deliberation and seem often to have conferred regarding time and manner of their communications to the paper. Reeve was the main channel of their influence. Thus in the summer of 1853 the Foreign Secretary asked Aberdeen, “What do you advise my saying to Reeve?”² Certain of his frequent letters to the journalist suggest the attitude of an editor giving instructions to a leader-writer: “in the article you are about to write . . . pray take care to condemn thoroughly the abuse of hospitality by the refugees.” Reeve’s dependence upon Clarendon was complete, but his authority in Printing House Square was limited. Thus, at the beginning of the Eastern troubles, he wrote to Clarendon: “I should be glad to know at some suitable time what course you are going to take about the Turks, lest anything should be said that might embarrass the Govt. At the same time *The Times* is not disposed to embark in a campaign for the integrity and independent (*sic*) of that ancient fiction the Turkish Empire—at least I gather that to be the strong impression of both Delane & Walter.”³ Nevertheless it was believed in some quarters that Clarendon had full control over the policy of *The Times*, and the two pacific Ministers, held responsible by the uninformed for every word in the paper, inevitably found defence difficult.

¹ The opinion of *The Times* was from the first distasteful to Lord Stratford, who wrote to Clarendon before he left England for Constantinople (March 2, 1853).

“When I had the honour of seeing you this evening I omitted to inquire whether you had remarked a leader in *The Times* of this morning on the subject of Turkey.

“Whatever foundation of truth there may be in the writer’s view, his opinions are anything but flattering to our Mussulman allies, and I am not a little apprehensive that they may be represented at Constantinople as indicating a change of sentiment and policy in this country towards the Sultan & his government. No impression could be more unfavourable to our influence at Constantinople, and I should not be sorry to learn that some endeavour had been made to counteract its natural effect. It is one thing to admonish the Turk of his evil causes, another to treat him as a patient universally given over and fit only for dissection at the first convenient opportunity.” (Clarendon Papers)

² B M., Privately Printed Aberdeen Correspondence; Clarendon to Aberdeen, August 31, 1853.

³ Reeve to Clarendon, February 26, 1853. (Clarendon Papers)

The British Ambassador in Constantinople suspected Clarendon of inspiring *The Times* criticisms. This had no justification, for there are indications that the Secretary of State protected the Ambassador from attacks. When Clarendon's connexions with the Press were under discussion, he did not always feel a compulsion to be exact, but there is a ring of truth in his observation to Stratford that "the ways of that paper [*The Times*] are inscrutable, and no more to be controlled than the East Wind"¹

He himself soon found that *The Times* did not accurately reflect his opinions, which gradually changed during the early summer of 1853. He had come to believe that Aberdeen's pure pacifism must encourage the aggressiveness of the Russians. *The Times* still deprecated as "the greatest of errors" the precipitation of "a quarrel in which we have at present no direct share," and advocated joint intervention by the four Great Powers not directly concerned—Great Britain, France, Austria and Prussia. In June Clarendon pointed out to Delane that peace talk had its dangers.

Pray excuse me for saying that the second art. in *The Times* of yesterday, and to-day have a warlike rather than a peaceful tendency as they will certainly encourage Nicholas to think we are afraid of him and that a nation may be bullied *ad libitum* wh. is so vulnerable and so determined upon peace à tout prix²

His efforts made through Reeve to secure the insertion of leading articles more in harmony with his view were successful. The conflict of ideas within the Cabinet was reflected in *The Times*. The files reveal a curious complex. Leading articles of a pacific nature and others of rather a different tendency are found to appear even in the same issues during July. Gleville (July 12, 1853) attributes some to Clarendon's influence and the others to Aberdeen, although he exaggerates the differences both between the two articles and between the two Ministers.

Clarendon's influence in Printing House Square in the late summer and early autumn of 1853 was at its greatest. Through Reeve he was able to have inserted in *The Times* what he wanted in a positive sense; but his ascendancy in the foreign affairs department of the paper was by no means complete: he could not keep out what he disliked. Reeve was a man of weight in *The Times* Office, but Delane's own source of information was Aberdeen,

¹ Clarendon to Stratford, March 3, 1853 (Stratford Papers; P.R.O., I.O. 352/36.)

² P.H.S. Papers, Clarendon to Delane, June 9, 1853

A DRAMA OF ERRORS

and some important elements in the office were distinctly hostile to the Clarendon connexion¹ The attacks upon Lord Stratford, which increased his difficulties in working with the Ambassador, were maintained. *The Times* became a bone of contention between them, for each saw, in different parts of the paper, the other's hand working against him. Stratford complained repeatedly : “ *The Times*, which, I think, is your paper—I mean the Government's—has treated us [the Constantinople Embassy] somewhat contemptuously.”² In reply, Clarendon begged him not to believe that the Government inspired *The Times* and disclaimed all responsibility for the attacks upon him. The Foreign Secretary added that Stratford should find it the less difficult to acquit the Government on this score, since Clarendon himself had always turned a deaf ear to rumours that *The Times* correspondent in Constantinople, who wrote “ in strong language agst. the Govt., ” took his orders from the Embassy. He concluded that “ unless mutual confidence exists, business cannot be transacted satisfactorily and the intercourse between friends, if you will permit me so to call you, becomes mere discomfort.”³

The Times correspondent, mentioned by Clarendon, was Humphry Sandwith, a physician, one of Layard's circle, who was rebuked (“ with insolence ” Sandwith told Layard) by Delane for his apparent subservience to Lord Stratford and quitted the service of the paper in October.⁴ The truth is that at this time the paper was persistently advocating peace, while the country as a whole was working itself up into a frenzy of belligerency. Lord John Russell declared that *The Times* was working actively for Russia,⁵ and Clarendon remarked that it advocated peace “ in articles of which the baseness was provocative of insult if not of war.”⁶ Feelings were running high. With the acceptance by Russia of the Vienna Note, which was known in England on August 5, the tension seemed to be relieved, and *The Times* cordially welcomed what it assumed to be a pacific solution. When the bellicose feeling of the country, however, repudiated the

¹ Woodham, whose interest in foreign affairs increased at this time, warned Delane to beware of Clarendon's dictatorial tone: “ You see Cl[arendon] may hereafter truly say that he used to write to *The Times* and tell them what to say ! ! He may not add (& perhaps may forget), how his instructions were received, but I should like him to be civilly made acquainted with the true state of his relations towards us ” (Woodham to Delane, November, 1853, Delane Correspondence, 5/69.)

² Stratford to Clarendon, Therapia, August 8, 1853. (Clarendon Papers)

³ Clarendon to Stratford, August 8, 1853. (Stratford Papers, F O 352/36)

⁴ Further details regarding Sandwith will be found in Chapter VII, where his relations with the British Embassy are discussed

⁵ B.M., Aberdeen Correspondence, Russell to Aberdeen, September 14, 1853.

⁶ Clarendon to Stratford, September 15, 1853. (Stratford Papers ; F O 352/36.)

terms, it was faithfully reflected in the rest of the Press. The abuse of *The Times* became virulent. The irresponsible David Urquhart, representing now a considerable section, even of Tory, opinion, asked : "What rewards does *The Times* receive from Russia ? "

There was, however, a point beyond which Delane could not ignore the public without inviting numerous secessions from *The Times* subscription list. While peace was possible, he was pacific, both by nature and through Aberdeen's influence. But when war, for whatever reason, finally seemed inevitable, he was forced to adopt a tone that would help Englishmen to face sacrifices unflinchingly. Moreover, Aberdeen was now alone in his "peace at any price" policy. On October 4, Clarendon told Delane that negotiation between Turkey and Russia was at an end.¹ On the same evening the Editor was sent for by Aberdeen, who told him "that he was resolved to be no party to a war with Russia on such grounds as the present, and he was prepared to resign rather than incur such responsibility."² *The Times* continued, therefore, to advocate peace throughout October, though not as wholeheartedly as Aberdeen wished.

As early as the beginning of October the Prime Minister complained to Delane of "an article as *practically warlike* as any that has appeared," and soon afterwards thought it advisable to caution Gladstone. "You will probably have seen *The Times* this morning. As the paper is always described as *my organ*, the warlike character of the leading article will produce considerable effect and, so far as I am concerned, will be much misunderstood." Thus the crisis slowly but surely raised a barrier between *The Times* and its oldest political ally. The dependence of the paper upon events and popular reactions to them inevitably parted the statesman from the Editor. On October 23, Omer Pasha's troops crossed the Danube and killed a number of Russians. Could a war involving England now be averted? Delane feared not, and his expectation was suddenly confirmed. The destruction of the Turkish Fleet by the Russians at Sinope, on November 30, aroused furious indignation throughout England against Russia. Clarendon, the mediator between Aberdeen and Palmerston, had already moved towards the more belligerent side and was now for war; Delane, too, saw it was unsafe to rely

¹ Delane's direct contact with Clarendon became stronger after the beginning of September, when Reeve began the journey to Constantinople to see Stratford which caused such a sensation and nearly resulted in the rupture of his relations with Printing House Square. See Chapter XI, "Il Pomposo."

² *Greville Memoirs*, October 6, 1853

THE BREACH WIDENS

upon Aberdeen as a guide in the crisis. What was denounced as the massacre of Sinope finally brought *The Times* over to the side of the pro-war party.

By December, 1853, *The Times* had completed its transfer of sympathy. On the 9th Delane had an interview with the Prime Minister, which is thus described by Greville:

Delane called on Aberdeen whom he had not seen for some time, and came to me from this interview, in great annoyance and perplexity. He found the Earl not at all disposed to be talkative or communicative. After some time he said, "What do you think of our protocol?" Delane replied, "I have not seen it, will you show it me?" He said he would not then, but the contents were generally as had been stated. Delane said that it was a step in advance against the Emperor of Russia; to which Aberdeen replied, "not at all. There is nothing in it that the Emperor might not himself sign," and then he went off in a tirade against *The Times* and its recent articles of which he bitterly complained; said the Emperor had done nothing wrong, or that we had any right to complain of, and talked all the extravagant anti-Turkish and pro-Russian language of which he has been so constantly accused, and which fully justified the charges and taunts of the Tory and Radical Press, altho' they don't know how right they are. Delane said it was impossible to endure such stuff as this, which was very likely to break up the Govt and at all events *The Times* would be no party to such sentiments, and he was the more surprised at hearing them, because he met Graham on the stairs (when coming away) who, in a short conversation they had, spoke in a totally different tone. I sent him to Clarendon whom he would find in a very different mind, but sadly bothered by the discordant views of Aberdeen and Palmerston, the one for peace at any price and submission to Russia, the other for immediate war.¹

At the time of this interview England had not yet heard the news of Sinope. It became known three days later and was represented as a treacherous massacre—although the fuller description received on the 14th showed that it was a perfectly normal incident of naval war. But public opinion was far too violently inflamed to listen, and *The Times* was already too committed to retreat from the position it had taken up. On December 13 it called boldly for a declaration of war with Russia.

Despite the rapidly widening breach between them, *The Times* gave Aberdeen its whole-hearted support in the moment of

¹ *Greville Memoirs*, December 10, 1853.

suspense which followed the resignation of Lord Palmerston, upon the receipt of the news of Sinope. It is significant that Aberdeen apparently did not communicate with Delane, but with Clarendon, who wrote to Reeve to instruct him upon what *The Times* should say¹. Aberdeen's good will had been lost; not merely did he refuse *The Times* early information—such as the text of the Queen's Speech in January, 1854, for which Delane had to go elsewhere—but he gave no assistance to the paper when it was attacked in the House of Lords by Lord Derby. The last-named incident occurred on the eve of the war. On February 28 *The Times* announced in its leading article that couriers had left London the previous day bearing an ultimatum from England and France to the Emperor of Russia. Extraordinary precautions had been taken by the Government to prevent the despatch mission from leaking out. The messengers, however, had to go by way of Paris in order to obtain the concurrence of the French Government in the despatch, and, despite the care taken to protect him from such an apparent courtesy, the Tsar, in fact, received his first intimation of the ultimatum from the pages of *The Times*.

Lord Derby seized the opportunity to attack the relations between Cabinet Ministers and *The Times*, which were notorious. He implied that the publication of the ultimatum was incompatible with honourable journalism.² While defending himself, Aberdeen made no attempt to answer the charges made against Delane's honour, but rather indicated assent to them. He was, as

¹ See Chapter XII, and Appendix of Sources for Greville's record of a conversation on the subject.

² Who made the disclosure was not discovered. "Delane never told" (Cook, *Delane*, 70.) Aberdeen at first suspected Clarendon. "I had not seen *The Times* before going down to the House of Lords to-day, where I was told of a leading article which had appeared this morning, detailing the whole of our proceedings at the Cabinet on Sunday. Not only is the summons to the Emperor of Russia mentioned, but the delay of six days allowed for an answer, as well as the day fixed for the total evacuation of the Principalities. Now this is really too bad and highly discreditable to the Government."

"At a time when I was protesting in the House of Lords against revealing the intentions of the Government, our most secret decisions are made public! I can conceive nothing more mischievous than such disclosures, and it is quite necessary that somehow or other, this evil should be corrected . . . I hope you will exert yourself to correct this evil, which has become a scandal not to be endured" (Clarendon Papers). For Clarendon's answer see the Appendix Sources V with Russell's letter of March 15 to Aberdeen, and Aberdeen's reply of the 16th mentioning their suspicion of Admiral Napier, also the Queen's letter of the 15th. Had Napier's visits to Delane at this period been known, Clarendon would not have been taxed with responsibility. He himself informed Reeve that he had "seldom been more annoyed than" by the disclosure. Late Clarendon seems to have made a statement to Russell, who replied "I think such information as you gave quite right in ordinary circumstances. But in present circumstances it is very difficult to say either that the Govt. have no communication with *The Times*, or that they furnished information for one-half the leading article, but not the other half." Russell to Clarendon March 22, 1854 (*Ibid.*)

ABERDEEN "HORRIBLY ANNOYED" BY *THE TIMES*

Clarendon wrote, "horribly annoyed," but Reeve's belief that he actually applauded Derby's assault on *The Times* seems untrue. Nevertheless, his conduct was regarded in Printing House Square as unforgivable, and some time afterwards Clarendon told Lord John Russell that the Editor "was furious with Aberdeen for not having defended him agst. Derby 3 months ago and sent him a message thro' his (A.'s) P[rivate] Secretary abjuring allegiance, etc."¹

The outbreak of the Crimean War in March, 1854, thus brought the long alliance between Aberdeen and Delane to an end. If the strain of the diplomatic crisis proved too much for their friendship, the conduct of the war destroyed all hope of reconciliation. *The Times* did not indulge in personal attacks upon the Prime Minister, but Delane became convinced that Aberdeen was not a fit leader of a Government at war. When in January, 1855, the aged statesman was forced into resignation, *The Times* took friendly leave of him. Delane had long ceased to have any personal contact with him, but when the Government was on the point of falling, Aberdeen's son, without his father's knowledge, wrote to Delane that "as he is resolved not to appear to purchase support by any official announcement in Parliament or elsewhere" he thought it well to inform the Editor of the Prime Minister's plans. The writer then appealed for clemency for the Prime Minister:

I am afraid that my father's Government having unfortunately lost your confidence we cannot look for help from you, but I believe that you still personally respect the private character of my father. Might not something be said to defend him from the odious charge of grasping at personal distinctions in accepting, at length, the Garter repeatedly pressed on him by the Queen as a proof of her esteem

¹ The following letter indicates Reeve's feelings in the matter. "Sunday morning

I am still more obliged for the last lines of your note, for as this discussion had assumed almost the form of a personal altercation, I confess I was anxious that *The Times* should comport itself suitably on the occasion

"You are not one of the Ministers who got all the support they can from the Press, and then leave it to shift for itself on the first appearance of a squall, and therefore I may say that it is impossible not to feel that Lord Aberdeen's conduct in this debate has been cowardly and ungrateful, if it be true as reported that he cheered Lord Derby's threats against *The Times*, and he certainly did not take the opportunity of saying one word of acknowledgment of these independent services which a Government does not disdain to receive from a newspaper. Considering how very large an amount of those services have been rendered him, without even the slightest return of personal civility, by persons he hardly knew, he was bound as a man of spirit and fairness not to see them attacked in Parliament without an attempt to vindicate their real motives and position." In reply to this letter (from the Clarendon Papers, where it is indexed among the correspondence of July, 1854, but clearly belongs to March), Clarendon wrote that he thought Reeve "much too severe," as Aberdeen could not be expected to defend an indiscretion which did the Government so much harm.

and regard, and wh. he proposed to decline in favour of Lord Cardigan?

Delane acceded to the request, and in the leading article of the day following used the hints given of the Prime Minister's intention, and paid warm tribute to Aberdeen's character and political record, and added: "If he is destined to receive from his Sovereign the highest personal badge of honour she is able to bestow, he has earned it by long and honourable service in all the highest offices of State."

Aberdeen never came back to office; but some years later the breach with Delane was healed in the Highlands of Scotland, through the good offices of Edward Ellice, one of the oldest friends of *The Times*. In 1857 "Bear" Ellice informed the Earl that "Delane has cast up here [at Inverquoch] I intend to keep him till Saturday next—and then advise him to offer himself to you on his way South from Inverness. If it is convenient to you to receive him you might probably encourage him by two lines addressed to him here. He will have all their budget by the Indian Mail of to-day, and will interest you etc" A cordial note addressed to Delane, telling him "how happy I shall be to see you here,"¹ and his subsequent visit to the Earl were among the last incidents in the long connexion between the statesman and the Editor of *The Times*. The relationship had always been a personal one. The Editor himself saw the statesman and corresponded with him direct. Communications were never addressed by Aberdeen to members of Delane's staff.

¹ B.M., MSS. Addl. 43200/117 Ellice to Aberdeen, October, 1857, and Delane Correspondence, 8/58. Aberdeen to Delane, October 17.

VI

DELANE'S STAFF

THE editorial department in Printing House Square during the early and middle period of Delane's term of office included Dasent, the Assistant Editor, and Reeve, Mozley, Woodham and Lowe, who were mainly responsible for the leading articles. Reeve, whose influence entitles him to separate treatment, ceased to work for *The Times* in 1855 in the circumstances described in Chapter XI, and was succeeded by Chenery, who eventually filled the post of Editor on Delane's retirement in 1877.

George Webbe Dasent was born in St. Vincent on May 22, 1817, where his father, a prosperous sugar planter, was Attorney General. He was sent to England for his education and went to Westminster in 1830. Two years later his father died, having lost almost all his fortune owing to the emancipation of the slaves. His mother, with the other members of her family, came to London and lived in Serjeant's Inn, but she found it financially impossible to keep her son at Westminster, and he was removed to King's College. Here he made friends with Delane, who evidently had some respect for his school-fellow's scholarly habits, for after leaving he wrote to Dasent, "I suppose you are going on at King's College in as sober, see saw a way as ever ? "

He went up to Magdalen Hall in 1836, and came down in 1840 with a second in Classics. He was in the same class as John Walter. After a few months at Oxford, which he spent in coaching, he went to Stockholm as private secretary to the British Minister, Sir Thomas Cartwright.

The four years from 1841 to 1845 which Dasent spent in Stockholm had an important influence on his life. Encouraged by Grimm, he studied Scandinavian languages and Scandinavian mythology. He published many translations of Scandinavian

DELANE'S STAFF

and which Delane's recent illness has rendered it an imperative duty on my part to make known to you without further delay. It relates to the position in which you would find yourself in the event (which we all trust may be far distant) of Delane's becoming unable to continue his laborious duties as Editor of the paper. Now of course it is part of my duty to exercise as much foresight as possible with regard to this and similar contingencies and it was under a deep sense of this responsibility that I long ago came to the conclusion, not inconsistent I am sure with a sincere regard for yourself and a hearty appreciation of your talents, that you did not possess the requisite qualifications for succeeding Delane in that important position. At the same time I felt that it would be too much to expect that in the event of his death or retirement, you would be content to play second fiddle to any one who might be appointed to succeed him; and the position of affairs might then lead to a considerable embarrassment.

He ended the letter by offering Dasent a permanent post on the writing staff at £1,200 a year, in return for which four articles a week were expected from him.

Unexpectedly Delane made no attempt to say anything on behalf of his friend and relative. He was content to say that he had no alterations to suggest if Walter had quite convinced himself of the necessity of a change but begged that no account should be taken of his own health. "My hatred of all change," he said in closing, "may bias my judgment in this matter, let us only be quite sure that if we change it shall be to increased ability." Nevertheless Delane's personal opinion, conviction rather, was the opposite of Walter's, who, perhaps influenced by Delane in private conversation, decided not to send the letter to Dasent. The matter was shelved for the time being, but when Dasent was offered, but decided to decline, the editorship of the *Cornhill* in 1862 he consulted John Walter whether he should accept or no. Walter strongly urged acceptance, writing simultaneously to Delane to say that Dasent's "genius and temperament are more suited to literature than to politics."

In 1870 a vacancy on the Civil Service Commission occurred. Gladstone on the advice of Lowe offered it to Dasent, whose acceptance would be "highly beneficial to the public interests." It was thus that Dasent retired from the post of assistant editor of *The Times*, breaking the long and closely intimate association between the Editor and his assistant.



Jupiter (J. T. DELANE)
and his Queen Juno (G W. DASENT)

THE EDITOR'S TRUST IN DASENT

For a few months after leaving the paper in 1870 Dasent wrote leaders, in the first of which he launched an attack on what Delane described "all J.W.'s prejudices." Delane unwillingly suppressed the article. The Editor more than once had occasion to criticize his assistant editor but it never appears that he shared Walter's conviction that his scholarly brother-in-law was deficient in practical judgment. A somewhat venomous attack by Dasent on Lord John Manners in *The Times* of October 12, 1858, was the occasion for an editorial reproof. But this was apparently inspired by John Walter. Delane, who was in Scotland, wrote to Dasent to say that he had read the article with "very great regret." He continued: "I care a great deal for ourselves and our own character and I am sure that both these are very seriously damaged by an article upon a rather inoffensive individual which the world will with too much reason characterize as an outrage. He did nothing to provoke us to inflict such damage on ourselves —for damage it will do us all collectively and individually." Nevertheless, Delane's trust in Dasent remained constant. When away for a night or two he always left minute directions for Dasent's guidance, but there is evidence that he had every confidence in his assistant's sagacity and ability. A distinction, however, is to be observed in this custom of Delane's. A short absence from duty necessitated careful instruction; but, when preparing for a longer holiday, Delane seemed to trust Providence to guide his brother-in-law. Palmerston's death, which occurred when Delane was away, was the opportunity for him to tell Dasent that ". . . it is a great satisfaction also that you have the opportunity of proving so conclusively how perfectly you can fill my place. I am sure no one can deny that the paper has been both as prudent and as brilliant in your hands as in the very best of times." In the correspondence between Delane and Dasent, statements from Delane in approval of Dasent's editing are constant: "I never saw a better paper," or "The paper was never so good as this morning" frequently occur. It is unexpected, therefore, that in spite of this loyal admiration for Dasent's work Delane should have made so little effort to defend Dasent when criticized by Walter, by Lowe,¹ and by others outside the office. Granville once even wrote to Delane: "It is strange that I annually think *The Times* goes a little out of its mind, and then find that you are on a lark away from home."

¹ Cf. Lowe to Delane: "It is time you were back. Dasent has worked out his discretion" (October 24, 1864).

DELANE'S STAFF

It seems doubtful if Dasent had any clear political principles ; most probably his views in the main were those of an opportunist Liberal, and he also had a radical streak which vented itself especially against royal or aristocratic privilege. At intervals during the 'fifties and 'sixties Dasent gave the paper a more radical tone than was customary when Delane was in the chair. He was well known at the Reform Club as a close friend of Lowe, but he was also on terms of political intimacy with "Bear" Ellice and Joseph Parkes. There is an unmistakable ring of satisfaction in the Bear's comment that "I think *The Times* has been admirably managed by Dasent in Delane's absence. A little, probably, in advance of public opinion perhaps . . ."

If Dasent made mistakes, if he lacked Delane's poise and shrewdness, he did bring to the office certain gifts and qualities which made his assistant editorship highly welcome to Delane. A man of personal charm and some wit, he was a perfect colleague. In society, which he was able to enjoy on giving up late work on the paper in 1870, he was once described as "the best dinner out in London." Sir Algernon West, in his diary, applied to Dasent after his death in 1896 the lines :

Is he gone to the land of no laughter
The man who made mirth for us all ?

The importance to Delane of having as his most responsible colleague one who was not only a close friend but also a light-hearted companion cannot be too highly estimated. Dasent, though invested with authority over the columns of *The Times*, never exercised any authority over the personnel. For a quarter of a century as assistant editor he served Delane with the utmost loyalty. At his resignation in 1870 Delane wrote of the "more than regret I feel at losing the most loyal and genial of colleagues, who have (*sic*) made so much hard work light for me."

The most versatile of the leader-writers during the mid-Victorian period was also the greatest favourite of the Chief Proprietor. The Reverend Thomas Mozley was born at Gainsborough in 1806, where his father had been in business. "Tom," as he was known in the office, was educated at Charterhouse and at Oriel College, Oxford, where he took a third in 1828. The following year he was elected to a Fellowship at Oriel, and he soon became intimate with Newman, who had been a Fellow

THOMAS MOZLEY

since 1822. Mozley vacated his Fellowship in 1836 on his marriage to Newman's sister and accepted the college living of Choldeiton on Salisbury Plain. Still within easy reach of the University, he was soon caught up in the Oxford Movement. From 1841-43 he edited the *British Critic*, the chief organ of the Movement. In 1843 he paid his first visit to a Catholic country and was on the point of joining the Church of Rome, when he was dissuaded by Newman, who advised two years' consideration. In that same year the *British Critic* collapsed and Mozley found himself buried alive at Cholderton with hardly sufficient, in that sparsely populated village, to occupy his time. He says that at this time "to divert my mind from painful and harassing thoughts, I actually turned to the piano and strummed out hymn tunes—first with my forefinger, and then attempting chords." In the midst of this solitude he received a proposal to write leading articles for *The Times*. The explanation was that when Fellow of Oriel he had just overlapped with John Walter, who as an undergraduate was a strong supporter of the Oxford Movement. Fifty years later his obituary notice in *The Times* referred to "his extraordinary literary versatility" and affirmed "this is known in its fulness, and must remain known, only to those whom he served so long, so faithfully, and with so consummate a mastery of all the resources of a good style and a rarely ingenious mind."

The language was not exaggerated. Mozley was one of the greatest stalwarts whose services the paper has enjoyed, with ironic powers that made him an extremely formidable controversialist. Nor, in his own lifetime, did he go unrewarded. He was paid at a far higher rate than any other leader-writer, receiving a regular £1,800 a year, a figure which is perhaps explained in part by the personal admiration and affection of Walter, who always called him The Father, presumably in reference to his High Church tendencies. Originally employed by *The Times* to write on ecclesiastical questions, Mozley, with his wide range, was soon writing on general topics. The strain of combining active journalism in London with his country living proved too much, even in those days of accommodating curates, and in 1852 he resigned Cholderton, "which I did with a pang, as if shedding my life's blood." Mozley lived for a few years in London and then moved to Finchampstead, close to Bear Wood. In 1868 he accepted the college living of Plymtree near

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Ottery St. Mary in Devonshire. Despite the fact that he went out for the paper as a Special Correspondent to Rome in 1869 to report the proceedings of the Ecumenical Council, he necessarily could devote less time to journalism and went on half-pay. On accepting the living he wrote to Delane, "I am sorry to say that I must be looking to the future. I am near 62; I have been near 25 years at work, beginning much later in life than you, though I can't pretend to compare my labours with yours. Even if you all were ever so willing and kind, I could not think of inflicting my late articles (that is late for the occasions) many years more" Mozley retired from Plymtree in 1880, but continued to write leading articles for the paper until 1886. He died in 1893. To him Kinglake¹ attributes a famous saying: "To write a leading article may take only from two hours to two hours and a half, but then all the rest of your time you are a crouching tiger, waiting, waiting, to make your spring." The simile is believed to have owed some of its point to the fact that Mozley had not the figure of a tiger, but was small, plump, and genial of aspect.

Mozley's wife died in 1852 Two years later Delane is found writing thus to Bayley, a former leader-writer who had gone to Mauritius as Colonial Secretary :

The oddest adventure has happened to Mozley who within less than a twelvemonth after he had been disengaged of his wife, proposed to one of Mrs. Walter's sisters, aged 19 he being 48 At first she refused, then consented, a house was bought, a carriage was bought, servants were engaged, the wedding clothes were ready, the marriage was to be next week, when again the young lady changed her mind and positively refused to become Mrs. M. From this resolution she has not flinched and Mozley after contemplating suicide and emigration and even I believe a curacy, thought it best to continue writing and does so still with as good effect as ever.

Mozley married a second time in 1861 a daughter of Captain George Bradshaw. His younger brother, James Bowring Mozley, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, who also had been prominent in the Oxford Movement, was for some years one of the leader-writers who could be relied upon for attractive articles on a wide range of subjects, from theology and history to current politics.

¹ A. W. Kinglake, *Invasion of the Crimea*, Vol VI, p. 251.



THOMAS MOZLEY

HENRY ANNESLEY WOODHAM

Of all Delane's leader-writers Henry Annesley Woodham was the most unflagging, though the most remote from editorial direction. His mind was, in the best sense of the word, academic. He was educated at Winchester and started his university career at Trinity College, Cambridge. Apparently dissatisfied with the intellectual standards of Trinity, he soon migrated to Jesus, whence he took his degree in 1839, being fifth in the Classical Tripos. He was shortly afterwards elected to a Fellowship at Jesus Woodham, as a Latnist, gained a considerable reputation, which was confirmed by his edition of Tertullian with its admirable introductory essay on Patristic Latinity. Dr. Donaldson in dedicating his Latin Grammar to Woodham saluted him "as one who could write Latin with the ease and vigour of the learned men of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."

When Woodham began to write leading articles for *The Times* is not known, but it was not later than 1845.¹ As a salaried man he was a favoured member of the staff. He resolutely refused to work in London and he had, as Delane knew, a positive objection to writing a line after 3 o'clock in the afternoon. As he lived nearly the whole of the year in Cambridge, his work for the paper would have been impossible but for the Eastern Counties Railway—in its early days a somewhat untrustworthy medium. Delane used to send off "the parcel" to Woodham in the very early morning. This generally contained an early edition of the paper, a proof of a leading article which Delane had suggested Woodham should write, and general instructions for a new article on a point or an event arising out of that morning's news. Woodham carried out his instructions during the morning and put the result in the 4.30 train from Cambridge. Working at this secure distance from the office he was naturally more independent than many of his colleagues, as the following note to Delane implies :

Of the two subjects you gave me I took China, because I had it rather more in hand than the Jews, and the Martineaus came through here to-day with some friends who must needs be lionized for two or three inconvenient hours of mine. The Jews shall be as you wish to-morrow.

¹ Woodham to Delane, New Year's Day, 1862: "Well, we have worked together a goodish many New Years now! Getting on for 20! Our correspondence will have been established 16 years this spring!"

DELANE'S STAFF

The same agreeable tendency to put himself and his own comforts first shows itself in a letter to Delane in 1863. Woodham writing from Hunstanton says :

I got up werry early and set to work to do my article in my bedroom, in order not to miss one single hour of the briny . . . Had there been a single cloud in the sky you should have had the French debate as well, but human nature couldn't withstand a blue "empyreal" and a magnificent seahigh water coming at the moment I had finished a big lobster 2 eggs 6 toasts some roast beef 2 teas and a bottle of port . . . The place is quite beautiful at high water, and so private that at the first promptings of inclination you strip your clothes off and paddle about with the leisure and impunity of a gull.

Perhaps that portentous breakfast explains Delane's somewhat tart comment on him, " His brutal habits of life and his solitude are telling upon him. A man who will only recreate himself on the Ely road can't keep up long " Yet if to the authorities in Printing House Square Woodham was "an everyday horse," he was, when left to do his work in his own time, a willing horse. He was paid £1,200 a year and in a representative year (1861) wrote 221 leading articles, which, allowing for his holiday, is a figure considerably in excess of the four articles a week which John Walter thought should be the maximum for one writer.

Woodham was an amusing, entertaining companion, with a love of good living. It was hardly surprising, therefore, that Delane, Reeve, Dasent, Morris and even Walter all stayed in Jesus and enjoyed his hospitality. His epicurean habits are well shown in a letter to Delane urging him to come to Cambridge.

There is an illigant turkey and a jugged hare, and very decent port indeed, which gets more improved and more diminished every day. You shall have onion sauce with the turkey as they have in Norfolk, and a snipe for supper . . . and there is a beautiful go of Southdown mutton.

When Mowbray Morris visited Jesus, things were less decorous. Woodham had to put his guest to bed at 3.15 in the morning, and he himself seems not entirely to escape censure, as he admits not only to slapping the Master on the back and calling him "old fellow," but, in addition, to have addressed a county magistrate as "a bloody beak." There was about Woodham a ring of much heartier than academic wit in his description of the

ACADEMICAL "HIGH JINKS"

Caledonian speech, for example, as "something between the gobble of a turkey and the gush of a water-closet" Again, his description of Reeve as the "Council Office Czar" is certainly a close rival in brilliance to "Il Pomposo."

A pronounced trait in his character was his complete lack of jealousy of his colleagues. His attitude towards Reeve, for instance, was marked by generosity even when he was working in rivalry with him. In comparing his own journalistic accomplishments with Reeve's he wrote, "As I said before we are two distinct elements—dog and fish—you found the dog more useful than the fish just now, but you can't make the dog swim." "I am perfectly satisfied with having done what was wanted when it was wanted, and the recognition of that fact by the paper is quite enough."

It would perhaps be true to say that from the academic standpoint Woodham was a disappointed man. He greatly hoped to be appointed to the Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge in 1847. Reeve had attempted to influence Prince Albert, the Chancellor, on Woodham's behalf and wrote, "I never in my life met a man more imbued with accurate information on these subjects, or more gifted with a clear and eloquent mode of conveying what he knows. . . . I may add that I believe him to be the author of the principal articles on foreign affairs in *The Times* newspaper." The Prince, however, wrote to ask Macaulay's opinion. In reply Macaulay stated that his personal wishes were with another candidate, but "I am bound to say that if Her Majesty's choice should fall on Mr. Woodham, he will, I am convinced, prove an eminently able and useful professor. His knowledge is extensive and accurate, his faculties vigorous and his opinions sound. I am assured also that he has paid particular attention to the history of the British Empire in India, a subject which is too much neglected, and which is every day becoming more and more important." On his marriage, which must have taken place soon after the start of his connexion with *The Times*, he had, of course, to resign his Fellowship at Jesus. His wife died in 1851, and a few years later he was elected to an honorary Fellowship, proudly claiming to be the first person since Cranmer who could describe himself in Jesus as "*iterum socius*."

No writer for *The Times* during the mid-Victorian period, not even Dr. Woodham, had a finer scholastic and academic record

DELANE'S STAFF

than Robert Lowe. At Oxford he took a first in Classics and a second in Mathematics, and after a spell of private tutoring was elected to a Fellowship at Magdalen. In the less strictly academic world of the Union, its early days, he made a name for himself as a debater and joined with gusto in the controversy over Tract XC. In 1842, when he was 31, Lowe decided to try his fortune at the Australian Bar. He met with success and returned to England in 1850, if not rich, at least with a sufficient competence to enter politics. Before he had time to achieve distinction in this career he received an offer from Delane, in need of a political writer to supply the place of Horace Twiss, who died in 1849. Lowe had been the Editor's tutor at Oxford in 1837 and 1838. To Delane's request he sent the following answer.

Liverpool August 14th, 1850

Mr Lowe presents his compliments to the Editor of *The Times* and regrets that his presence at the Northern Circuit should have caused so much delay in answering his letter.

Mr Lowe will be very happy to write for *The Times* on any subject on which he possesses sufficient information and he will be very glad to be favoured with further communications.

Thus began a long and important connexion between Lowe and the paper which lasted for nearly twenty years. Lowe was never a salaried member of the staff, being paid at the rate of five guineas for each leading article that he wrote. During 1862—not an exceptional year—he wrote 153 leading articles, which, allowing for his annual holiday, meant an average of more than three a week. A series of his articles on the abuses of Chancery procedure immediately preceded in time the publication of *Bleak House*, and may perhaps have affected the course of *Jarndyce v. Jarndyce*. His articles, at the critical period of the discovery of the goldfields, largely influenced that flow of better-class emigration which was to transform Australia into a great nation within the Empire. To contradict Lord Shaftesbury, when he said that Sydney was "not a place to which members of our families could be safely sent," was a considerable act of faith in 1851.

Soon after he was established as a regular writer for *The Times* Lowe set about his political career in good earnest. At the General Election of 1852 he was elected Member of Parliament for Kidderminster. That same year he was given minor office in Lord Aberdeen's Government—a position that he continued to hold



ROBERT LOWE

for a short time under Palmerston. In Palmerston's Government of 1859 Lowe was Vice-President of the Education Committee, where his success was not remarkable, and from which he resigned in 1864. He emerged, however, as a figure of first-class Parliamentary importance during the debates on Lord Russell's Reform Bill in 1866. Lowe subsequently held office in Mr. Gladstone's Government of 1868, first as Chancellor of the Exchequer and then as Home Secretary. A foolish and typically reckless reference to the Queen in 1876 closed his prospects of further political office. By this time Lowe had long ceased to contribute to *The Times*. A letter from him to Delane in March, 1868, two months after he had written his last leader, conveyed a conditional resignation, which proved in fact to be final :

I fear I am growing old and lazy and not much disposed for work of which I have had my share in this world. I don't want to write any more if I can live without it. If I can't which may very likely some day be the case I will come and ask for something to do.

Apart from his skill and forcefulness in writing, Lowe's intimate connexions made him a most welcome contributor to the columns of *The Times*. His knowledge of the actualities and potentialities of politics gave him an authority not enjoyed by his fellow-leader-writers and a corresponding liberty of expression in his writing and in his relations with the Editor. This authority, coupled with Delane's affection for him, dating from Oxford days, led Delane to accept criticisms and suggestions from Lowe which he would have accepted from no other members of his staff. For example, Delane, before leaving for Ascot, instructed Lowe as follows :

I send you from the *Morning Post* what is I suppose an authoritative exposition of the results of the Canadian negotiations and should be glad if you would write an article upon it which shall not throw *too much* cold water upon it but allow Cartier and Co to return with the idea that they have done something besides eat good dinners and be admitted to good society. I go to Ascot tomorrow.

Lowe replied to Delane's deputy :

I think Delane can hardly have read this article carefully or he would see how impossible it is for *The Times* to do what he wants and at any rate for me.

We have always been against the defence scheme, against Guarantees, against the Railway, against compelling the lesser Colonies

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to confederate, how on Earth can we chop round on a vague intimation like this. At any rate *I* can't.

A few days later an article on the Canadian negotiations in non-committal terms, but not written by Lowe, appeared in the paper. While it would be inaccurate to say that Lowe ever dictated the policy of the paper, it would seem that he, probably alone in the office, was not only able to restrain Delane from a rash or hasty decision but to make up his mind for him and even, in Delane's words, to "shoot his own arrows from behind our shield and it is we that suffer." Lowe, in fact, regarded himself less as a leader-writer working to editorial instructions than as a "publicist," to use the fashionable term. He was an intellectual, with, what Delane never had, a theoretical basis for his politics.

The larger and more interesting question of the propriety of the connexion between *The Times* and a member of the Government of the day remains to be considered. That a man of Lowe's position and prospects in public life should have agreed to write regular articles for the paper is some indication of its power and importance in the early 1850's. Lowe, however, could find a use for the fees he received from Printing House Square and was not the man to write with complete disregard of his own personal, as distinct from his intellectual, interests. In addition to normal human ambition Lowe boasted of "the element of impudence which I always possessed in perfection."¹ What was to prevent such a man in such a position from using his influence with *The Times* as a lever for his own personal advancement in the Government? Delane probably felt that Lowe's sources of information, his skill as a writer, and the range of his knowledge justified his being given exceptional treatment.

Lowe was a querulous man, and the grumbler frequently peered out from his articles. In politics he gave the impression that he was fighting not only his political opponents but also a spiteful fate. Being an albino, he was always threatened with the loss of his eyesight. In 1866 he wrote to Delane of "my isolated position in politics, my unpopularity with the lower orders, the absence of any family connexion to support me." Yet in spite of these handicaps Lowe achieved a very remarkable position in politics—though not perhaps one that did full justice to his remarkable abilities. Gladstone once wrote to him: "I

¹ Lowe, as Lord Sherbrooke, to Lady Derby, November, 1883. *Life*, II, 465.

ALEXANDER ANDREW KNOX

think the clearness, power and promptitude of your intellect are in one respect a difficulty and a danger to you. You see everything in a burning, almost a scorching light." That may have explained the many enemies that Lowe made in public life, but it was a great, a potent gift for a journalist. At least it helps to explain not only why Walter and Delane thought so highly of him but why he was allowed to combine a successful public career with service in Printing House Square.

Another prominent leader-writer of the period was Alexander Andrew Knox. He had been trained on the *Morning Chronicle* and came to *The Times* in 1846, writing on a variety of subjects, with particular force on social evils, till his appointment to the Bench at Worship Street Police Court in 1860. Where Mozley excelled in the humorous embroidery of his themes, Knox was a master of terse argument. Nevertheless, he had a sense of humour which was much appreciated by John Walter, who wrote in 1856. "K. has been suffering from boils, which he has aggravated by poulticing. I think the worry of them has made him more piquant & racy than ever."

George Wingrove Cooke, a writer who had achieved a remarkable public success as a historian while yet an undergraduate, was for six years after his return from China one of the most industrious writers on political subjects. In 1861 he unsuccessfully sought election to the House of Commons.

The departments which were closely related to Delane, though not under his direct administration, included the Parliamentary Reporting Staff, headed by J. F. Neilson, the reporters in the Courts of Law (J. B. Dasent for the Exchequer), the Police Courts (some 14 reporters), Sporting Intelligence (Ruff), Shipping, Law, Railway (Herapath) and Theatre (Oxford). Circuit reporting in 1847 was shared with the *Morning Herald*. Finally, in addition to a score of provincial agents whose services were retained by the paper a group of correspondents abroad supplied *The Times* with despatches for publication and the Editor with supplementary correspondence.

VII

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE TO 1855

ON his accession to the proprietorship of *The Times*, John Walter III, as has been seen, transferred to Mowbray Morris the functions he had hitherto exercised as Manager for his father. At the time of Morris's appointment the permanent representatives in foreign cities appear to have been few. The head of the corps was O'Reilly in Paris, who seems to have acted as a central information bureau for the entire Continent, collecting the European newspapers and to some extent editing their contents before forwarding them to Printing House Square; forwarding also the India mail received through the port of Marseilles. Carlist troubles and the dispute over the marriages in Spain and the Miguelist civil war in Portugal rendered necessary two correspondents in the Peninsula, J. B. O'Meagher¹ in Madrid and T. M. Hughes at Lisbon. The latter, however, was discharged by Morris, for, on taking up his duties, the new Manager observed from Hughes's correspondence with John Walter that "a mutual dissatisfaction has existed for some time." He was replaced by M. B. Honan, who was serving the paper at Oporto and had been so highly thought of by Alsager that he had been given some cause to hope for the reversion of O'Reilly's office in Paris. In 1848, when the Portuguese troubles subsided, Honan was sent on a special mission to Italy. Apart from an ambiguous reference to a correspondent in Rome, there seems to have been no other fully accredited representative of *The Times* in Europe, although correspondents were maintained in the U.S.A. and in India.

On his appointment as Manager, Mowbray Morris aimed first at reducing the expense of the foreign service, which, like the

¹ A report (Archives Nationales, F18, No. 550) on O'Meagher, written for the French Government in 1858, when he was in Paris, asserts that he was the son of Barry Edward O'Meara, whose not very creditable connexion with *The Times* is described in Vol I, pp. 221 *et seq.*

ENLIVEN THE PAPER

expresses, had, in John Walter's opinion, been extravagantly managed, but he was soon forced to oppose courses and to expand this service. Before his appointment it would seem that *The Times* relied for news of most foreign countries upon agents—English residents, generally engaged in commerce or possibly in diplomacy—who would from time to time transmit bundles of newspapers to O'Reilly in Paris, and perhaps send an occasional direct account of some startling event. Morris gradually superseded some of these minor auxiliaries by whole-time servants of the paper, and within a few years of his appointment as Manager, L Filmore was established in Berlin, and T O'M Bird in Vienna. But it was some time before the paper was reconciled to maintaining a number of permanent offices. The system of agents still provided an economical way of securing first-hand news from places in which events were not of continuous interest to the British public. These agents could be elevated into correspondents in times of crisis. On March 30, 1850, Morris wrote to Walter of a certain Mackenna who had at one time been agent in Bombay.

It has struck me that he might be useful as a stationary agent at Aix or Brussels for the collection & transmission of German news. Such an agent will I think be necessary when we withdraw our Vienna & Berlin correspondents, & he must be a person of experience with a full knowledge of the sort of things a newspaper requires. Honesty & sufficient sense to guard him against being humbugged are the qualities which our man must have, & beyond these I doubt if any great ability would be of much advantage.

Nevertheless, with fierce competition from other newspapers, *The Times* had to fight hard to maintain its supremacy in a sphere in which it had long been pre-eminent. In 1849 Henry Reeve complained to Morris that he relied "for Berlin information on the correspondent of the *Chronicle*." Moreover, the paper required interesting first-hand news from abroad to save it from becoming dull. When Parliament was in Session, a newspaper of eight pages (apart from supplements) had to devote two, and sometimes more, to the report of the debates. As Morris pointed out to Filmore: "The debates must of course be inserted, and as they are dull enough to most readers, we must do our best to enliven the paper with other matter. I think you can help us in this endeavour." The manner in which this object

might be achieved was explained to another correspondent at the time of his appointment "Your letters should be descriptive of the physical, moral and intellectual state of the people, the forms of local government, the state of commerce and agriculture, and all this should be given as a plain unvarnished tale I recommend you to eschew fine writing, which is generally out of place in a newspaper."

The recipient of this letter was P. O'Brien, who, after acting for some time as agent in Constantinople, was promoted to be correspondent in the Eastern Mediterranean. His career, however, was brief and unhappy. In May, 1850, he was reprimanded by Morris for accepting a decoration from King Otto of Greece—"the matter unfortunately has not escaped notice from our contemporaries who have mentioned it in a very disagreeable way." But he continued to offend, and the two letters subjoined sufficiently explain his downfall and illuminate certain ethical principles of the *Times* foreign service :

July 25th, 1850.

Your letter . . . obliges me to make you a communication which must be mutually unpleasant. After the advice I gave you in my last with reference to the independence of your correspondence, I did not anticipate that you would enter upon a tour of Greece in a royal yacht placed at your disposal by the King expressly for that purpose. Did it not occur to you at the time His Majesty made the proposal mentioned in your letter, that your acceptance of it must place you in a position of apparent, if not actual, dependence upon the Government for your means of information, & that your correspondence would consequently bear the character in public estimation of a public report rather than of a private & impartial communication? You are now perfectly well known in Athens as the correspondent of *The Times* & the favorable notice you have received at the Athenian Court has already given rise to more than enough detraction from your political opponents. In such a state of things it behoved you to exercise great caution in your relations with public personages, & whatever use you might make of them, not to let it appear that they made use of you. It is one of the essential duties of a newspaper correspondent to conceal as much as possible from the public the sources of his information & not to give the slightest grounds for his enemies to establish a case of partiality against him. I know that the performance of this duty under the circumstances is difficult, & I admit that your position has been more than usually delicate; but there arose a greater necessity for circumspection, & for greater ingenuity in avoiding the suspicion of partiality.

MORRIS DISMISSES O'BRIEN

I am sorry to observe that your later letters evince a total forgetfulness of your position, if not an absolute misapprehension of your duties.

Such being my opinion, you will be prepared to hear that we cannot receive communications made under such circumstances as I have described, & that your letters written from on board the royal yacht will be considered as unwritten.

This however being your first breach of the rules which we require to be observed by our correspondents, you will receive this letter as a simple admonition.

O'Brien maintaining silence, Morris wrote on October 10 :

It is impossible to regard you any longer as an independent spectator of passing events, or to place confidence in your record of them. Your acceptance of an idle decoration at the hands of the Greek Government, & your proposal to make the tour of Greece in a vessel placed by His Majesty at your disposal, followed up, as they have been, by private and public letters which make it appear beyond a doubt that you are entirely in the hands of the Athenian Court—these circumstances leave us no alternative but to dismiss you from the service of *The Times*.¹

The rule which demanded independence in the correspondents spared no offender. When the old campaigner, Honan, was at Naples, his son secured a diplomatic post under the Neapolitan Government, and he himself at the same moment ceased to write for the paper. "We do not say," wrote Morris, "that his silence and the appointment are positively connected as cause and effect; but the world has not hesitated to say so, and it is undoubtedly true that your conduct has brought some discredit on the paper." He was dismissed.

Another instance of the deportment towards Governments enjoined by Morris upon his foreign correspondents may be found in a letter addressed to O'Reilly on September 14, 1847. At that date *The Times* had been seriously alienated from Louis Philippe and his Ministers by the controversy over the Spanish marriages. The telegraph from Paris was still a luxury controlled by the

¹ Years afterwards O'Brien turned up again in St. Petersburg, trying to trade on his connexion with *The Times*. Mowbray Morris, writing to Sutherland Edwards on December 12, 1863, described him as "one of the most unincorrigible scoundrels I ever knew. With little education, no great natural ability, and a strong tinge of cowardice, he has contrived to make his way into places where really good men would be glad to find themselves. Long ago, he corresponded with *The Times* from Greece, but he was soon found out, and his official connexion ceased absolutely. That, however, did not prevent his writing frequently to the Editor, and holding himself out in foreign communities as a confidential correspondent of *The Times*. I hope you will never lose an opportunity of setting people right as regards this little blackleg."

Government, and it was necessary to treat diplomatically for its use. Morris wrote to O'Reilly as follows :

With respect to the Duc Decazes & his favorable dispositions towards *The Times*, I see no objection to your availing yourself of them to the fullest extent, short of sacrificing the independence of the paper. If he is willing to grant you any favors upon terms which you, having regard solely to the interests of the paper both pecuniary & otherwise, think you can safely & honorably accept, I leave it to your discretion to do so. As a general principle, it is always better to buy than to beg or to borrow. An obligation is after all but a debt of an indefinite extent, in which the obligor & obligee are almost sure to differ when the question of settlement comes on, whereas, if you agree to pay for what you receive, when the payment is made, the matter is at an end. If the Duke, or any other powerful person in France expects to induce *The Times* to take a more favorable view of the Orleans policy in the peninsula or elsewhere, he must adopt other means than civility, or even more substantial favors, to accomplish that end. You must be upon your guard, lest any such expectation be encouraged by any act, however apparently trivial, on your part. The Duke perhaps, should you ask for the use of the electric telegraph, will give you to understand whether or not he expects anything in return which we can safely promise. If the affair could be arranged as a matter of bargain & sale, I should much prefer it; & I authorize you to pay any reasonable sum. Of course I dont expect that you will be able to bibe the Government; I mean simply that you are to avoid, as far as possible, incurring any indefinite obligation to them.

The French Government had reason at this time to attempt to win O'Reilly over, for the correspondent had been in close touch with Bulwer, the British Minister in Madrid, when the latter was endeavouring to frustrate French designs in the marriage question. On September 26, 1846, Bulwer wrote to O'Reilly, to whom it seems he had been communicating the substance of his official dispatches :

Of course it would have been irregular for me to have given these documents to you; though the advantage gained by your knowing the truth, and having such a powerful engine to use it, was far greater than to compensate for any technical irregularity. There are persons however much more rigid than myself about these matters, and it does not do to offend them. The article in your paper, as to the dark mystery of the marriage scene at the Palace, has produced a great effect—so great that they have determined to alter the facts, and I understand have got up by changing dates &c a different story from the real one . . .

MORRIS AS CORRESPONDENT

O'Reilly had served the paper in Paris for many years, and was the intimate friend of Delane—an intimacy of which the Editor wrote that it had been bequeathed to him by his predecessors Barnes and Bacon. He had done the main work in exposing the Bogle conspiracy in 1840. Mowbray Morris, however, found reason from the first to complain not only of the quality of his correspondence, but also of his personal extravagance.¹ In March, 1848, he was summoned to Printing House Square and reprimanded, but an improvement on which he was complimented in June was not maintained, and at the end of the year Morris went over to Paris and dismissed him. Delane acquiesced in the decision, for he found "J.W. quite as much bent as Morris upon replacing poor O'Reilly"; but the correspondent left with a sense of grievance against the new management, which he accused of personal ill-feeling towards him. He died in August, 1862.

Morris remained in Paris for some weeks and gave further proof of his versatility by himself supplying the paper with inside information—mostly gleaned from Cavaignac—about the Presidential election. Meanwhile he summoned O'Meagher from Madrid, and installed him in the vacant place. It would seem that O'Meagher was not personally known at Printing House Square, and on December 5 Morris wrote home to the Editor a description of the man:

My opinion of O'Meagher is on the whole favorable. His manners are more foreign than English, & he has great self-possession. He is full of Spanish anecdote, & is very good company. I think he is a man of business habits, & I doubt if he could be easily taken in with regard to any subject which he understood. But he is quite a stranger in Paris. He knows nobody, & cannot find his way about the streets. He speaks indifferent French, but I fancy he knows the language well enough. His wife is a Frenchwoman. She is not with him & I regret it, for if he is to assume a position in society, her calibre is almost as important as his own. My opinion is, that we run a risk in giving the post to O'Meagher without trial . . . He was never in the Queen's service, but only in the legion.² There, he was paymaster of one of the divisions. . . . He tells

¹ An official of the French Foreign Office is stated to have received 1,000 francs a month for supplying news to *The Times* correspondent. The name given is O'Meagher, but if the date given is correct, this must be a mistake for O'Reilly. (Archives Nationales F.18, No. 544-*b*, Lettre No. 189.)

² *I.e.*, not in the service of the Queen of Spain but in De Lacy Evans's force which fought against the Carlists in 1835-39. It was perhaps in this capacity that he met Michael Mitchell, who was then writing for *The Times*, and who later became a French secret Press agent. See Chapter XII.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE TO 1855

me a great deal about Bulwer, all tending to show their intimate relations together

Delane had previously written to Morris arguing that O'Meagher's inexperience in Paris would be no great handicap, owing to the rapidity with which the French political scene was changing. The appointment was duly made, and, after a visit to Paris, Delane admitted to Dasent that "O'Meagher & his wife¹ are great improvements upon O'R[eilly] & M[rs.] King." Nevertheless there was more than one indication of friction during O'Meagher's early years in Paris to justify the Manager's apprehensions. The trouble then seems to have been O'Meagher's lack of political independence. While he was at Madrid in 1848 Walter had complained of his subservience to Bulwer, and in 1852 he was accused of making himself a mere mouthpiece of Louis Napoleon. On February 9 of that year Morris wrote to him

Your letters during the last five or six weeks contain little more than the President's decrees, the official announcements of the *Moniteur*, & the periodical accounts of the state of trade. I look in vain for any description of the state of feeling in Paris, or of the manner in which Louis Napoleon's acts have been received by the educated classes. For aught that you have told us, our readers might believe that France is indifferent to or even approves the outrages that have been committed upon her liberties & her laws. The Editor indeed has been careful to prevent any such impression ; but in order to form his own opinion, he has been driven to other sources & means of information than the responsible ones which it was the duty of the Manager to provide. . . . He represents the Paris correspondence as worse than useless, inasmuch as it equally misleads by what it says & what it does not say.

By the same post Morris wrote to the Vienna correspondent, Bird, offering him the place, and about a year later actually went to Paris to instal Bird, but "O'Meagher was frightened into some show of sense & moderation, & his correspondence improved." He was therefore still holding his position when the following letter was written by Morris to Delane. Its occasion was yet another complaint, this time from Dr. Lardner,² an English resident in Paris who had served the paper during the Exhibition of 1851 by writing a series of descriptive letters,

¹ According to Mitchell's secret report she was a Mdlle. Bremond, modiste.

² Dionysius Lardner (1793-1859), founder and editor of the *Cabinet Cyclopaedia*.

A DANGEROUS SUGGESTION

and may have been one of the "other sources of information" relied on by the Editor in 1852. Lardner's actual charges are not on record, but "if they be true, or if you believe them to be true, the post at Paris ought to be declared vacant tomorrow. Better to have no correspondent at all & depend upon the newspapers, than keep oneself in the power of such a man as this is represented to be" Morris writes in terms that throw light directly on the special qualities then considered necessary for a Paris correspondent, and indirectly on the curiously distant relations that might then exist between the management and certain other classes of contributors.

It is curious that, whenever I have reproached him with his shortcomings, he has justified himself with great plausibility, & his letters have done him credit in point of style & temper; yet his public correspondence gives one the notion of an idle driveller . . .

The worst is, we have no substitute. Much as I like Bird, & implicitly as I would confide in his courage & honesty, I do not think him strong enough for the place. The very quality which probably attaches one to him as friend renders him perhaps unfit for such a post as Paris, where a man is exposed to so many temptations. He has too much sensibility. As for his personal vanity, it is sufficiently harmless, & I don't think the stock is so large as to attract attention among Parisians. You see we can't afford to make too many experiments. If we take an unknown & untried man, we place ourself at a disadvantage in case he does not suit; for we must disclose to him all the secrets of our Paris office, & invest him for the time with the character of a regular correspondent. It is not like trying a leader writer or a review writer; he may fail & know nothing about us, not even our names.

No reply to this letter has survived, and it does not appear whether any attempt was made to find a substitute for O'Meagher. But the close of the year 1853 found England in alliance with the Bonaparte Empire against the Russians; the whole of *The Times* foreign service, and Bird not least, were working at high pressure, and it may be supposed that everybody was too busy to give much thought to rearrangement of personnel. At any rate O'Meagher continued in Paris until increasing years compelled his retirement.

Meanwhile Bird was having difficulties with the Austrian Government. *The Times* had on the whole favoured the Austrians in their troubles in 1848, and gave them its full support against the Hungarians. Indeed, the paper had faced not a little abuse

at home on account of its hostility towards Kossuth. When the Hungarian insurrection was some months old and no Englishman had been able to penetrate to the seat of war,¹ Delane wrote to Lord Aberdeen to inform him that a correspondent was being sent out "to make rather an extended tour through the country to discuss the questions, and to describe the scenes, of which we have lately heard so much and known so little." The correspondent chosen was Andrew Archibald Paton, an authority on affairs in the Near East who had served in a number of diplomatic posts in Syria, Egypt and South-East Europe. He was personally known to Prince Metternich and was armed with a letter of introduction from him to Schwarzenberg. Delane wanted also some letters from Aberdeen, since, "if Paton falls into good hands, his correspondence will not only be very interesting, but will tend to produce a healthy state of feeling upon Austrian affairs here." Aberdeen willingly complied, and at once brought Paton into touch with Baron Neumann. He wrote: "The Austrian Minister has been assured by me that your Correspondent must write the truth; but that he will always do so with a friendly feeling towards Austria."

Technically Paton was not a great success, and his mission under such auspices could not fail to offend the pro-Hungarian circles in London. The campaign of abuse against *The Times* became intensified. Delane, on holiday, wrote to Dasent that he had heard "frightful things of some pamphlet which I have not yet seen accusing us all of bribery"; but he was not inclined to take a serious view of the matter, and consoled Dasent "Don't be cast down by the abuse of the other papers, they can't hurt us materially & their interest is manifest to everybody. Besides, how few see them!"

Nevertheless *The Times* was not prepared to support reaction and tyranny, and the terrorism indulged in by the Austrian Government soon lost them its friendship. Bird was congratulated upon his vigorous writing. "We are all extremely well pleased at the turn you have taken, for plain-speaking is our forte & the cause of constitutional liberty has always been that of *The Times*

¹ Charles Pridham had offered his services to *The Times*, but Morris refused him an appointment as he believed it to be impossible to penetrate to the Hungarian Army. Pridham went out on his own initiative and failed to produce much that was worthy of the paper's attention. On returning to England he entered into an acrimonious correspondence with Morris on money matters, and afterwards alleged that *The Times* suppressed his letters because he favoured Hungary (*Cf. Kossuth and The Times*, by C F. Henningsen, and *Kossuth and Magyar Land*, by Charles Pridham, both 1851.)

A RAID ON BIRD

also "¹ Showing no gratitude for past good will, the Austrians now sought to victimize the Correspondent by withholding from him the facilities of official news-services "A fig for the Austrian Government!" said Mowbray Morris, *The Times* could manage without the official bureaux.

Bird, however, rather overstepped the limit of discretion and in January, 1851, Morris recommended him "not to be too violent in opposition, nor too indiscriminate in your censure." The breach thus created remained an open wound, which from time to time gave Bird considerable trouble. In July, 1853, his house was entered by Austrian police and his papers seized : Mowbray Morris assured him on the 18th of that month of the support of the paper, and probably of the British Government, in resisting injustice. Presumably this annoyance was satisfactorily surmounted, but at the end of 1854 Bird was so conscious of the hostility of the diplomats that he considered himself debarred from a proper discharge of his functions, and wrote to resign his post. Morris, however, replied with an earnest exhortation to try to patch up the quarrel :

It is an old & prudent saying that the poor cannot afford themselves the luxury of disputing with their neighbours. For "poor" I would suggest "foreign correspondents." They ought to be on good terms with every one who can by any possibility or at any time, present or future, do them a good turn. To preserve this universal good understanding they must make occasional sacrifices & even sometimes pocket an affront. (December 25, 1854.)

Bird profited by this advice, and on the 6th of January following Morris was writing to congratulate him on the end of the quarrel. But the news coming through Austria cannot have been entirely satisfactory. This was the more serious, since, throughout the Eastern crisis and the Crimean War, all news from the East intended for the telegraph passed through Vienna.

In 1853, in fact, public interest centred upon Constantinople. After the dismissal of O'Brien, *The Times* had no agent upon whom it could call, and Mowbray Morris willingly accepted the offer of the services of Dr. Humphry Sandwith, the physician with a small practice in Constantinople, who has already been mentioned in Chapter V.² This appointment proved unfortunate, for Sandwith was an ardent Turcophil and was soon believed to be under the influence of Lord Stratford, while *The Times* was pacific and

¹ Morris to Bird, December 21, 1850, (P.H.S. M. 2/54.)

² See page 113.

hostile towards the Ambassador.¹ Like many Englishmen who dwelt in the East, Sandwith's fear of the Russian menace was exaggerated, and, though he had friends at the Embassy, it does not appear that his opinions owed anything to official encouragement. Indeed Lord Stratford seems to have disliked him personally, and his connexion with the offensive paper was unlikely to endear him to the Ambassador. Subordinate officials gave him pieces of news from time to time, though less generously than to the correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*; but Stratford himself refused to have anything to say to him in his capacity as *The Times* Correspondent. Sanwdith declared that "the Ambassador owing a grudge to *The Times* has positively withheld all aid whatever" and added that he did not like to mention this to *The Times*, as they might expect his position to give him access to the Embassy.² When the office considered his correspondence unsatisfactory owing to its lack of news, he tried to create the impression that he had many sources of information and would be able soon to do better.

He therefore cast about for other confidential sources, and wrote in consequence to the Turkish Foreign Minister. He had once been introduced to Reshid Pasha and now informed him that he had become *The Times* Correspondent. He added that, as there was "une entente parfaite" between Great Britain and Turkey, he would be grateful to receive communications for insertion in the paper. "I took this note in my hand," he told Layard, "and called. I was received perfectly well, had a good deal of conversation and was requested to call again from time to time. Reshid rose and shook hands in parting." Sandwith, fresh from his interview with Reshid, was able to say of Stratford "I don't want his help and if he ever wants mine he shant have it." But he soon found that the Turkish Minister was a broken reed, for "he is entirely under the command of the Elchie (*sic*) and dare not give me information."³ He was glad therefore when, in September, the Ambassador sent for him "to tell me something to write about," and even invited him to dinner, "an unheard of thing nowadays." But Stratford's sudden friendliness came too late. Morris had lost patience with the poor quality of Sandwith's letters, and

¹ The rumours regarding Sandwith's connexion with the Embassy had wide currency in England, but seem in fact to have had little foundation. See Chapter V, "*The Times* and Lord Aberdeen."

² Sandwith to Layard, September 11, 1853 (B M , MSS. Addl. 38982/60)

³ *Ibid.*

CHENERY GOES EAST

Delane was dissatisfied with the opinions they expressed. It is to the point to note that his Turcophil sentiments were attributed by the Editor to "the British Ambassador and the handful of English and refugees at Constantinople."¹ Sandwith's reticence regarding his quarrel with Stratford thus played him false and he found himself blamed for a connexion, the lack of which had for months been causing him many difficulties.

Delane's letter was written on September 5, and an early excuse to get rid of the unsatisfactory correspondent was seized. Sandwith left his post about September 14 to attend on his patron, Lord Carlisle, who was lying ill at Rhodes. He appointed John Barklay as his substitute, and Morris wrote on October 14 that the substitute's work had been so satisfactory, and it was so impossible for *The Times* to work with a correspondent on whose services it had not the first claim, that he was asking Barklay to assume henceforth the position of a principal. Sandwith quitted in a huff and spread the news of his ill-treatment through Constantinople. The comment of Charles Alison of the Embassy staff upon the affair was significant: "Sandwith had an impudent letter from some writer in the *Times* newspaper dismissing him. It appears that S. would not lie for them."

The appointment of Barklay did not solve the problem of the Constantinople correspondent. He did the work excellently² but he was unable to accept any regular engagement. Sandwith rejected a proposal to resume his functions, and Morris had recourse to a Captain Twopenny, who, though diffident about his powers, accepted a six months' engagement from December 1. Before long, however, his own doubts of his powers became shared in Printing House Square, and Morris determined on yet another change. Laurence Oliphant, whose book describing his travel experiences in Russia had been highly praised in *The Times*, wrote to Delane to offer a series of articles on the frontier provinces of Russia. In reply he received a letter from Morris arguing that his writings on the spot would be more valuable, and offering him the post at Constantinople. But Oliphant went shortly on Lord Elgin's staff to Canada. In the last days of the war he turned up in Asia and sent two volunteer communications from Trebizond and Sanchowm Kalep. Meanwhile Morris wrote to Twopenny,

¹ P H S Papers, D 5/37; Dasent, I, 158.

² Sandwith bitterly remarked: "It so happened that Barklay's letters were full of sarcasms and clever too, on Turkey, and that of course delighted them" (*i.e.*, *The Times*).

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE TO 1855

in the friendliest terms, to announce his supersession by Thomas Chenery, who was to arrive in Constantinople about March 7, 1854. Chenery was a young barrister of scholarly tastes and high literary ability This new arrangement solved the problem, for he proved himself a brilliant correspondent. Thus on the eve of the war *The Times* was at last worthily served at Constantinople, and Chenery took his place in the corps which, including W H. Russell at the front, was to mark an epoch in journalism.

VIII

JOURNALISM DEFINED

THE power of *The Times* to stimulate, to anticipate, and on occasion to organize public opinion had by 1850 been recognized for a full generation in official circles at home and abroad. French Governments were especially conscious of this power. In Barnes's time the paper was much feared for its criticisms of the policy of Louis Philippe and, hence, as much courted. There were rumours, perhaps echoes of O'Meara's allegations made in 1822, that *The Times* could always be affected by French money.¹ The Quai d'Orsay certainly took a deep interest in the conduct of newspapers, English as well as French, and encouraged the London Embassy to cultivate advantageous relations with journalists. Louis Napoleon's dislike of Press criticism became a personal matter. He probably thought that, although Palmerston's approval of the *coup d'état* expressed to the French Ambassador had brought about his fall, a considerable body of influential English opinion was favourable to his assumption of power in December, 1851. He particularly resented the leading articles which *The Times* published immediately after the *coup* and made every endeavour to secure their discontinuance, both by means of his own underground machinery and by remonstrating with the British Government.² The paper's judgment, expressed on the 26th, was that Palmerston ought to go since he had sponsored "a man who had extinguished freedom among the most advanced nations of the continent." Palmerston replied in the columns of Borthwick's *Morning Post*.³ The first half of

¹ See Vol I, Chapter XIII, "The Goal of Independence," pp. 217*f.*

² When Lord Cowley presented his credentials, the Prince-President told him that only the behaviour of the British Press could jeopardize peace. "If a rupture was to arise on account of its violence," he said, "the fault would be with half a dozen individuals." (Cowley to Granville, February 20, 1852; Fitzmaurice, I, p. 67.)

³ The *Morning Post* was at this time edited by Peter Borthwick (M.P. for Evesham 1831-1841, 1847-1849) in succession to C. E. Michele, who, as owner and editor, had resigned the property in 1849 to Thomas Crompton, the paper-maker and mortgagor. The *Post* had a daily sale of 2,657 in 1850. Palmerston's connexion with the *Post* began in 1849. He is found supplying intelligence in return for editorial support before October of that year. The bargain was beneficial to the circulation of the *Post*. (Cf. R. Lucas, *Glenesk and the Morning Post*.)

JOURNALISM DEFINED

the year 1852 witnessed much activity in the Press department of the French Foreign Office and that of the French Embassy.

Louis Napoleon fully understood the supreme importance of *The Times* as a formative influence upon British public opinion. While in exile in London during 1847 and 1848 he sent the Editor of *The Times* secret communications in the interests of his political position¹. It may have been known in Paris that *The Times* account of the *coup d'état* came from Tocqueville through Reeve, but it was not understood at the Quai d'Orsay that *The Times* was so genuinely committed to middle-class ideas of freedom that Louis Napoleon's acts were inevitably regarded at Printing House Square as outrages upon the liberty of the French nation. Both Delane and Walter were in fact deeply moved. Sir John Cam Hobhouse found the Editor "violently opposed to" the usurper, because, significantly enough, the people butchered by the soldiers "were not Socialists but the middle class."² Walter for his part was gratified to think that the Prince-President read *The Times* and that it would "make him dance round the room with rage." Nevertheless, the Paris officials were prone to suspect that *The Times* attacked a new political personage at home or abroad only when the diplomatic agents had either not tried or had failed to procure the initiation of correct and effective relations with the paper's personnel. Walewski, therefore, was instructed to make arrangements which would lead to the modification of the line of *The Times*. Thereupon he interviewed Granville, the young Whig who had just succeeded as Foreign Secretary, on the subject of *The Times* attitude on December 26, 1851.³

Granville, rather because he was seriously perturbed lest there were a rupture than from any love for Louis Napoleon, found an occasion to remonstrate with Reeve. He was well acquainted with the leader-writer⁴ and thought perhaps that the attitude of *The Times* was due to his personal bias. On January 17, 1852, having to thank Reeve for sending him some news of French politics, he seized the chance to add :

I hear that Louis Napoleon is irritated and annoyed beyond measure by the language of *The Times*. However deserved such castigation may

¹ Cf. B.M., MSS. Addl. 22723/31-32, printed in F. A. Simpson, *The Rise of Louis Napoleon*, 1929, pp. 264 and 276

² Hobhouse Diary, December 6, 1851 (B.M. MSS., Addl. 43756/79)

³ His report to the French Foreign Office. (A.E. Corresp. Politique Angleterre, Vol. 684.)

⁴ Fitzmaurice (*Granville*, I, p. 68) describes them as on "intimate personal relations"

I'm writing to M^r the Redaction
in Times on behalf of mine.
letter of my interrupting you
I've seen in Paris. It goes
to further on who has
written me but I
do not always ignore
the source of other
communication

Napoleon Louis Bragny
31 King St. St James Sq.

LIBERTY AND RESPONSIBILITY

be, it will be a serious responsibility to goad him on to acts of violence which may be seriously inconvenient to us.¹

Reeve showed this note to Delane, and next day sent Granville a reasoned reply that was the first letter in a correspondence which culminated in a public expression by *The Times* of its conception of the doctrine of the freedom of the Press and a statement of its theory of the relations between journalism and statesmanship. Reeve disclosed that he had already received a call from Flahault, a very distinguished Bonapartist, who, residing in England, was believed to be the President's agent in a more personal sense than Walewski, to protest against the violence of certain letters in *The Times*, which Reeve himself deplored. But he went on

The responsibility of journalists is in proportion to the liberty they enjoy. No moral obligation can be graver. But their duties are not the same, I think, as those of statesmen. To find out the true state of facts, to report them with fidelity, to apply to them strict and fixed principles of justice, humanity, and law, to inform, as far as possible, the very conscience of nations and to call down the judgement of the world on what is false, or base, or tyrannical, appear to me to be the first duties of those who write. Those upon whom the greater part of political action devolves are necessarily governed by other rules.

In this particular case, I further see advantage from the course of a fair and independent judgement on these affairs. It will not perhaps be forgotten by France, when her press recovers its voice, and her real leaders their power, that the public opinion of England protested with indignation against the violence done to her neighbour; and as I believe this eclipse of liberty in France to be ephemeral as it is violent, it would be a permanent source of resentment abroad if this country had not expressed what every free people must feel on such an occasion.

Nor is it in my opinion useless or unnecessary to keep alive in England a strong feeling on this subject. This nation is a good deal enervated by a long peace, by easy habits of intercourse, by peace societies and false economy. To surmount the dangerous consequences of such a state, the Government will require the support of public opinion, and that can only be obtained by convincing our countrymen of the truth that we have now a dangerous and faithless neighbour. Happen what may, there is nothing so important as to sustain a tone of moral independence and a clear judgement among the people of England, who will grudge no sacrifices if they are convinced that the principles they cherish are even indirectly threatened from abroad.

¹ Laughton, I, p. 250.

JOURNALISM DEFINED

Granville made a rather inconclusive reply and sent a copy, together with Reeve's letter, to Delane. The Editor was of the same mind as his subordinate To Reeve on January 19 he wrote :

Our earl's reply is not very felicitous It comes to no more than thus : that his duty is not identical with ours . . . However, we can neither change our respective courses He need not substitute leading articles for civil despatches, nor can we bore and perplex our readers with materials for a blue book. So let us each keep our own line

Delane's letter to Granville sheds much light upon his belief in liberty of the Press and should be read in its entirety

Serjeants Inn

Jany 20th 1852

Dear Lord Granville

I have read your reply to Reeve with much interest. Your parable is most ingenious but it illustrates your own position not ours.¹

You have to deal exclusively with the *de facto* Government and to accept it as the representation of the French people You have to consider its acts only as regards England and English interests and so long as it maintained relations with us you would not, I imagine, be justified in remonstrating even if a real Reign of Terror after the old pattern were restored and 100 heads a day were falling.

But this is not our case at all. So far as we write for France, we address ourselves to her people who we believe not to have forgotten in a week of panic all the lessons of liberty it has been learning in 60 years of agitation. Our readers, however, are almost exclusively English and having always tried to teach them that the extension of English institutions abroad was desirable for English interests and that the thing most to be feared was military despotism we cannot with French facility "accept the situation" and remain silent when we see all that we have been advocating ever since the Peace overthrown.

We are both equally anxious to preserve the Peace but we can't work by your means. However I will try and make our's as effective as I can & endeavour to avoid what are called "irritating topics" But how a people which can tolerate Louis Napoleon can be "irritated" by anything we can write I can't imagine.

¹ See Fitzmaurice, I, p. 68, for Granville's letter In his parable the Foreign Secretary compares himself and *The Times* to two servants of the same master. Admitting he had no right to quarrel with language he knew to be true and often salutary, he questioned only the expediency of its use in the particular instance.

WALEWSKI ON THE TIMES

As you have had one long letter I did not mean to inflict another on you but I can safely promise never to offend in like case again.

Believe me

Dear Lord Granville

Very faithfully yrs

JOHN T. DELANE.¹

In the meantime Walewski, pressed for results by his Minister, wrote direct to Louis Napoleon on January 30, 1852 :

. . . Someone has told you, Prince, that the hostility of *The Times* and the *Morning Chronicle* was provoked by pecuniary subsidies. Nothing could be more false than such an assertion and believe me, on such an important subject I would not make a statement without being absolutely certain. It is possible that third-class papers like the *Sun*, *Standard* etc etc. might be purchased. But the enterprises of *The Times* and *Morning Chronicle* are backed by too big capital, their political management is in too many hands, for it to be possible to buy them for any price whatever; especially when it is a matter that so closely concerns national interests as at present.

The prosperity of *The Times* is founded on its very large number of readers, who give it more advertisements than to any other newspaper. Moreover, it is an axiom among the founders of this paper that to retain a great number of readers one must anticipate public opinion, keep it alive, animate it, but never break a lance against it and give way every time it declares itself in any direction and even when it changes its attitude to change with it. In other periods, Prince, and on several occasions, extraordinary efforts were made to prevent *The Times* and the *Morning Chronicle* from attacking King Louis-Philippe

In 1840, for instance, it was not a question of completely converting these newspapers from their attitude but merely of softening the attacks against the person of the monarch. Very clever men were employed in this negotiation, a credit was placed at their disposal, but all their efforts were fruitless. Articles in *The Times* signed *Chamoil*² caused Louis-Philippe the greatest grief yet he was unable to prevent their publication. Although less so than in France, political men in England

¹ P.R.O., G.D. 29/18; printed by Fitzmaurice (I, pp. 68-69), with slight variants and the omission of the last sentence. The letter, however, is erroneously attributed to Reeve.

² *The Times*, November 20, 1839. "Chamoil" is not a known pseudonym, and the identity of the writer has not been traced. The article may have been written by Lewis Goldsmith, who was at this time an occasional correspondent in Paris, supplementing the dispatches of O'Reilly. Goldsmith was also at this time one of the British secret agents, but it is unlikely that the Foreign Office or the British Embassy in Paris knew of his connexion with Printing House Square. For further details of Goldsmith see Vol. I of this work, pp. 221, 491. Cf. also Sources, *infra*.

JOURNALISM DEFINED

are sufficiently anxious about newspaper criticism to have tried often to buy an organ so widely circulated as *The Times*, but they always failed. Sometimes, by personal influence, positions and other baits, men have succeeded in influencing its policy, but with money, never, and for the simple reason that to give money effectively it would be necessary to persuade the Newspaper Company to accept it, which is not feasible, and, if one gets it accepted by individuals, one would be duped, because they would have sold something which is not at their disposal.

I know very well that some newspaper editors, among others even the editor of the *Morning Post*, complain continually that *The Times* is venal; but venal in the sense that it has no political convictions, thinks only of shop, is not influenced either by the country's interests or the desire to impose its own opinions, but merely by what it considers profitable to its business; yes, doubtless! But venal in the sense that its policy can be influenced with money, that is absolutely false and I defy anyone to achieve that result even with a considerable sum of money.

Up till now, the English Government gives evidence of the most sincere desire to maintain not only good but even intimate relations with us. The effect of the Cabinet's attitude on public opinion is rather powerful, and if we consent to their proposal to collaborate in trying to persuade the United States to give up the possession of Cuba, this joint action, of high political morality one may say, will produce a very salutary impression on English minds and induce them more than anything in the world to relinquish the false suspicions that mislead them. . . .¹

What Louis Napoleon himself thought of his Ambassador's statement of the Press situation is not available, but from an unsigned memorandum undated (probably also written early in 1852) filed in the special folder marked "Le *Times*," now kept in the Archives Nationales, it would seem that Napoleon caused a Secret Service official (of high rank, to judge by the impertinence of the "Portrait" which concludes his memorandum) to visit Walewski and report directly upon the matter. The writer, after noting that he had a quarter of an hour with the Ambassador, who once more testified that it would be difficult to exercise an

¹ Translated from the contemporary copy made by Walewski's secretary and now in the archives of the Walewski family. *The Times* has been enabled by the kindness of Monsieur Poisson to anticipate, in respect of this document, the publication of his forthcoming biography of Count Walewski. For the French text see Appendix I § 1.

VAIN INTRIGUES

influence upon the Press¹ in favour of Prince Louis Napoleon, says:

Sous Louis Philippe un million aurait été offert en vain au journal le *Times*²

Les articles sont rédigés sur des notes venues de Paris. Ces notes seraient fournies par des membres de l'ancien parti parlementaire, Odilon Barrot, Léon Faucher, avec lesquels M Reeves (*sic*) sous chef de rédaction pour les affaires Etrangères au *Times*

M. R.³ . . . demande à l'ambassadeur français de qu'on lui procurer (*sic*) une lettre de recommandation de M Léon Faucher pour M. Reeves du *Times*.

Il y a ici hostilité de la part des classes éclairées contre la personne du Prince Président. On craint l'usage qu'il peut faire de sa force contre l'Angleterre. Le Principal ennemi du Président en Angleterre est donc la peur et c'est ce sentiment que son gouvernement doit chercher à dissiper par tous les moyens possibles s'il veut arriver aux relations cordiales.

Portrait du Comte de Walewski. C'est un gentilhomme. Mais il ne paraît pas avoir la méfiance nécessaire à tout diplomate qui a des affaires à traiter avec les hommes d'état anglais

¹ In the latter part of the year Walewski, however, was able to make one arrangement satisfactory to the French "Nov 5 [1852] sent for Walewski. He confessed that the French Government paid the *Morning Post*, & that he saw Borthwick, the editor, every day" (*Memoirs of an ex-Minister*, by Lord Malmesbury, ed 1885, p 277, cf Malmesbury to Cowley, Sources, *infra*, VIII) It is not necessary to believe that the *Post* was directly paid in French cash Cf Walewski to A E, October 14, 1852 "Le meilleur moyen que nous ayons de témoigner à Mr Borthwick, directeur de cette feuille périodique, notre gratitude, c'est de lui communiquer des nouvelles ou des documents ayant qu'ils soient arrivés à la connaissance de ses collègues. Il serait donc très utile, je crois, que vous voulussiez bien me mettre à même quelquesfois de rendre ce petit service au *Morning Post*; d'ailleurs la ligne télégraphique sous-terre de Douvres à Londres, correspondant avec le télégraphe sous-marin, est sur le point d'être terminée et je suis en pourparlers avec le Directeur de la Compagnie pour la conclusion d'un arrangement qui nous permettrait d'user de cette voie sans donner lieu à de trop grands frais des lors, il sera fort aisè d'établir un service régulier de nouvelles entre le Département et l'Ambassade, dont l'utilité serait très grande à différents points de vue." Algernon Borthwick wrote to a correspondent in 1875 that "You may give the lie to any such slanderous statements as that the *Morning Post* was ever subsidized by the French Government" (Lucas) Nevertheless, when Walewski forwarded in 1853 a long statement describing his connexions with the *Morning Post*, the *Morning Herald*, and the *Standard*, he requested an increased financial grant for Press purposes The report is marked "Confidentialle" The French authorities are unable to grant permission for its complete reproduction, but it may be referred to in the archives of the A E under date February 18, 1853.

² In the *Courrier Français* of March 12, 1840, occurs the following: "Séance de la Chambre M. de Remusat a demandé aujourd'hui un crédit supplémentaire d'un million pour le service des fonds secrets. . ." It seems possible that this was the sum destined to bribe *The Times* and Remusat, one who tried to arrange the affair

³ A. M. R[oux], according to the *Almanach Impérial* for 1853, p 33, was the Chancellor of the Embassy There was also a Roux who was *éditeur attaché au cabinet du secrétaire général* (cf *Almanach Nat*, 1848-51) who was perhaps the more likely to be indicated Léon Faucher, a very old friend of Reeve's (there are more than 100 letters to him printed in F's *Correspondance* published in 1867), was Minister of the Interior from 1849, but resigned in 1851 when Louis Napoleon showed his intentions of taking absolute power. Odilon Barrot, Louis's first Prime Minister, was dismissed in 1851 as a step towards increasing the Prince's personal power.

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A côté de la peur qui règne en Angleterre, on a constaté l'existence d'un autre sentiment. C'est l'admiration pour la fermeté avec laquelle le Président a rétabli l'ordre et écrasé l'anarchie.¹

French and other efforts continuing to prove vain, *The Times* next roused the apprehensions of Clarendon, who wrote to Reeve from Dublin Castle on February 1, 1852. Like Granville, he was moved rather by fear than by friendship for Napoleon :

. . . To go on battering at him [Louis Napoleon] every day was more, I think, than was required, either by public opinion at home or by English interests abroad. How far *The Times* is now read or permitted to circulate in France I don't know, but I do know that Louis Napoleon reads it & is stung to madness by it & is probably meditating revenge in Engd for what he believes to be the expression of the contempt & abhorrence in which he is held by the English nation. Nor, rely upon it, will the people of France after a time be one jot better pleased than their autocrat. . . .

If we were invulnerable, and had an army, and navy, and rock-defended shores, we might thunder away to any extent ; but, in our present helpless state, it seems to me that to persist in irritating France is a luxury for which we may pay dearly.²

Reeve sent Clarendon a copy of his correspondence with Granville, and received in return (February 9) a demurrer to his contention that "it is the business of a newspaper to say what it thinks, every day, on all the topics of public interest, both at home and abroad."

If this is to be, irrespective of the harm it may do, it is irresponsibility as great as Louis Napoleon's; and such power as the press now possesses, if irresponsible, will become a despotism as intolerable as his.

To a Continental autocrat there were two methods of influencing the Press—bribery and terrorism. Louis Napoleon tried both. His attempts to subsidize *The Times* failed. He thereupon tried to frighten the British Government into exercising some restraint ; he seemed unaware, despite his long sojourn in London, that the British Government was not in a position to do what he wished. Nevertheless, he succeeded in frightening the statesmen. Granville and Clarendon pleaded with Reeve ; Lord Brougham wrote to Aberdeen ; finally, the whole subject was ventilated in Parliament.

¹ Paris, A N , Angleterre, F-18, No 544b.

² Clarendon Papers , printed by Laughton, who, however, modifies the text both of this and of Clarendon's second letter in important respects

Errors

Entre les deux derniers ans l'ambassadeur
français à Venise, le Gouverneur, pour qu'il ne soit pas
d'accord avec l'autorité de l'empereur, a été influencé
par le Prince ^{ROTHSCHILD} ~~MATHIAS~~.
Son nom a été apposé sur un papier ayant été envoyé
en Italie au Nom de la France.
Le article fut traduit sur des notes, dessins,
de Paris où nous avions fournis par un
membre de l'ambassade, par l'ambassadeur Adolphe Barrot
dans l'après-midi, avec lequel M. Beresko sous
le chef de rédaction pour les affaires italiennes, au

Times.

M. Beresko demanda ~~au Gouvernement~~ que
la preuve sur l'ambassadeur à Venise
fut faite pour M. Beresko dans les termes
suivants : il fut alors fait une déclaration
que M. Beresko avait été nommé
contre le préfet de police de Venise
à cause qu'il était favorable à la révolution
et à l'indépendance de l'Italie et
qu'il fut nommé au poste de préfet de police de Venise.

Report of the French Secret Service upon Count Walewski, [1852].

From the original in the Archives Nationales, Paris.

CLARENDON ON CRITICIZING NAPOLEON

Indeed, before Clarendon wrote his letter of February 9 to Reeve the whole subject was made public in the highest possible quarter in a manner that determined *The Times* to publish a clear and complete statement of its right to criticize heads of States, Ministers, and politicians of any degree. Parliament met on February 3, and in the debate on the Address leading statesmen in both Houses (the Prime Minister in the House of Commons and the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords) severely reproached the Press in language that was universally taken to be directed primarily at *The Times*. While Russell merely regretted and repudiated the tone of the Press, Lord Derby saw fit to base his attack upon the first principles of newspaper independence.

If, as in these days, the press aspires to exercise the influence of statesmen, the press should remember that they are not free from the corresponding responsibility of statesmen, and that it is incumbent on them, as a sacred duty, to maintain that tone of moderation and respect even in expressing frankly their opinions on foreign affairs which would be required of every man who pretends to guide public opinion.¹

Lord Grey, for the Government, expressed "his unqualified concurrence in every word that had fallen from the noble earl"; Lord Brougham "entirely agreed with his noble friends"; only Lord Harrowby put in a word for freedom of speech. The effect of this patent subservience to foreign menaces was, from the statesmen's point of view, not very happy. The particular organs of Russell and Derby (the *Globe* and the *Herald*) fell into line; other journals pointed out that if England was in a position to be browbeaten, it was the duty of the Government to reform not the Press, but the Army. Only *The Times* seized the opportunity to state boldly its journalistic creed.

Although, as we have seen, Delane and Reeve had already had occasion privately to adumbrate their principles, Delane consulted Walter before replying in the leading columns of the paper to the attacks of the Peers. He suggested that Lowe should be entrusted with the brief for *The Times*. Walter answered in an undated letter:

I agree with you in thinking that Bob would be the winner of the "Derby," and some answer is certainly called for to so violent an

¹ In 1857 Malmesbury noted that "Lord Derby has never been able to realize the sudden growth and power of the Political Press, for which he has no partiality" (*Memoirs*, p. 400). Hence his persistent attacks upon *The Times*, until Disraeli educated him into a different opinion; during his last ministry he entered into personal relations with Delane.

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attack What course, I should like to know, would Lord Derby have prescribed to the Press between the 2nd and 23rd of December, when, as he says, the French people gave in their adhesion to the President? Was it humbly to wait in silence for their decision—and frame its judgement according to circumstances?

A very good article might be written, pointing out the different functions of statesmen and journalists, and showing that although journalists may aspire to be statesmen, still their responsibility is due not to foreign governments, but to the British public, who will say what they think whether cabinets feel themselves hampered or not.

The defence, or, rather, the counter-attack, appeared in two parts : one leading article on February 6, 1852, and another on February 7. It was written on the lines indicated by Walter and developed the doctrine already enunciated by Reeve. It was therefore the product of two of the best intelligences among the leader-writers, the result of much deliberation on the part of Walter and Delane. It was a closely reasoned statement of the position which the paper had taken towards statesmen since the time of John Walter II and of Barnes. The articles, taken together, form the best and most explicit justification of the duty of the Press to criticize public men which *The Times* ever printed. The paper totally repudiated Lord Derby's whole doctrine of the equivalence of responsibility between statesmen and journalists, for the very nature of their duties was in complete contrast. The passages which follow illustrate the argument :

The statesman collects his information secretly and by secret means ; he keeps back even the current intelligence of the day with ludicrous precautions, until diplomacy is beaten in the race with publicity. The press lives by disclosures ; whatever passes into its keeping becomes a part of the knowledge and the history of our times , it is daily and for ever appealing to the enlightened force of public opinion—anticipating, if possible, the march of events—standing upon the breach between the present and the future, and extending its survey to the horizon of the world. The statesman's duty is precisely the reverse. He cautiously guards from the public eye the information by which his actions and opinions are regulated , he reserves his judgment on passing events till the latest moment, and then he records it in obscure or conventional language ; he strictly confines himself, if he be wise, to the practical interests of his own country, or to those bearing immediately upon it ; he hazards no rash surmises as to the future ; and he concentrates in his own transactions all that power which the press seeks to diffuse over the world. The duty of the one is to speak ; of the other to be

“ESSENTIALLY FREE”

silent. The one expends itself in discussion ; the other tends to action. The one deals mainly with rights and interests , the other with opinions and sentiments. The former is necessarily reserved , the latter essentially free.

The writer then proceeded to make claims for the journalist such as would have seemed sheer megalomania in the youth of many statesmen then still living In particular they must have outraged the susceptibilities of Brougham :

The triumph of his opinions is not accompanied by the applause of a party or the success of a struggle for patronage and power. Those opinions which he has defended, and, so to speak, created, slip from him in the moment of their triumph, and take their stand among established truths. The responsibility he really shares is more nearly akin to that of the economist or the lawyer, whose province is not to frame a system of convenient application to the exigencies of the day, but to investigate truth and to apply it on fixed principles to the affairs of the world.

The responsibility we acknowledge has therefore little in common with that of statesmen, for it is estimated by a totally different standard of rectitude and duty. Of all professions, statesmanship is that in which the greatest laxity of practice is tolerated by the usages of society. Concealment, evasion, factious combinations, the surrender of convictions to party objects, and the systematic pursuit of expediency, are things of daily occurrence among men of the highest character once embarked in the contention of political life. We know not if these be useful or essential parts of statesmanship, and we more than suspect that Lord Grey would confess by his own experience that they are not so. But we know that they are absolutely destructive to the credit, the power, and the success of a public writer ; and he who would traffic with his pen on such terms had better take refuge at once among those mercenary hacks who court the favours of every successive Government. Of all journals, and of all writers, those will obtain the largest measure of public support who have told the truth most constantly and most fearlessly.

Yet, highly as *The Times* now ranked its own significance in the body politic, it declared next day its conviction that the Press was

destined . . . to occupy a position of continually increasing importance, and to exercise a power over the formation of public opinion compared with which its present influence is but slight.

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It was careful, however, in its own case, to insist that it was guilty of no egotistic competition with statesmen for public honours :

We do not interfere with the duties of statesmen ; our vocation is, in one respect, inferior to theirs, for we are unable to wield the power or represent the collective dignity of the country , but in another point of view it is superior, for, unlike them, we are able to speak the whole truth without fear or favour.

The Times, after all, lived and prospered by the approval of its readers, who could instantly withdraw their support .

If we do not represent the opinion of the country we are nothing. No family influence, no aristocratic connexion, no balance of parties, can preserve to us our influence one moment after we have lost the esteem and approbation of the public. We assert that the opinion of this country, against which all else is powerless, claims and demands to be freely exercised, not merely on the conduct of our own Government, but on that of every Power on the face of the earth, and that the conclusions which the press has arrived at with regard to Louis Napoleon are also the feelings of the sound English heart, and the ideas of the vigorous English understanding.

But, if thoroughly English, *The Times* recognized its international responsibilities Not least interesting to its Continental enemies was the statement that *The Times* could not remain indifferent to anything " which affects the cause of civilization throughout the world "¹ There is a trace of Reeve's splendid cosmopolitanism in the notion that when the Press of Paris was muzzled, the Press of London must assume its responsibilities.² " The press of England, standing as it now does, alone in the enjoyment of entire freedom, would grievously neglect its exalted privileges if it failed to recollect how much is due to the common interests of Europe."

Nor did *The Times* retreat from its position. Having demolished Lord Derby in two leading articles, *The Times* paid no more regard to his strictures ; its reply to Russell and other Ministerial critics was to withdraw its confidence from the Government—making exceptions in favour of Granville and Clarendon, whose

¹ This statement should be compared with Morris's defence of the criticism of foreign Governments, p. 136.

² In June, 1852, Léon Faucher wrote to Reeve that England, the last stronghold of liberty, had a duty towards Europe. "Tâchez d'être sage pour vous et pour nous." (Faucher, *Correspondance*, 1857, p. 315)

THE TIMES ON ITS DUTY

remonstrances had been at once private and amicable.¹ It became necessary two years later to defend the cause of independent journalism when the paper caused a European sensation by its publication of the ultimatum to Russia before the Tsar had received it. The breach of official secrecy² caused indignant comment, and Lord Derby practically accused the Prime Minister of complicity. His attack was delivered at two different stages in a debate of the House of Lords. On March 13, 1854, Derby denounced *The Times* for discovering and divulging the proposal of the Tsar, made in January, for a partition of Turkey; on the 17th he extended his attack to Aberdeen himself in the matter of the ultimatum:

The noble Earl must forgive me for saying that neither he nor the other members of the Government should be surprised when the editor is on terms of intimacy or familiarity with more than one of them. . . . How is it possible that any honourable man, editing a public paper of such circulation as *The Times*, can reconcile to his conscience the act of having made public that which he must have known was intended to be a public secret?³

Delane was at the Bar of the House to hear this speech, and *The Times* took up the challenge next morning:

To accuse this or any other journal of publishing early and correct intelligence, when there is no possibility of proving that such intelligence has been obtained by unfair or improper means, is to pay us one of the highest compliments we can hope to deserve. . . . We hold ourselves responsible, not to Lord Derby or the House of Lords, but to the people of England, for the accuracy and fitness of that which we think proper to publish. Whatever we conceive to be injurious to the public interests, it is our duty to withhold; but we ourselves are quite as good judges on that point as the leader of the Opposition.⁴ (March 18, 1854.)

¹ Clarendon wrote to Reeve deprecating attacks on the Government. Informing Granville of the fact, Reeve added that they were, "as you may readily suppose, quite unconnected either with Ld. Clarendon or yourself." (February 16, 1852; Granville Papers, G. and D. 29/23.)

² "The degree of information possessed by *The Times* with regard to the most secret affairs of State is mortifying, humiliating, and incomprehensible." Lord John Russell to the Queen, March 14, 1854. (Royal Archives, Windsor.)

³ For the origins of the disclosure see Chapter V, "*The Times* and Lord Aberdeen"; cf. also Appendix on Admiral Sir Charles Napier in Sources V. and XII.

⁴ Next day, Clarendon wrote to Reeve, who blamed the Government for not assisting in the defence: "*The Times* wants no defending—it is perfectly able to take care of itself, as the article of yesterday shows. Since I wrote to you yesterday morning I have been at some pains to collect opinions about it and I find them unanimous as to the dignity, just severity, and great ability with which it is written." (Clarendon Papers.)

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On the previous question of the proposal to partition Turkey, *The Times* had already made its indignant reply :

This journal never was, and we trust never will be, the journal of any Minister, and we place our own independence far above the highest marks of confidence that could be given us by any servant of the Crown. . . . We aspire, indeed, to participate in the government of the world, but the power we seek is due to no adventitious circumstances, and is exercised solely and freely by sway of language and of reason over the minds of men. Since it is our good fortune to be independent of party and fearless followers of honesty and truth, we are little moved by the railing or the misrepresentations of contending statesmen. Nor have we any inducement to exchange the modest obscurity which enshrines our labours for the empty notoriety which rewards their efforts. As long as we use the information we obtain and the influence we possess for the honour and welfare of the country, the people of England will do us justice, and we are bold enough to place the duties and the power of a man, be he ever so humble, who contributes to form aright the public opinion of this nation not far below the worth of those who have served the State with honour.
(March 14, 1854.)

Thus did *The Times* boldly intimate to heads and Ministers of State the claim of "publicists" (this was the word it used in 1854) to be ruled by motives not morally or intellectually below theirs in worth, inferior though they might be in private reward or in public honour.

Throughout the long period of their association Walter and Delane believed that to draw a sharp distinction between the vocation of the statesman and that of the journalist was essential to the preservation of the independence of *The Times*. Like their predecessors they were convinced that any editor taking upon himself, so far as he has the power, the role of the statesman, necessarily seeks relations with, and therefore acquires obligations towards, contemporary statesmen who are members either of the Government or the Opposition. The hallowed practice had been for the statesmen in office to acknowledge "statesmanlike" support given in editorial columns with paragraphs of news (secured through State sources) which were generally drafted so as to give (in Croker's phrase) "the turn it might suit the position." The contributions of statesmen in Opposition took the form of money and intelligence of their political intentions. Whichever way a paper with such a programme of statesmanship

THE UMPIRE

turned, it lost its independence, at least, in the degree to which *The Times* aspired. Even the exceptional taking of news from State sources created obligations, and it was precisely in order to be free of this danger that Walter II built up a network of foreign news correspondents. As Volume I of this work has shown, Walter and Barnes secured the independence of *The Times* by building up corps of expert news correspondents at home and abroad and of critical leader-writers in the office. Thus it became possible for *The Times* to acquire a certain ascendancy over officials, to confer favours upon statesmen by supplying news in advance of that brought by their own Government couriers. The material basis of the spiritual independence of *The Times* was, therefore, the equality, if not superiority, of its intelligence service. This alone permitted it the supreme and rare power of accepting and rejecting official intelligence purely at its own discretion. *The Times*, by the strength and completeness of its organization, could use statesmen without allowing them to use *The Times*. "A newspaper," it declared in 1854, "such as *The Times* is in the position rather to confer than receive favours, and rather to act as the umpire than the tool or the instrument of party." (March 15, 1854.)

Such material strength in news organization and financial resource was, in the right hands, a vital safeguard of free public discussion. The paper was so strong that it could indulge its moral and intellectual pride. It not only could, but did, instantly give its readers news and comment in the measure sufficient to enable them to appreciate the significance of political events, to understand the motives of participants, and to judge their actions irrespective of the preferences of Ministers of State.

Statesmen, naturally, were prone to consider that *The Times* possessed sources of information that were inconveniently large; they wished the paper to publish on their terms. Delane's skill enabled him to publish on his own terms the information he secured from statesmen. The work needed the constant exercise of the very highest discretion. Moreover, though secretive, the Editor never resorted to tricks. Such a method could, at best, enjoy a very limited success. That Delane succeeded for a lifetime in maintaining the reputation of *The Times* for exclusive publication of private information was due to the complete honesty with which he treated statesmen. With him a confidence

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remained a confidence. Nevertheless, he was careful in the extreme to avoid putting himself in the position of an editor permitted to write in the light of communicated information but, at the same time, forbidden to inform his readers explicitly of those very facts, knowledge of which would alone permit them to make a reasonable judgment on the issue and upon the argument of the leading article. "I don't much care to have 'confidential' papers sent to me at any time," Delane wrote to Sir John Rose in 1860, "because the possession of them prevents me from using the information which from one source or another is sure to reach me without any such condition of reserve."¹ This was all Delane's secret. He could so generally rely upon getting "information from one source or another" that pressure upon *The Times* by statesmen—even by Palmerston, the most consummate engineer of the Press known to English journalism or statesmanship—was rarely effective.

The words of *The Times* thus enunciating *urbi et orbi* the claims of the publicist to investigate truth and to apply it on fixed principles to the affairs of the world—the fixed principles being those of justice, humanity and law—had been observed in Barnes's time to have a papal ring about them. The demand was not abandoned on that account. On the contrary, although the paper in its modesty did not claim to be the entire Press, it by no means shirked comparison with the Catholic Church itself:

We believe that the position occupied by the more respectable and independent portion of the press is a phenomenon of modern civilization very imperfectly understood by many arrogating to themselves the title of statesmen. The vocation of Government is so purely practical that it does not satisfy all that the public mind requires in the conduct of affairs. Mankind needs not only to know what is done, but to be reminded and informed as to the principles and objects with which it is done. Not only do we need executors of the public will, but informers of the popular understanding, and enlighteners of the people's conscience. This was the one great duty performed by the Church in the middle ages, and which, with all its faults and superstitions, fairly entitles it to be numbered among the benefactors of mankind. Whatever lawless force might overbear or subtle fraud overreach, in the Church there was always a witness for justice and morality, as mankind then understood them,—a check against the abuse of power, and a monitor against the vices of a barbarous and

¹ Dasent, II, p. 3.

THE CLAIM TO INVESTIGATE TRUTH

perfidious age By becoming itself a political power the Church abdicated this lofty mission, and the reaction against its ecclesiastical abuses effectually overthrew its pretensions to act as the incorporated conscience of Europe (March 15, 1854)

The patent of infallibility in news-collection, or inerrancy in comment, which would seem a natural corollary to these paraecclesiastical claims was, however, disclaimed :

We are far from saying that we or any portion of the press of this country adequately discharge the mission with which we believe we are intrusted

Speaking strictly for itself, however, *The Times* found that it deserved credit for having, if not an infallible mind, then emphatically a mind of its own A point made at the end of the article, and, as it were, incidentally, was nevertheless of the greatest importance to journalism and statesmanship of the 'fifties, and is to-day the most significant surviving point of the doctrine which the controversies of Delane's period brought to definition. It was, indeed, of paramount necessity then, as it has been since,¹ and is sometimes proper to-day, to convince readers, particularly those abroad, that *The Times* may be numbered among Government supporters without being a Government organ. The paper could then champion peace with Russia without being a Russian organ.² It could attack Louis Napoleon without being in Orleanist pay. At home, later, it could give Palmerston support without being Palmerston's organ That was one point of difference between *The Times* and the *Morning Post*. Any support which *The Times* gave was, in fact, not so much given as lent. The approval which the *Morning Post* gave to Palmerston was approval to which he had a right, for it was not so much a gift or a loan as an exchange. On this vital point of the connexion which necessarily subsists between the journalist and the statesman when the latter under-

¹ See, for instance, *The Times*, November 7, 1859, for a leading article affirming that its opinions and pronouncements on the policy and conduct of foreign rulers, however much in accordance with the sentiments of the community, "are not to be regarded as expositions of the views of the Cabinet."

² Even Urquhart admitted this. After 1853 Delane's known connexion with the Rothschilds, who were then (and later) financing Russian industry, led to the description of *The Times* as a Hebrew-Russian journal. Marx, Engels, and Layard at this time regarded the paper as the organ of the St. Petersburg Cabinet. Similar accusations were made after the Crimean War But Urquhart, writing in 1863, said "We tell you, as derived from consecutive observation and perfect knowledge of the subject, that for twelve years the *Times* has been the organ of the Russian Government. Not in the ostensible form of an acknowledged support, but as representing in every case that which is the interest and object of Russia as if it were the interest and the will of England" (Urquhart, "Letter to the Illinois Commissioners," in the *Free Press*, July 1, 1863, p. 58) For further details on the relations of Delane, Brunnow, and the Rothschilds see pp. 332-3.

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stands that he can count upon a newspaper's support *The Times* declared :

The dignity and the freedom of the press are trammelled from the moment it accepts an ancillary position. To perform its duties with entire independence, and consequently with the utmost public advantage, the press can enter into no close or binding alliances with the statesmen of the day, nor can it surrender its permanent interests to the convenience of the ephemeral power of any Government (February 6, 1852.)

It was open to any statesman to persuade *The Times*, but to none to command. The Government was chosen by the qualified classes and *The Times* claimed with some justice to be more continuously and more sensitively in touch with the will of the electorate than was the Government. It had a mandate conferred by the quality and volume of its circulation to criticize any Ministry or Minister at home or abroad.

No matter how friendly or unfriendly, therefore, Delane may, from time to time, have been towards certain statesmen, or how ardently he desired the failure or success of certain of their policies, the opposition or sympathy *The Times* showed was not only frank and spontaneous, but jealously so. The concluding paragraph of the article of March 15, 1854, urged that even if the achievement, owing to human weaknesses, fell short of the Editor's journalistic ideal, "we are at least so far true to it, that we ought not to be treated as the servants of any political party, or as prostituting our influence in their interest, because the views which we put forth on public affairs happen to coincide with theirs, or because we lend them that support to which the justice of their principles and the ability of their administration fairly entitle them." That was the clear answer to those who denied the paper's doctrine of the liberty of the Press and questioned the fact of its independence.

Equally clear was the answer of *The Times* to criticism of its policy of making "disclosures" alleged by statesmen to be "ill-timed," "premature," or "against the public interest." *The Times* answered with its definition of the essential basis of journalism.

The first duty of the press is to obtain the earliest & most correct intelligence of the events of the time, and instantly, by disclosing them, to make them the common property of the nation. (February 6, 1852.)

Without a free Press, in effect without such a newspaper as *The Times*, it was hardly possible, in the view of Printing House

PALMERSTON "QUITE" CONCURS

Square, for Britain to take rank as a self-governing nation. The points made in the articles of 1852 were considered again and again in the following years which, comprising the war with Russia, the association with Palmerston and the trade competition of the cheap Press, were supreme tests of the paper's vocation. These experiences increase the authority of a definition framed in 1858. A leading article at the end of that year, devoted to strictures upon Napoleon III and unwelcome to official circles in London, opened with a paragraph on the Press. The statement drew from Palmerston the admission that "I quite concur in the reasoning of your article to-day about the proper functions of a free Press,"¹ and it may stand as a pronouncement completing the conception of journalism which *The Times* championed as a theory and earnestly sought to follow in daily practice :

Liberty of thought and speech is the very air which an Englishman breathes from his birth, he could not understand living in another atmosphere. Nor when you once allow this liberty can you restrict the range of its subjects. The principle must have free exercise, or it dies. There is no medium. It would be fatal to say, "Discuss home matters, but not foreign ones." A press so confined would lack the inspiration of that universal sympathy which is necessary to sustain its spirit. Every issue of an English journal speaks to the whole world ; that is its strength, it lives by its universality ; that idea imparts conscious power, elevates the tone and braces the will of this great impersonality, invigorates the statement, points the epithet, and nails the argument. It could not speak with half the power it does on domestic subjects if it could not speak of foreign ; it could not fly with its wings clipped ; it would not be the whole which it is and it would cease to be an epitome of the world. (December 6, 1858.)

Of the theory of journalism as defined by *The Times* the best example is its conduct during the Crimean War.

¹ Palmerston to Delane (P H S. Papers, D. 9/80; Dasent, I, 304. The letter is mis-dated December 5 for December 6, 1858.)

IX

THE CRIMEAN WAR

NOTHING is more notable in the history of *The Times* than the part it played in the Crimean War. It was not only the chief recorder of the events of that war : it can be counted among the protagonists. During the years 1854 and 1855 the paper rose to the zenith of its power, and its history during that period is an inseparable part of the national history. The disclosures of mismanagement it made, chiefly through the vigorous chronicles of W H Russell, stirred the country into great undertakings, caused the downfall of a Ministry, and gave momentum to an invigorating direction of one of the strangest campaigns in which England ever engaged. Yet at the outset there was hesitation. John Bright recorded on a page of his diary for March, 1854, that he had, on the 24th, a "Conversation with Mr. Walter of *The Times*—urged him to seize any chance of preserving or making peace—remarked upon *The Times* being browbeaten into a support of the war. He said when the country would go for war, it was not worth while to oppose it, hurting themselves and doing no good." If at first Walter's support of the war and that of *The Times* lacked something in virility, both became convinced that the war was necessary, and that a policy of no peace without triumphant victory must be advocated. On October 3, 1854, when Sebastopol was falsely reported to have fallen, Walter wrote to Delane : "I only hope that no terms whatever but those of an unconditional surrender, and good treatment of prisoners will be given to Menchikoff : but as for Sebastopol itself, that not one stone of it will be left upon another." The paper, from the advocate of peace, "the organ of Russia," became the leader of the nation's demand for the vigorous prosecution of the war. With the pens of its war Correspondent, W. H. Russell, of Reeve and other leader-writers, it so effectively castigated military inefficiency that it was recognized by friend and foe that *The Times* could make and unmake Generals, Ministers and Governments. Its power

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became so great that towards the end of the war the *Saturday Review* (of November 3, 1855), founded for the express purpose of combating the power of Printing House Square, declared that "no apology is necessary for assuming that this country is ruled by *The Times*"

In assessing the influence of the paper it must be remembered that its circulation in 1853 and 1854 was far greater than that of all its rivals put together. The reputation for accuracy and for omniscience gained under Walter II and Barnes had been confirmed at the outset of the war by its early publication of the ultimatum to Russia, which the Tsar read in *The Times* before he received the official copy. And above all, by attacking Ministerial and military inefficiency, by forestalling *communiqués* and publishing exact details of the campaign, and by advocating the policy of humiliating the mighty Tsar, *The Times* pursued an immensely popular course. It organized a public opinion that was already eager for battle.

The war naturally created an unprecedented demand for news "The excitement, the painful excitement for information, beggars all description."¹ Delane was determined to satisfy the craving. To secure on the scene of the conflict a staff of correspondents of the utmost ability was an elementary necessity. The task was at first no easy one. Chenery, at Constantinople, was a successful correspondent, but he was charged primarily with obtaining political and diplomatic news, and only with transmitting the military information obtained by others on the spot. The formation of a corps of war correspondents began as early as the 10th of October, 1853, when Morris wrote to Bird :

I agree that we ought to have a correspondent in Omer Pasha's camp—the difficulty is, to get one. Now the Turkish commander is an Austrian, & is likely to have Austrians on his staff. Don't you think you could find among your acquaintance in Vienna someone who has a brother or a cousin or some other relation in that position, & who might be persuaded for a consideration to write you a letter now & then?

This reliance on the occasional help of a foreign staff officer, however, was seen to be inadequate directly actual hostilities became imminent. The news of the passage of the Danube by the Turks at Widdin reached Printing House Square on the morning of October 28, and Morris summoned (November 2) from the

¹ Clarendon to Stratford, October 9, 1854. (Stratford Papers, P.R.O., F.O. 352/40)

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waiting list of applicants for employment A. A. Paton, who was then in Brussels, and dispatched him to report to Bird in Vienna. Paton's orders were to go on to Omer Pasha's camp at Widdin, seek out Barklay, and divide the work of *The Times* correspondence with him. The letter of instructions ends "in conclusion let me impress upon you the necessity of speed," for, as Morris wrote at the same time to Bird, the *Morning Chronicle* had beaten *The Times* by forty-eight hours with the news of the passage of the Danube, and "we are all very sore about our defeat." A week after Paton's departure Morris sent after him further instructions, which suggest that the future was still very imperfectly foreseen in Printing House Square. Paton was to "look across the Danube and see what is going on among the Russians." Morris could not bring himself to "believe in an European war" and thought Paton would "have an opportunity of visiting both camps."

Once more the high hopes of the Manager were to be disappointed. On December 29, 1853, Paton wrote that "there is no longer a question of war" and left Widdin for Rustchuk, and presumably for home. Meanwhile fierce fighting was taking place about Kalafat, of which the only news *The Times* could publish was Bird's translation of the excellent descriptions appearing in the Viennese papers. Morris declared to Paton (February 3, 1854) that "the public expects that we shall have our own agents, & as it has long been accustomed to look to *The Times* chiefly if not solely for the truth in all things, we disappoint a reasonable expectation when we offer nothing better than reports from other journals, however authentic," and wrote in pardonable exasperation :

You have missed the very opportunity you were commissioned to seize, & all that is left for us to hope is, that as you left the war at Widdin, it may follow you to Rustchuk, to Silistria, to Shumla, or anywhere else you may think it expedient to go.

Just as Morris became aware of the disastrous failure of Paton he received a letter from Twopenny¹ in Constantinople asking his permission to engage on behalf of *The Times* a young officer of the East India Company's Bombay Artillery, Lieutenant Charles Nasmyth, who had been sent on sick leave to the Mediterranean,

¹ Twopenny took his dismissal (see p. 145) in good part, and being invited to make occasional contributions to the paper sent in a description of the bombardment of Odessa that was "the talk of London for a couple of days" (Morris to Chenery, May 17, 1854).

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and was seeking adventure in the region of the war. Morris wrote on February 4, 1854, to authorize the engagement, and order Nasmyth to Kalafat, or wherever else the Western Division of the Turkish Army might be at the time of his arrival. From Omer Pasha's camp Nasmyth wrote reports that excited great interest in England, and in March he was sent on to the fortress of Silistria, which was threatened with investment by the Russians. He reached the city in time to join the garrison, and, in conjunction with another young Englishman, Captain Butler, to organize a defence that was the most famous exploit of the war on the Danubian front. It became known that one of the heroes of this brilliant enterprise was *The Times* correspondent, and

naturally the lustre of his achievement was in some degree shed upon the keen, watchful Company which had had the foresight to send him at the right moment into the midst of events on which the fate of Russia was hanging; for whilst the State armies of France and England were as yet only gathering their strength, *The Times* was able to say that its own officer had confronted the enemy upon the very ground he most needed to win, and helped to drive him back from the Danube in great discomfiture.¹

Nasmyth's distinction as a military privateer, however, did not make him a perfect war correspondent. On July 13, 1854, after the relief of Silistria, Morris was writing to Chenery:

I wish you would impress upon Nasmyth with all your eloquence the absolute necessity of writing as often as he can & sending his letters without delay. The idea of a newspaper correspondent keeping the journal of a siege till the affair is over has driven me wild.

At this period began the long and varied career in the service of *The Times* of Ferdinand Eber. Unfortunately, the circumstances of his first engagement are obscure. The first traceable reference is a letter to Bird in Vienna, dated March 3, 1854, in which Mowbray Morris says:

Our man goes to Greece tomorrow. His name is Eber, a Hungarian writing and speaking English as well as I do.

When the Greek insurrection collapsed he was sent to Constantinople to report to Chenery. He evidently asked to

¹ A. W. Kinglake, *Invasion of the Crimea*, II, 245.

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go to the Danubian Principalities, for Morris had to warn him against getting mixed up with his old enemies the Austrians, and pointed out that his passport from Lord Stratford de Redcliffe would be little protection. This bears out the statement of Mr. Atkins that Eber was a refugee who had played an active part in the Hungarian rebellion of 1848. What is certain about him is that he was a fervent lover of war for its own sake. According to Mr Atkins he went as correspondent of *The Times* to Omer Pasha's army in Thessaly, and Omer made him his Chief of Staff. This cannot be true. Omer was not in Thessaly but in the Principalities, and while he was there Eber was in Athens. In December, 1854, he joined Russell before Balaclava, to the annoyance of Morris, who had given instructions that no two correspondents should ever be in the same place, and who now ordered Eber to go to Omar's camp on the north of Sebastopol.

All these correspondents, distinguished as some of them were, were destined to be overshadowed by one who seems to have come into the corps almost by an afterthought. On an evening in February, 1854, Delane gave W. H. Russell sudden and unexpected orders to accompany the Guards, who were being sent as a precautionary measure to Malta. "You will be back at Easter, depend upon it," he said, "and you will have a pleasant trip." Russell, who was now not quite 34, had, as was related earlier, earned distinction by his Irish dispatches in 1845, but had since been in the rather desultory employment of *The Times* and had to seek engagements of another kind. In 1842 John Delane had engaged him as one of the Parliamentary reporters of *The Times*, which gave him a small regular income during the Session, but by no means relieved him of financial anxiety. Indeed, there was little chance of relieving him, for Russell throughout his career showed a more than Hibernian fecklessness in everything to do with money; and long after he had become one of the most valued and highly-paid servants of the paper, John Walter and the successive Managers, Morris and MacDonald, were constantly involved, with a kind of humorous exasperation, in complicated devices of loan, mortgage and insurance to maintain his precarious solvency. His first experience as a war correspondent came during the short campaign of Idstedt in 1850. The same year he had been called to the Bar, and, with the aid of a very occasional brief, tried half-heartedly to delude his Editor and himself into the belief that he had a legal rather than a journalistic career.



N H Russell

RUSSELL ON THE SCENE

before him. He was at this time, and indeed always, a big, bluff and genial Irishman, a *bon vivant*, an energetic but unsystematic worker, with an infinite capacity for winning easy friendship with all sorts of men, an instant sympathy with the victim of any kind of injustice, and neither fear nor respect for any authority, military or civil, that tried to divert him from his course. Delane obtained from Lord Hardinge permission for Russell to accompany the Guards to Malta, but the war correspondent was at first looked upon askance by the military authorities, and many petty obstacles were placed in his way. However, Russell's resourcefulness enabled him to keep touch with a reluctant headquarters, and when the Light Division was ordered East in the spring he was not shaken off. He landed at Gallipoli on April 5, 1854.

Delane meanwhile was using his considerable political influence in Russell's behalf, and secured a promise at the Horse Guards that his correspondent should be allowed to accompany the Army and draw rations. Though the promise was very irregularly honoured by the general officers in the field, Russell clung on, and his tent was pitched at Scutari alongside those of the British force. It was thrown down from time to time by intolerant officers, but Russell always contrived to get it re-erected, if not within the lines, at least near by. He was close enough to the centres of activity to observe and be appalled by the hopeless administrative incompetence which was soon to threaten the Army with paralysis and to bring fearful misery upon the troops. Already on April 8 he was writing to Delane from Gallipoli :

The management is infamous, and the contrast offered by our proceedings to the conduct of the French most painful. Could you believe it—the sick have not a bed to lie upon ?

and again from Varna a little later :

I have just been informed on good authority that Lord Raglan has determined not to recognise the Press in any way, or to give them rations or assistance, and worse than all, it is too probable that he will forbid our accompanying the troops. I have only time to say so much to show you that the promises made in London have not been carried out here.

Russell gave instances of the perilous nonchalance of authority over the bad provisioning of the troops, and asked : "Am I to tell these things or hold my tongue ?" He did not hold his tongue,

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nor did Delane dream of muzzling him. His articles in *The Times* were already developing into a thorough and continuous exposure of bewildered authority. They very quickly aroused public opinion to the sense that the conduct of the war was a vast muddle. His first letter from Malta was published on April 19, 1854, a series from Gallipoli in the last week of the month. During May and June the leader-writers were mobilized to support Russell's indictment, and to use it as an instrument to secure the reform of administration at home.

For forty years England had had no experience of war, and was ill-prepared for a distant campaign on a large scale. There was, for example, no single War Department. Overlapping diversities of authority led to continual bickering. The first objective of the paper's campaign was accordingly to unify the control of the forces under a single Cabinet Minister. The name of Lord Palmerston was put forward (May 25)—the Duke of Newcastle (Secretary for War as well as Secretary for the Colonies) to be left at the Colonial Office. As an alternative on June 2 *The Times* proposed that his colonial instead of his military duties should be taken from the Duke and entrusted to Lord John Russell. The campaign was so far successful that on June 9, 1854, Lord John announced the creation of a new Secretaryship of State for War, for which *The Times* did not hesitate to claim the credit. Next day Sidney Herbert announced in the House of Commons a minor surrender to W. H. Russell's assault. The extreme formality of military uniform was to be relaxed in various ways, including the abolition of the stock. But it became known at the same time that the Duke of Newcastle was likely to receive the new appointment, while the Colonies would be taken over by Sir George Grey. Three successive leading articles (June 10, 12, and 16, 1854) failed to alter the determination of the Government.

The campaign was not long confined to matters of administrative organization. The Government of England was still predominantly aristocratic; in 1855 Cobden was to record his belief that he could never aspire to the highest offices in England. The Cabinet was largely a preserve of a few families; the army was dominated by noble blood (Lord Raglan, the Commander-in-Chief, himself was the son of a duke), and the Civil Service was recruited by favouritism. The middle classes had won their victories in 1832 and in 1846, but they still lacked control of the instruments of power. The war came to be regarded as a test of

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the aristocracy's power to rule in a modern world. Its mismanagement by the great families was seized by the middle classes as the opportunity to oust them from their hereditary positions.¹ *The Times*, the organ and representative of bourgeois power, led the campaign for efficiency. In this division of classes may be found the explanation of the inconsistency and virulence of *The Times* campaign, for "the cold shade of aristocracy" (in the phrase of a leader of February 14, 1855) seemed to be blighting the energies of the nation.

Simultaneously with this agitation for the reform of the Government, *The Times* was taking an active interest in the military strategy of the war. By the midsummer of 1854 the threat of a Russian invasion of the Principalities had been thwarted by the veto of Austria, and the original objects of the war might be held to be attained. But public opinion in England and France was aroused, and now demanded vaguely, but insistently, a victory on Russian soil. The Crimea was in many minds, but the first public pronouncement in favour of an invasion was made on June 15, 1854, when *The Times* proclaimed :

. . . The grand political and military objects of the war cannot . . . be attained as long as Sebastopol and the Russian fleet are in existence . . .

We hold, therefore, that the taking of Sebastopol and the occupation of the Crimea are objects which would repay all the costs of the present war, and would permanently settle in our favour the principal questions now in dispute.

Commenting on this article Kinglake aptly sums up the nature and basis of the power over England at war that *The Times* was now beginning to exercise :

Partly by guiding, but more by ascertaining and following, the current of men's opinion, *The Times* always sought to be one with the great body of the people, and since it happened that there was at this period a rare concurrence of feeling, and that the journal, after a good deal of experiment, had now at length thoroughly seized and embodied the soul of the nation, its utterance came with increasing force.²

On the day this article appeared Palmerston laid before the Cabinet a memorandum advocating the same enterprise for the same reasons.

¹ Thus Cobden wrote to Bright (January 5, 1855) : "The breakdown of our aristocratic rulers, when their energies are put to the stress of a great emergency, is about the most consolatory incident of the war." (Morley, *Cobden*, popular edition, 1903, p. 630.)

² Kinglake, II, 240.

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The Duke of Newcastle's dispatch, practically ordering Lord Raglan to invade the Crimea, was passed by the Cabinet on June 28. It did not at once become publicly known, and throughout July there was contention between military opinion that it would be madness to attack Sebastopol and general opinion that that was the less dangerous course. *The Times* sided with what it declared to be a public demand—an attitude typically English and typical of *The Times*—and on August 3 the paper was able to announce, with approval but without self-congratulation, that a united English, French and Turkish army would invade the Crimea immediately and besiege Sebastopol.

All this time the reports of Russell on the unsatisfactory state of the Army had been appearing in *The Times*, and much that was not published was sent in private letters to Delane, and through him found its way to the consideration of the Government. On July 20, in the expectation that the Crimean invasion would be attempted, Delane wrote to Russell to announce his intention of coming out himself to observe the situation at the front :

I have remonstrated strongly against the petty vexations you have been exposed to, and your private letters to me have made the round of the Cabinet. Your last is now with the Duke of Newcastle, and he tells me that he has written again to Lord Raglan on your behalf.

Newcastle on his part helped Delane with a letter of introduction to Raglan, though it was not of a very enthusiastic character :

Mr Delane engages not to correspond with his Paper, and Mr Kinglake has promised not to publish anything during the continuance of the war without permission. With a view to the future, however, I hope you will make friends of the "Mammon of Unrighteousness." I know you will wish them anywhere but in your camp, but I cannot prevent their going, and such civility as you can show them will not, I feel sure, be thrown away.¹

Delane left London in the middle of August, travelling with A. H. Layard and Alexander Kinglake, afterwards the historian of the war, and reached Constantinople on September 4. On the 6th he dined with Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and "was . . . disgusted at the tone of the whole Embassy." Next day he left in a small steamer for the Crimea and joined the British Fleet that

¹ J. Martineau, *Life of the Fifth Duke of Newcastle*, 206-207. Clarendon gave Delane a letter of introduction to Lord Stratford; in a letter of the same date (August 12) he thus urged the Ambassador "Pray inform him as much as you can properly, and give him right ideas—he is a man very open to civility." (The italics are the writer's.)

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was to cover the landing. He witnessed the landing and went ashore with the intention of accompanying the army on its march to force the passage of the Alma, but changed his mind and returned to Constantinople before the battle. He had time, however, to see Russell and make the acquaintance of most of the naval and military commanders, and he took home with him a clear impression of the deplorable condition of the troops. "In every regiment," he wrote to Dasent, "there are sad traces of cholera and fever in the pale faces, lank forms, and tottering steps of the men. The Guards are by far the worst. Almost all seem to have been in hospital, and it is painful to see how weakly they are. In London it is merely ridiculous to observe a big man balancing a bear-skin on his head; but here it is really a sad thing to see a reduced giant stumbling along under such an encumbrance, and looking hardly able to carry his own epaulets." Before sailing for home Delane saw Stratford again, and gave him an account of the landing. The Ambassador's comments on his guest, in a letter to Clarendon dated September 20, no doubt went home in the same ship with their subject.

I cannot allow Mr Delane to return without thanking you for the opportunity of making his acquaintance. Whatever may have been his published opinions in months of yore, he appears to be quite in the right track now, and I was delighted to hear him express his conviction that if our army were to perish before Sevastopol, the first thought of the nation at home would be to raise a new one and go on.¹

Delane reached England at the beginning of October and took back control of *The Times* from Dasent. Russell's letters were still appearing regularly, and that published on September 11, 1854, which had been written at Varna on August 28, contained the first hint of a complaint against *The Times* which was soon to be loudly heard:

It has been said out here . . . that the London journals have done great mischief by publishing for the information of the enemy, correct intelligence respecting our intended movements against them, by indicating the points to be attacked, and preparing the Russians to resist us.

On October 2, 1854, *The Times* announced "The Fall of Sebastopol," the news being "confirmed" next day by a telegraphic dispatch from Vienna, which the Turkish Minister forwarded to the Editor. In the flush of victory *The Times*

¹ Lane-Poole, *Life of Stratford Canning*, II, 369

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(October 4) proposed that the Baltic fleet should attack Cronstadt and even try to take Petersburg. But on October 6 a telegram from Lord Stratford brought down the house of cards, with the authentic statement that the Allied armies were at Balaklava, and only preparing to attack Sebastopol. All that had really happened was the forcing of the passage of the River Alma.

On October 12 *The Times* embarked—accidentally, it would appear—on a new branch of journalistic enterprise. Chenery had written from Constantinople that the hospital at Scutari lacked the commonest medical stores, and *The Times*, in publishing the letter, supported it with a leader appealing to private benevolence to come to the rescue. Russell's disclosures of the hardships of the troops had long been harrowing the feelings of the nation, and this suggestion for a practical demonstration of sympathy produced an instant and enthusiastic response. The same day Sir Robert Peel, son of the former Prime Minister, sent to the Editor a cheque for £200 to start a fund for supplying comforts to the sick and wounded, on lines laid down in a letter which appeared in *The Times* of the 13th. Money poured in, and almost immediately *The Times* found itself put into the position of a trustee for the administration of the fund it had been the first to advocate.

But it was not only money and material comforts that the paper demanded for the soldiers in the East. On the day of publication of Peel's letter, one of Chenery's communications, following up a more cursory reference of October 9, remarked that

The worn-out pensioners who were brought out as an ambulance corps are totally useless, and not only are surgeons not to be had, but there are no dressers or nurses to carry out the surgeon's directions, and to attend on the sick during the intervals between his visits. Here the French are greatly our superiors. Their medical arrangements are extremely good, their surgeons more numerous, and they have also the help of the Sisters of Charity, who have accompanied the expedition in incredible numbers. These devoted women are excellent nurses.

The impulse to make good this deficiency was no less ready than that which supplied *The Times* fund, though nursing skill was more difficult to improvise than consignments of bandages. On October 11 Lady Maria Forester was offering to a young nurse of known professional skill, strength of character, and influential connexions, Florence Nightingale, to help pay the

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expenses of a volunteer party of nurses to go to Scutari under Miss Nightingale's lead. On the 14th, the day when a correspondent of *The Times* was asking "Why have we no Sisters of Charity?" Miss Nightingale wrote to her friend Mrs. Sidney Herbert, wife of the Secretary for War, to propound a considered scheme. "I do not mean to say that I believe *The Times* accounts, but I do believe that we may be of use to the wounded wretches." Her letter crossed one from Herbert himself asking her to go out to Scutari, not as a privateer, but as the accredited head of a Government nursing service. By the 21st she had recruited her first staff of thirty-eight, of whom eighteen were nuns and the remainder drawn from various hospitals, and set out for the seat of war.

Meanwhile *The Times* fund had rapidly mounted up to the level of £7,000 and Morris had chosen MacDonald¹ to go out to Constantinople as almoner. Reeve was an old friend of the Nightingale family, and spoke to Delane on behalf of the nurses, with the result that MacDonald received instructions to cooperate with Miss Nightingale. They sailed in the same ship from Marseilles, and their cooperation came to be cordial and enduring. They were shortly joined by the Rev. the Hon. Sidney Godolphin Osborne,² who, having rejected Delane's proposal to act as almoner to the fund because the Editor would not accept his condition of complete independence,³ went out to the Crimea on his own account and there cooperated with MacDonald in its administration.

The active intervention of *The Times* in the reform of the medical service was a most direct and inescapable challenge to the efficiency of the Government. Official persons maintained that the evils were exaggerated⁴ and that whatever shortcomings there were were due to maladjustment rather than neglect. "The *Times* correspondent," wrote Lord Clarendon, "has done us infinite mischief by his descriptions of wounds & sufferings & hospital deficiencies--I fear there has been neglect in turning to acct. the abundant *materia medica* that had been provided

¹ John C. MacDonald, engineer, and later Manager of *The Times* in succession to Morris.

² The well-known "S.G.O." of the correspondence columns for forty-four years (1844-1888). In 1859 he was granted the rank of a duke's son.

³ It was "S.G.O.'s" principle never "to take a farthing from the Press in any shape or for any service." Osborne to Clarendon, October 10, 1854. (*Clarendon Papers*.)

⁴ Thus Clarendon wrote to Stratford: "I understand that S.G.O. says that matters are better than he expected but Mr. MacDonald who is sent out to sustain *The Times* case labors of course in his vocation." (November 29, 1854; *Stratford Papers*, P.R.O., I.O. 352/40.)

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but we all know that upon the occurrence of any sudden disaster, be it cholera, be it a battle, no foresight or precaution can secure equal & immediate attention to all "¹" But, while lamenting over misrepresentation, the Government were induced to send out a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the charges made by *The Times* about the condition of the hospitals.

Hoping to find these complaints exaggerated and hoping also to perfect medical conditions with the aid of Miss Nightingale, the Government sought to discredit *The Times* "The time, if I mistake not," wrote Lord Stratford, "is coming when the errors of hospital administration will be found to have been greatly exaggerated and the benevolences of Mr MacDonald applied in a great measure to the detriment and not to the advantage of the soldiers' health."² To exhibit the uselessness of the paper's efforts, he suggested obtaining the consent of subscribers to apply the funds, so difficult to return to them, to the construction of an Anglican Church at Constantinople.

The Commission, however, reported in terms that justified *The Times* in every particular. But this was four months later, and already Miss Nightingale had set to work to revolutionize the whole medical arrangements at Scutari. She was hampered not only by official obstruction but also by the inadequacy of supplies of public money, and the deficiency was made up partly out of her private purse and partly by MacDonald out of *The Times* fund. The Government, wishing to set Miss Nightingale up in opposition to *The Times*, were naturally annoyed that she should cooperate with MacDonald, and Clarendon asked Stratford for "a friendly hint from Lady S. to her that her *obiter dicta* are converted into political capital & that her wants shd. be made known to you & to the War Dept at home." Nevertheless only Lord Stratford could continue to believe that official arrangements were adequate, and *The Times* fund, apart from its liberality, had advantages over the slow-moving official machine. MacDonald "could give at once, and without the exaction of any description of formality, what they [the officials], by the rules of the service, were frequently obliged to delay"³

There could have been no more popular disposal of the subscriptions, for Miss Nightingale was the heroine and the darling of England, and this close association with her further

¹ Clarendon to Stratford, October 19, 1854 (Stratford Papers, P R O., F O 352/40.)

² Stratford to Clarendon, March 26, 1855 (Stratford Papers, P R O., F O 352/42.)

³ The *Morning Chronicle*, March 17, 1855.

THE PUBLIC AND THE FUND

enhanced the dominance of *The Times* over the public mind. It did not, of course, disarm criticism ; on October 27, 1854, Morris was writing to the correspondent in Melbourne :

The envious attribute every base motive to our interference, & I shall not be surprised if I am eventually accused of misappropriating the funds.

Nevertheless, the fund was a popular and, therefore, powerful weapon in the attack upon official incompetence. It was praised as "timely succour" even by *Colburn's United Service Magazine* (February, 1855, p. 272), the organ of the military.

Morris later broached the idea of recalling MacDonald and handing over the administration of the fund to Miss Nightingale herself. Notice was given to the bankers that the fund was to be wound up, and an announcement prepared for insertion in *The Times* that no more subscriptions would be received. It should have appeared on February 3, 1855, when of the £12,000 subscribed all but £500 had been spent. But on that day there arrived from MacDonald, for publication, a long account of the condition of the hospitals at Scutari, which was of so distressing a character that the resolution was necessarily rescinded. Morris wrote on the 9th to Coutts countering his previous notice.

A renewed appeal was successful beyond Morris's expectation ; nearly £8,000 was subscribed in four days. But the original intention of recalling MacDonald was carried out, and W. H. Stowe was sent to the East to replace him. Stowe was a Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, who had been a contributor to *The Times* since 1851, and a member of the staff from the following year. He had been chiefly occupied as a literary critic and was the reviewer of *David Copperfield*. He does not seem to have been personally known to Morris, and was probably nominated by Walter as administrator of the fund. He arrived in Constantinople soon after MacDonald's departure, was instructed in his duties by Chenery, and began his work with a short series of letters to the paper on the conditions he found in the Scutari hospitals.

In spite of its strictures upon the conduct of the war, *The Times* was not yet in open opposition to the Government. As late as November 28, 1854, Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer, writing to Delane to correct certain financial references in *The Times*,

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dwell upon his "sense of obligation on public grounds for the aid which *The Times* has lent us." But by December the paper must be considered in definite opposition. Criticism was diverted from the Quartermaster's Department to the High Command in the field, and the paper began to call insistently for the recall of Lord Raglan and his staff.

The tone of the paper became harsher, and the difficulties of the Government greater. "There is an article in *The Times* to-day and written in its usual thundering way but which I should be sorry to attempt to answer excepting by mere generalities. Indeed anyone who had many private letters, talked to Layard and seen Canrobert's reports could not conscientiously do so"¹ The case of *The Times* was unanswerable, Delane knew it, and on January 24, 1855, called for an entire reorganization of the War Office. At the same time Roebuck gave notice that he would move for a Select Committee to inquire into the conduct of the war. This was tantamount to impeaching the Government on evidence furnished by *The Times*,² and it was known that a third force inside the Cabinet was acting on parallel lines : John Russell was demanding the removal of the Duke of Newcastle. Ostensibly, his object was to bring Palmerston to the War Office ; but his covert purpose was the supersession of Aberdeen by himself. *The Times* of January 25, 1855, declared :

We wipe our hands of the war under the existing management. . . All that we can do is to protest, and to vain, and that we will not cease to do, though hitherto we have done it in vain.

The day that this article appeared John Russell, having failed to dislodge the Duke of Newcastle, and feeling it therefore impossible to resist Roebuck's motion, resigned, the following day Lord Winchilsea in the House of Lords counter-attacked *The Times*. He denounced its attacks upon public and private character, and particularly upon Lord Raglan, alleged that information published in *The Times* had been helpful to the enemy, and complained of the impropriety of allowing such a person as W. H. Russell—whose identity had long been public property and had even been admitted in *The Times*—to draw rations from the commissariat. The Duke of Newcastle followed Winchilsea, quoting letters from Raglan

¹ Granville to Russell, December 23, 1854 (Russell Papers, P R O , G & D. 22/11.

² Gladstone wrote (to Sir W R Fairquhar) "As to charges of cruelty, cold-heartedness, and neglect, I have heard none such made in Parliament, and I do not suppose it to be your meaning that we should serve Lord Raglan by entering into controversy with anonymous calumniators." (February 13, 1855 ; B M , Gladstone Papers.)

AN OFFER TO THE GOVERNMENT

complaining that intelligence was in fact reaching the enemy through *The Times*, and promising in conclusion to stop Russell's rations. The leading article of the next day replied. It answered Winchelsea's general argument by a general defence of the liberty of the Press to comment upon all public events and characters, a defence that could now be reinforced in the particular instance by an unanswerable vindication of the accuracy of *The Times* charges, for John Russell, now released from Ministerial discretion, had just told the House of Commons that the condition of the Army was indeed "painful, horrible, and heartrending." The article proceeded to make a singular disclosure :

When the appeal of which the Duke speaks was made to us, we offered, as he well knows, to suppress not only all that could possibly assist the enemy in our correspondence from the Crimea, but also all the intelligence of naval and military movements here which we believed, and still believe, to be of much greater importance. The Duke did not think this necessary, but our offer and his reply remain, and can be produced. (January 27, 1855)

Finally, Russell's rations were defended :

Let him comfort himself, and let Lord Winchelsea and his fellow-economists take comfort ;—the full value of every ration shall be repaid, and the churls who represent a generous country shall not have one farthing to charge to the historian of the war. At the same time, we would venture to remind them that the obligation is not all on our side. It was but the other day another correspondent of *The Times* clothed a regiment which had been sent utterly unprovided by the War Department to rot away in the trenches before Sebastopol. (January 27, 1855)

The phrase about clothing a regiment refers to the fact that the 39th Foot had been ordered direct from the tropics to the Crimea with no provision of warm garments, and MacDonald, at the surgeon's request, had supplied them all with flannel underclothing.

The excitement caused by the Lords' counter-attack on *The Times* was merged in the imminent crisis of the Government. The leading article of January 29 anticipates that Roebuck's motion will pass, and the question is "what then ?" The writer acclaimed Palmerston as the only possible Prime Minister, but refused to approve of his combining the office with that of Secretary of State for War. That night Roebuck's motion passed by a large majority, and Aberdeen at once resigned. Palmerston

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became Prime Minister, and Lord Panmure Secretary of State for War. Willing to give its support to the new Government, *The Times* nevertheless deplored that, despite its exposure of incompetence at the front, "we have not recalled a single official," and that Lord Raglan continued "to repose in ease and tranquillity among the relics of his army."

The fall of Aberdeen and the accession of Palmerston to the leadership of the Government did not immediately reconcile *The Times*, despite its initial approval of Palmerston's appointment as Prime Minister. First the opposition of Gladstone, Graham and Herbert (Peelites remaining in the Cabinet) to Roebuck's inquiry, and then Lord John Russell's mission to the Peace Conference at Vienna, interfered with the paper's demand for the prosecution of the war to a victorious end. *The Times* was prepared to support Palmerston only if he fulfilled that condition. It was not until the Peace mission had failed and Russell had been forced into resignation (largely through the efforts of *The Times*) that the paper entered into an alliance with the Prime Minister, who began to give promise of those military successes which were demanded.

The subservience of the new Government as a whole,¹ and of Lord Panmure in particular, is bitterly stigmatized by Raglan's prophet, Kinglake.

They retained Lord Raglan in the command of our army; but then, also, they ignobly left him unshielded by any good word of theirs against his rampant accusers, and even themselves took a part in hooting their absent general still engaged in close strife with the enemy; whilst, moreover, from his Headquarter Staff they resolved to choose the fresh "victims" required for appeasing our people. . . .

The bearing of Lord Panmure towards the press was a good deal like that of a soldier taken prisoner by the enemy. He received his marching orders submissively from the sheets of *The Times*, proceeded at once to obey them, and so trudged doggedly on, without giving other vent to his savagery than a comfortable oath and a growl.²

The influence of *The Times* over the new Government was exercised by the printed sheet, and not through any direct intercourse between Whitehall and Printing House Square. It is stated in the *Panmure Papers* that while Lord Panmure was at the War Office he had, apart from communications sent to all

¹ There are indications that, when Panmure gave way to *The Times*, he did so under orders from the Prime Minister (See *Panmure Papers*, I, 303, 308.)

² Kinglake, VII, 287, 290-91.

" THE THIN RED STREAK "

the principal newspapers, no intercourse direct or indirect with *The Times*, and that no persons other than those belonging to the recognized Government organ, whose announcements were semi-official, ever entered his Private Secretary's room. Panmure was not personally acquainted with Delane until after he had left the War Office.¹

Political philosophy might find it possible to reconcile the opposing attitudes ; but it remains significant to find Panmure describing *The Times* as " villainous " at the moment when he was relying on the information to be found in its columns. Many of his complaints to Raglan, even more than Newcastle's, were based upon the statements of *The Times*, for both felt that the general's dispatches did not contain the whole truth of the condition of the army. Raglan was bitterly hurt by this lack of confidence in him, and admonished Panmure with dignity for placing reliance on " irresponsible informants "

Meanwhile the servants of *The Times* at the seat of war had settled down to a regular routine , their efficiency is to be judged by the fact that, when Clarendon sent information to Delane, the Editor was sometimes able to reply : " Our news is a little more full than that you have been good enough to send me."² Russell, who by this time enjoyed an enormous reputation both at home and among the Army, was so well established that he had an iron house sent out to him in pieces by Mowbray Morris. His famous phrase about the " thin red streak topped with a line of steel "³ at the Battle of Balaklava had already passed into the language, and his graphic writings day by day had long since been accepted in England as the one authoritative account of the progress of the war. The other principal representative of the paper was Stowe, but unhappily not for long. He was engaged in distributing *The Times* fund, which had now mounted up to £25,000, but he also acted as war correspondent when Russell was granted a well-earned holiday of a month. (Mrs. Russell was sent out at the expense of *The Times* to join her husband in Constantinople, where his period of leave was spent.) In May, 1855, Russell left the Balaclava camp to accompany the expedition to Kertch, and

¹ *Panmure Papers*, II, 489

² Delane to Clarendon, June 6, 1854. (*Clarendon Papers*.)

³ This is the phrase as it appeared in Russell's dispatch of October 25, 1854, and as it was reprinted in the book of his dispatches. It has suffered mutations, due chiefly to its author, who years later said the word " topped " should be " tipped." The phrase " thin red line " is inaccurate, arising possibly through confusion with Kinglake's " slender red line "

THE CRIMEAN WAR

Stowe came from Scutari to the Crimea to take his place. But soon after his arrival Stowe was struck down by the prevailing cholera, as a civilian he was refused admission to the military hospital, and on June 22 he died. *The Times* of July 6 contained a warm eulogy of his part in the war, and an indignant protest at the treatment to which he had been subjected. Stowe's brother, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, says that this leading article was written by John Walter himself. It contained the announcement of an important decision.

The event has led to a determination in which we hope to have the concurrence of our supporters. We shall not send out another friend, another valuable life, to a service in which, among other dangers, British inhumanity is to be encountered. Whoever goes out to administer our Fund must expect that, in the event of his sickening in the crowd—and almost everybody there does sicken at one time or another, till he is acclimated—he will be excluded from the hospitals where he is sent to minister, and deprived of the medical aid which he has, perhaps, assisted with the most needful supplies. (July 6, 1855)

There is no doubt that, however lamentable the occasion, *The Times* was ready to welcome an opportunity of winding up the fund. Mowbray Morris had been informed as early as May that Stowe was finding little opportunity to spend money, and on August 3 he was writing to a correspondent at Smyrna that "the military hospitals are well provided—so well that our almoner has been long unable to find ways of spending the fund." About the same time Morris also found that Constantinople had ceased to be a source of important news, and on July 6 he wrote to recall Chenery to help with the leading articles at home. Chenery's place in Constantinople was taken by Frederick Hardman, who in the previous year had been engaged for the paper as correspondent in Madrid. On his arrival the three principal correspondents now in the East conferred together, and distributed their duties in a manner subsequently confirmed by the Manager, writing to Russell on August 3:

Henceforth you will be deemed the chronicler of the siege, Eber of the field operations, & Hardman of the politics of Cple, it being understood that each is ready to take the other's place or to assist him in any way most conducive to the interests of the paper.

To Hardman also fell such work as remained in connexion with the fund. But by this time the hospitals were well supplied with

THE DEATH OF RAGLAN

necessaries, and there was little to do except supply reading matter to the convalescents and supervise the finance of the "Inkerman Café" which *The Times* had established, with the collaboration of Miss Nightingale, between the two main hospitals at Scutari.

On June 23, 1855, appeared the report of the Roebuck Committee, substantially justifying the criticisms of *The Times* upon the conduct of the war. But an amendment moved in the Commons for the censure of Lord Raglan was lost, to the annoyance of *The Times*. However, his reign was over. On June 29 it was announced—without comment—that he was retiring from the command, owing to ill-health, and the following day in a special third edition published at 2.35 p.m. that he was dead. The obituary, appearing on July 2, dwelt only on his high personal character and ignored his military shortcomings.¹

The fall of Sebastopol in September did not immediately modify the bellicose attitude of *The Times*, although it declared on September 11 that "the power of Russia in the waters of the Euxine is at an end." When Palmerston on September 14, speaking at Melbourne, called upon the country to carry the war to a triumphant conclusion, *The Times* enthusiastically endorsed his appeal. In the latter half of September Raglan's successor, General Simpson, became the target of some strong strategical criticism in the leading articles, and his retirement was demanded. Generals in time of war hold office by a more stable tenure than Ministers; *The Times* had dismissed John Russell in one week; it took nearly four to remove Simpson. He was retired on October 23.

The new Commander-in-Chief, Sir William Codrington, began, in his first dispatch to Panmure, to complain of the Press.

"I feel it right," he wrote, "to shew to your Lordship an apparently minor duty but one almost necessary and very patriotic, which is owing to this army. I speak of some discretion being shown in the publication of information by the newspapers." He offered no practical suggestion as to how this discretion might be secured; letters from the Secretary of State to the Editors had been tried by Newcastle, without satisfactory result. The

¹ On July 7, Delane wrote to N. Macdonald, Controller of Accounts, Lord Chamberlain's office. "I hope you, as a friend of poor Lord Raglan's, were satisfied with the character we gave him. He was a very good and in some respects a very great man and if he was not also a great general it was no more a matter of just reproach than that he was not a great painter or a great musician." (Royal Archives, Windsor.)

THE CRIMEAN WAR

only solution suggested by Panmure was : "the way will be when the time comes to inform Genl. C. that he will be fully supported in all measures requisite to restrain the information given by the reporters within proper bounds."

The most serious charge was that the newspapers, and principally *The Times*, furnished intelligence to the enemy by publishing details of the strength, situation and condition of the Army. It has been seen that the paper rebutted this accusation when it was made in the House of Lords, but in the light of history the question must be more seriously considered. Kinglake devotes the greater part of a long chapter¹ to the exposition of the case against *The Times*, but on the broader subject of the condition of the Army the verdict of history is emphatically in favour of *The Times*. It is true that the paper painted a picture well calculated to hearten the Russians ; it is also probable that, as Kinglake suggests, the discontented in the Army,² seeing Russell apparently charged with commission to bind and to loose, used him as the vehicle of their complaints to a wider audience, and it is certain that the leading articles founded on these complaints went to extreme and unjust lengths of vituperation.³ The specimens of their language collected by Kinglake could scarcely be surpassed in violence by the yellowest journalism of to-day. On the other hand, if Russell had not set out to shock the conscience of the nation there would have been no *Times* fund, no mission of Florence Nightingale, no reform of the commissariat, and no reinforcements on the scale eventually sent. Expert military and naval judgments on his work have been collected by his biographer, and the most authoritative of them may in this connexion be taken as final. Field-Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood's testimony was that Russell, "by awakening the conscience of the British nation to the sufferings of its troops," saved "the remnant of those gallant battalions we landed in September."

This species of information thus had practical consequences of great value. In the nature of the case these results could not have been achieved without revelations which were in many ways disadvantageous. It was said that *The Times* rendered recruiting

¹ Kinglake, VII, Chapter 9

² "The low and grovelling correspondents to *The Times*, of whom there are always some in every army" (General Simpson to Lord Panmure, *Panmure Papers*, I, 171)

³ Lord John Russell did not hesitate to attribute the basest motives : "Their game is clear, to lower the funds one week by false reports, and raise them another by stories equally false. Their gains must be enormous." Russell to Clarendon, December 15, 1854. (*Clarendon Papers*)

INFORMATION FOR THE ENEMY

at home impossible,¹ and at the same time opposed the enlistment of foreign mercenaries. It even appeared to some observers that the paper's revelation of British military weakness was little short of treason.

Our army is not only melting away but our national position is doing the same [wrote Clarendon], that ill bird *The Times* wh daily fouls its own nest contributes powerfully to the decline of England—the articles are translated & circulated with rancorous activity & thro'out the Continent. There is willing belief in *les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes*. They encourage the E. of Russia agst us, they cool the friendship of France & abate the confidence of Austria, & in short fulfil all the conditions of high treason. Things are bad enough Heaven knows in the Crimea but the glowing colors in wh. every detail is painted have excited the people of this country almost to madness & have led among other things to a ministerial crisis.²

Clarendon wrote frequently in this strain with some justice. Nevertheless his colleagues were mismanaging the war, and the ministerial crisis was not without beneficent results. Clarendon thus appears as the advocate of entrenched privilege outraged by attacks upon it. And even Clarendon admitted to Reeve that "all attacks on the Govt. are perfectly legitimate and the vices of our military administn. and the condition of our army shd. be denounced strongly."

On immediate tactical grounds it is more difficult to acquit *The Times* of serious indiscretion. The detailed nature of the information disclosed by Russell may be shown by an extract from Lord Raglan's first letter of protest to the Duke of Newcastle. It relates to an article published on October 23, 1854:

You will perceive that it is there stated that our losses from cholera are very great; that the Light Division Encampment is kept on the alert by shot and shell which pitch into the middle of it; that 40 pieces

¹ Lord Panmure, writing to the Queen on February 15, 1855, was "deeply concerned to observe the mischievous article in *The Times* of this morning, contrasting the condition of the officers and men of the Army. With such infamous articles as these it is not surprising to see recruiting fall off, and zeal, and even loyalty itself paralysed" (*Panmure Papers*, I, 66). "The horrible descriptions in *The Times* of the dead and dying on the field of battle and the neglect of the wounded in the hospitals has completely stopped recruiting at home." (Clarendon to Stratford, October 23, 1854 PRO, FO 352/40)

² Clarendon to Stratford, January 26, 1855. (Stratford Papers, F O., 352/42) On the 23rd Lord Cowley had written to him from Paris. "The articles in *The Times* will not only ruin the Govt but the cause in which we are all engaged. What can be their object? If they perceive the infinity of mischief they are doing, I cannot but think they wd. be more prudent. If every word they publish were true why give it to the world? Can nothing be done to stop such recklessness? I have had half a mind to write to Delane myself, for his paper is injuring us here, but I suppose it is useless" (Clarendon Papers.)

THE CRIMEAN WAR

of artillery had been sent up to our park, and twelve tons of gunpowder safely deposited in a mill, the position of which is described, and which of course must be accurately known by the enemy ; that the Second Division had moved and taken ground in the vicinity of the Fourth Division, in which a shell had fallen with fatal effect in a tent occupied by some men of the 63rd Regiment ; and that the French would have 60 heavy guns, the British Army 50 and 60 more would be supplied by the Navy. . . . The position of the 93d is stated, as is that of the Headquarters of the Commander of the Forces ; likewise the possible dearth of roundshot, and of gabions and fascines¹

In warfare of to-day the whole of this information—if a correspondent had been so foolish as to include it—would be automatically struck out by the censor. In the Peninsular War, where Lord Raglan had learnt his trade, it would have been harmless, for it could never have reached the enemy in time. But the Crimean War was the first of any magnitude in which the telegraph played any considerable part, and both generals and editors were apt to miscalculate its influence. Russell's dispatches took many days to be conveyed to London and published in *The Times*, but the essential facts they contained would reach Petersburg by wire on the day of publication,² and would be immediately transmitted to the Russian Commander-in-Chief. Even *The Times* itself, according to General Simpson, reached Sebastopol before he received it at the British headquarters, while the leading articles and most interesting foreign news were reprinted in Petersburg the same evening. This was known to Raglan and it was also known to Delane, but neither seems fully to have realized its implications.

Indeed, the danger now fully appreciated by the Press censors was so little understood at the beginning of the Crimean War that the Master-General of the Ordnance, Lord Hardinge, himself sent Delane precise details of regiments sailing for the East and their exact strength. Though this practice was gradually found to be potentially dangerous, Delane must have been confused by the conflicting actions of a Field-Marshal and a Secretary

¹ Martineau, *op. cit.* 208. Newcastle sent an extract from this letter to Delane, who replied that one of the Duke's colleagues had approached him a fortnight before, and "since then I have most carefully expunged all speculations as to the future, and will continue to confine all my correspondents exclusively to the version of past events" (*Ibid.* 211.)

² "Our spies give us all manner of reports, while the enemy never spends a farthing for information. He gets it all for 5d from a London paper." (Simpson to Panmure, *Panmure Papers*, I, 482.)

OFFICIALDOM COWED

of State for War ; no machinery of censorship was designed to assist him in his task of publishing only unexceptionable matter

The Government, afraid of the correspondents and above all of *The Times*, dared not forbid Russell's presence with the Army, nor face the charge of hiding the truth by censoring correspondence. The public was too eager for news and too critical of the management of the war. This eagerness was the source of the paper's power, and *The Times* knew it so well that it bullied the Government when information was inadequate. *The Times*, in fact, could demand instead of beg for Foreign Office facilities. It even castigated the Foreign Office when its telegrams contained errors ; Clarendon thought this "unjust and ungentlemanlike," for "it is impossible for us to attempt to correct errors of the telegraph"—or to be expected to send out telegrams arriving at 10.30 a.m. in time for second editions. But *The Times* had public opinion behind it and Clarendon was cowed. "I must beg you," he wrote to Stratford, "to write as fully as possible upon war facts by every occasion that presents itself."¹ Delane, conscious of his power, was willing to suppress matter which would assist the enemy, but not to hide the shortcomings of the Government. Neither Newcastle nor Raglan could eject Russell after his heart-rending descriptions of the condition of the Army. They could only appeal to the editors and leave the censorship of correspondence to the journalists themselves. Delane, having no military training and without guidance from the War Office, lacked any standard other than that of the journalist, and in the face of severe competition he was naturally inclined to one which was, from the military point of view, lax.

Codrington, as has been seen, called for some restriction, but neither he nor Panmure was eager to take the first step. After some months at the head of the Army, the General at last nerved himself to write a dispatch in which he expatiated upon the free institutions of England and the liberty of the Press, "the birth-right and the pride of Englishmen." He concluded with a request for "the support of the Government, & through it of the country," for the suppression of undesirable matter, which placed "details of numbers, positions, batteries, at the service of the Enemy."

Panmure's reply was characteristic. After an extended description of the nature of a war correspondent and his evil ways, the statesman promised the Government's support but threw the initiative upon the General.

¹ Clarendon to Stratford, October 9, 1854 (Stratford Papers, F.O. 352/40)

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It appears to me that, if you were to send for these gentlemen, and explain to them clearly and distinctly the nature of the information which you would allow them to send home, and the limits within which they must confine the intelligence which they communicate, and if you were at the same time to put it to their patriotism and honour whether they would endanger the success of the Army by premature and improper publication of its numbers, conditions, etc., I am of opinion that you would destroy that rivalry for newsmongering which exists among the Agents of the different Newspapers.

You could at the same time define to them their respective localities or position in the Field, and under certain restrictions extend to them certain protection and even privileges, which would be withdrawn on the least infraction of the rules laid down by you

Determined to take some step in restraint of the Press, Codrington issued a General Order, some 400 words in length, which stated that the British public had too much common sense to desire to see published details of value to the enemy, authorized the ejection of a correspondent at Kertch who had published such details, and threatened future offenders with the same punishment¹. In transmitting this order to Panmure, Codrington expressed his affection for newspapers, and remarked that "no one need take offence at the terms which I have used." This bold step was taken too late, for by the time news of it had reached England hostilities had ceased. *The Times* could not therefore take very seriously the tardy attack upon its privileges; its work was finished and whatever harm it had done was past repair and past repetition. A leading article dryly said of Codrington: "It is evident that he has been for months bursting with anxiety to write something fine against the press; and, as is usually the case with a weak-minded man, he has chosen the worst opportunity." (March 11, 1856.)

It is a question whether in fact the revelation of details did assist the enemy. In September, 1854, Newcastle had written to Lord John Russell that:

It appears that the Russians (thanks to our Press) have obtained information that we meditated a landing at Katsoka & in consequence they have encamped some 10,000 men with cavalry on the ground above it

¹ General Orders, February 25, 1856 (P.R.O., W.O. 28/131), published in *The Times* March 11

CLOSE OF A BRILLIANT PHASE

Long after the war W. H. Russell wrote to Prince Gortschakoff, who had commanded in Sebastopol, and asked him what had really been the value to Russia of the reports in *The Times*. Gortschakoff replied that he never received any information from them, or learned anything that he had not known beforehand.¹

In the later stages of the war *The Times* was mainly preoccupied with the danger of a premature peace, and even after the capture of Sebastopol urged that the advantage should be driven home. By the end of the year 1855, Delane had entered into the alliance with Palmerston, and *The Times* supported his policy in the peace negotiations which began in January, 1856. The Editor was at this time confined to his bed in Serjeant's Inn, but was in close touch with Dasent, who was editing the paper, and with the Prime Minister. On the 16th he received a note² from Palmerston informing him of the state of the peace negotiations and of the policy to be pursued by the Government. "Austria . . . has given Russia till the 18th to reconsider her answer, and to send by telegraph to Vienna a yes or no, entire acceptance or what would be considered as tantamount to refusal." The same evening Bird in Vienna handed in a telegram at 10 o'clock : "Russia has unconditionally accepted the propositions of the allies. This is authentic."

The message reached Printing House Square at 10 o'clock next morning, and a second edition was immediately printed, which was on sale in the City by 11 and caused a sensation on the Stock Exchange "as great as upon any occasion within recollection." (City article, January 18, 1856.) The Funds rose 3 per cent. at once. *The Times*, in fact, published the news before it had reached the Government ; as soon as he received it, Palmerston sent the information to Delane, but the special edition was already on the streets.

The Russian capitulation ended a brilliant phase in the history of *The Times*. The paper might claim to have made the war—its enemies constantly charged it with having done so ; it had been largely responsible for the Crimean campaign that had brought victory in the end³ ; it had "saved the remnant of an

¹ Atkins, I, 255, 256.

² P.H.S. Papers, D. 7/11; Dasent, I, 228.

³ Speaking in the House of Lords, Lord Malmesbury made *The Times* responsible for "The expedition to the Crimea, at the time when it was made, at an improper season of the year, and before the army was properly provided with transports and other necessaries." (February 8, 1855. Hansard, 3rd series, col. 1362.)

THE CRIMEAN WAR

army", it had destroyed one Ministry and forced important changes in another; and it had caused the removal of a Commander-in-Chief. Russell came home in a blaze of glory, to be "lionized" as no journalist had ever been before

A proposal was made in the City of a public testimonial to the London newspapers for their services during the war. A letter written to George Moffatt, M P , by Delane, dated April 16, 1856, on the part of the conductors of *The Times*, declined the honour on the ground that their services had been performed in the course of professional duties :

We can neither claim nor accept any other reward than that which we derive from the belief that we have done the best in our power to merit the favour which the public has so long bestowed on us.

With a series of great victories to its credit, and a friendly Prime Minister in office, *The Times* faced the future serenely confident of its authority as "the fourth estate of the Realm," while not a few statesmen felt they had reason to fear the writ of the paper.

"For me who have had my full feast of office it does not much matter, but if England is ever to be England again, this vile tyranny of *The Times* must be cut off."

So wrote John Russell to Clarendon.

X

1850-1855:

THE SECOND "WAR WITH *THE TIMES*"

THE "vile tyranny of *The Times*" could not easily be cut off. The paper was a political power because its success was independent of political subsidy or support. The basis of its power was its rare prosperity, and the "tyranny" could only be "cut off" by attacking its trade position. In the eighteenth century the newspaper trade expanded, as the first volume of this History showed, for reasons which were not directly economic. Pitt and Fox were hardly interested in receipts from sales or advertisements. *The Times* is the earliest and most conspicuous example of a journal conducted in the nineteenth century without subsidy or reward to its Proprietor or Editor from either of the historic English parties. *The Times* was an exceptional journal because Walter II and Barnes were exceptional men. But a general change in the trade and a particular change in the commercial situation of *The Times* followed the abolition of the so-called "taxes on knowledge" and the development of an entirely new reading public. Then the total abolition of stamping completed the transition to the mid-Victorian period of party journalism. In spite of the contemporary radical arguments in its favour, the motive for this change was neither economic nor educational. It was a political move directed by the motive of "stopping" *The Times*.

From 1815 to 1836 the stamp duty was fixed at 4d. *The Times*, in common with other morning journals, was sold at 7d. From 1836 the paper was sold at 5d. The Act of 1836, though originally contrived in order to benefit the Whig journals at the expense of *The Times*, operated in fact, first, to benefit all the London journals at the expense of the public, and, secondly, *The Times* at the expense of all other London journals. After the passing of the 1836 Act, the Association of Newspaper Proprietors¹

¹ I.e., the early, informal, Committee of London Proprietors. None of its proceedings or documents is in the possession of the present Association.

agreed to publish all the morning journals at 5d instead of the 4d. price that was anticipated by sections of the public when the Government knocked 3d off the stamp. The Association of Newspaper Proprietors at no time thought it necessary to acquaint the public with the reasons which led them to standardize the morning papers at a price of 5d.: nor, during the anti-stamp campaign of the 'thirties, did the proprietors, great as was their jealousy of *The Times*, give any real assistance to the cause of the repealers. The proprietor of the *Morning Post*, Thomas



Fig. 8. The fiscal stamp (with privilege of free postal transmission irrespective of weight within fourteen days of publication) printed at Somerset House on newsprint before delivery to Printing House Square In use from September 1, 1836, until October 17, 1853

Crompton, as a paper-maker, was interested only in the abolition of the separate paper tax of 3d. a pound. His editor was Peter Borthwick, who became chairman of the Proprietors' Association in 1849; but although Crompton and Borthwick joined with the Social Reformers and the Fraternal Democrats in condemning the paper impost as a tax upon knowledge, they discreetly refrained from agitating against the newspaper stamp itself. Even the *Morning Chronicle*, dependent as it was upon the patronage of Radical intellectuals, never, as Place pointed out, advocated abolition or a completely "free" Press.

There was a reason for this silence. The whole stamp duty of 4d. a copy extorted from 1815 to 1836 was passed on to the public. But the newspapers never paid 4d. net; they were given a discount of 20 per cent. This 20 per cent. was originally intended to cover such incidental losses as wastage in printing, necessary gratuitous copies, and spoiled stamps. All this wastage, however, amounted to little more than 5 per cent. The rest was a profit to the proprietors. Thus the newspapers became interested in the maintenance of the tax and hence never agitated for abolition. The

THE DAILY NEWS, "THE LITTLE BENJAMIN"

reduction in 1836 from 4d less 20 per cent. to 1d less 25 per cent. deprived the proprietors of a long-standing hidden bonus which they had enjoyed ever since 1804.¹ From 1836 this discount was not $\frac{4}{5}$ d. but $\frac{1}{2}$ d.—*i.e.*, the proprietors lost roughly $\frac{1}{2}$ d. on the change. Hence, as it is easy to understand, the proprietors made the new price 5d, and not 4d. as the public expected.

The position of *The Times* was different. Three or four times a week the accumulation of advertisements necessitated the issue, with the paper itself, of a Supplement, which the law of 1836 taxed with a halfpenny stamp on each copy. But this halfpenny was not passed on to the public, who thus secured thrice a week what should have been a 5½d. paper for the nominal agreed price of 5d. The proprietors of the other newspapers seem not to have realized the consequences of the apparent self-denial of *The Times*. The proprietors did not foresee that they stood to lose as much by the competition of a 16-page paper, sold for their own price of 5d, as by a possible 12-page paper sold for less. But the ever shrewd advertiser could not resist the extraordinary bargain which *The Times* gave him—namely, access to an audience vastly larger than that of the *Chronicle*, the *Herald*, and the *Post* added together, but at the same charge. Nor could the average newspaper reader fail to see that *The Times* offered him not only a journal far better, but far bigger than any other. *The Times* calculated that, so long as the number of advertisements in the taxed Supplement balanced the expenses of printing, paper, and taxation, it would pay to present it free to readers. It did pay handsomely—not, strictly, in advertising profit, but in circulation.

Very reasonably, in the circumstances, the Chief Proprietor of *The Times* always justified the 5d. price on the ground that a "really good Paper cannot be published for less." Odd half-pennies would not do; fourpence-halfpenny could only be regarded by the trade as a freak price, as a seven-shilling novel would be to-day. When, on January 21, 1846, the first number of the *Daily News* was brought out by Charles Dickens, its price, too, was 5d. But it did not go. A new manager had to be found, and in April Charles Wentworth Dilke took the paper in hand. On June 1 Dilke halved the price, made a policy of attacking *The Times*, and took the circulation from 4,000 to 22,000. Even at this figure of circulation the "twopenny-halfpenny paper" was laughed at by *The Times* as the "Little Benjamin of the Press."

¹ When they were given 16 per cent. discount on the stamp, then raised to 3½d.

When the *Daily News* soon afterwards raised its price to 3d trade observers believed it would slowly return to the common price of 5d. Before the *News* could do this, Sir John Easthope, on June 26, 1847, thinking to revive the sinking fortunes of his *Morning Chronicle*, reduced its price from 5d. to 4d. This was a surprise, and *The Times* took the opportunity to discuss the new situation of the newspaper trade. It boldly announced on July 6 that "interested as we may seem in the affair, we maintain that the public are themselves interested in keeping up the price of the London daily newspaper, which, after all, is the cheapest thing in the whole world, for nothing else can be mentioned in which you get so much for your money" As after reduction the *Chronicle* fared still worse, the future of the high-priced Press seemed assured. There was, indeed, one new but unsuccessful bid for the support of readers unwilling to pay 5d for a morning paper. In 1848 the *London Telegraph* was founded at 3d. To confirm the common view, it lived for only five months. Moreover, in February, 1848, Sir John Easthope, failing with his 4d. *Chronicle*, sold it to a syndicate of Peelites headed by Lord Lincoln, which, securing that first-class journalist, John Douglas Cook, from *The Times* staff as editor,¹ and William Frederick Augustus Delane as manager, returned to the price of 5d. Finally, the *Daily News*, in spite of being able to advertise itself as "the lowest priced Paper," was known to be in difficulties, because, notwithstanding a daily sale of 20,000, it made losses rather than profits. at 3d its price was too low for its circulation. At this period, then, *The Times* entertained no fears for its future. Those were among the finest years the paper enjoyed at this period.² The sales steadily continued to mount. By 1842 circulation was double that of 1836; on February 11, 1848, it sold 30,040, and by 1850 the circulation was double that of 1842.

Naturally, this progress was in large part due to the trade conditions; there was a certain amount of progress all round. The stamp reduction of 1836 at first made things better for all the

¹ J. D. Cook came to Barnes in 1839 with an introduction from John Murray. Quickly securing promotion, he attracted the notice of John Walter II., for whom he undertook electoral work. In this capacity he met Lord Lincoln, who was impressed by his abilities. He edited the *Saturday Review* from its first number in 1855 until his death in 1868, and ranks as one of the great journalists of the period. William Delane, Treasurer of *The Times* 1831-1847 (see Chapter II), joined the *Morning Chronicle* in February, 1848, as manager, and resigned in January, 1851. He died July 29, 1867, aged 64.

² I.e., the paper made the most regular and considerable annual increase of sales from 1830 to 1850 at the expense of its competitors. From 1855 to 1861 sales did not increase, but profits did. The price of the paper was reduced in 1861. See Chapter XVII, "Price Threepence," for some account of sales, prices, and profits.

THE TIMES SUPPLEMENT

journals. The *Morning Chronicle* gained in 1837 ; it began to lose ground little by little in 1838-9, but so regularly thenceforward that it stood in 1850 at half its figure for 1842. But *The Times*, with the huge gratis advertisement sheet it had initiated in 1822, was benefiting at a greater rate, and even at the expense of all its rivals. This would have happened if there had been no reduction in 1836, but, contrary to intention and expectation, the effect of that Act was to accelerate the momentum of *The Times*. The *Morning Herald*, which had risen in 1837 to a figure equal to that of the *Morning Chronicle*, despite its fervid and lucrative championship of the railway "mania" was a steadier paper. It had given Printing House Square much competition with the Indian Mail service ; nevertheless it lost nearly one-third of its circulation by 1850. The *Morning Post*, which enjoyed a notable increase between 1839 and 1841, nearly doubling its sales, was forced back in 1850 to its old figure. The *Morning Advertiser*, as the organ of the liquor interest, remained insignificantly constant. Thus *The Times*, which at Barnes's death was selling more than twice as many copies as the *Chronicle*, *Herald*, and *Post* combined, reached in 1850 a daily sale four times that of all these three senior dailies added together. The reduction of the stamp with consequent cheapening of all papers had certainly achieved one object : it had extended the habit of newspaper reading ; but, what was not foreseen by the political wire-pullers, *The Times* gained most. The material reason for the progress of *The Times* was the Supplement. It was not believed that the paper could afford to deliver the Supplement gratis with a 5d. paper as it had been in the habit of doing with a 7d. paper. And competitors were more or less correct in their view that, as advertising rates were, the Supplement was in itself uneconomic ; for, strictly speaking, the practice did not pay and would certainly not have paid any other journal. It "paid," as has already been observed, in terms of circulation of the whole paper.

The Times made no other effort to increase its circulation and needed none. From 1850 rivalry between Printing House Square and the other offices was purely political. There was no longer the exchange of disparagement between *The Times* and the *Chronicle*, characteristic of Barnes's period, or the rivalry on the roads.¹ Even the cost for special trains from Paris, special

¹ The programme under John Walter III was first to economize on all news services, and secondly to concentrate upon securing exclusive home political information. This programme led J. T. Delane to attend above all to "information" just as Barnes had done ; while Walter II had specialized in "news," principally foreign.

steamers, and special locomotives at Dover was shared. For instance, *The Times* worked with Edward Baldwin of the *Morning Herald*, and Mowbray Morris was in regular correspondence with W. Delane of the *Morning Chronicle*. Mowbray Morris, when tackled on the subject of circulation, declared that if there were no considerations beyond a mere desire to increase the sale of the paper it could be doubled in two years. That was in 1850, and the available figures support Morris's judgment. Moreover, the other economic factor, advertising, more vital in some aspects even than circulation itself, was not promoted. The Manager's letter-book contains many communications to individuals and agents which make curious reading in these days of keen competition for advertising.¹ In 1850 *The Times* had not the least desire to increase the number of advertisements forwarded for insertion in the paper or its Supplement. Because the Supplement was gratis, genuine advertising profit, as distinct from increased turnover, was limited to the announcements printed in the body of *The Times*. The Supplement had its disadvantages. Walter, as printer, had to be content with a very low rate of printing profit on it. No guarantee was given to any person in respect of date of appearance or position, and a considerable volume of advertising was always held in suspense. In fact, the advertising department of *The Times* at this period was hardly giving a financial return commensurate with the labour involved.²

One reason, and perhaps the most powerful, for the then apparent detachment from matters of price, circulation, and advertising revenue was the satisfaction of the Chief Proprietor with *The Times* of 1850 and its increasing prosperity. As he saw it, *The Times* could not be improved. Left to itself, the paper, it was thought, could not fail in the coming years to satisfy the public as much as it satisfied the Proprietor. John Walter had unbounded confidence in the ability of his staff, the discernment of the public present and future, and its contentment with the paper as then produced. The "new journalism" was not yet thought of.³ There was, however, the little matter of a Select Committee which the House of Commons appointed in 1850 to satisfy certain country

¹ As, for example, that no single advertiser was allowed to take more than one advertisement in any one issue of *The Times*, no person could take more than one column at one time. Persons advertising in the Deaths column were forbidden to quote texts—even from Scripture.

² The *Supplement* was suppressed, or, rather, taken into the body of *The Times*, after the reduction of the advertisement tax in 1854.

³ For the development of the "new journalism" see Chapter XIV.

THE TIMES PRINTS ITS OWN STAMPS

members who complained that the stamp made the metropolitan papers dictators over the whole of the country. It was a fact that no daily paper was published in the provinces, but few believed that the Select Committee would result in anything but additional prosecution for tax-evasion.

Provided the cheap *Daily News* was killed or its price-cutting policy cured, John Walter had every justification for his optimism. And he then believed, and became firmly convinced, that the superior quality of *The Times* would, by itself, ever secure its predominance "It is commonly said that cheap things do not interfere with the sale of good things, but that they rather diffuse a taste for the article and in that way ultimately enlarge the class of consumers. We believe it to be so in our case. They who start with a twopence halfpenny, or threepenny, or fourpenny journal, will soon not be satisfied with anything under a fivepenny one." This was the opinion of *The Times* as expressed in a leading article published a week or two before John Walter II died. And this opinion became an article of faith to his son. The view held was that, so far as circumstances could be foreseen in 1847, *The Times* would not only never attempt to retain leadership by following a policy of price-cutting, but would never be tempted to do so.¹ The situation seemed secure. The taxed journal was still printed on fine rag paper, also taxed. In 1853 a small but not inconspicuous change in the appearance of *The Times* occurred as the result of a new arrangement for the impressing of the stamps in Printing House Square instead of at Somerset House. Mowbray Morris wrote to the Commissioners of Inland Revenue on May 11, 1853, as follows :

I am directed by the Proprietors of *The Times* to make to you the following statement & proposal.

In the twelve months comprised between the 29th December 1851 & the 25th December 1852 there were issued to *The Times* newspaper 24 millions of stamps, of which nearly 11 millions were for Supplements. This enormous number of stamps was affixed to 37 thousand reams of paper, weighing 1500 tons, the whole of which was warehoused in the Stamp Office & passed through the hands of the officers of that department.

The Proprietors of *The Times* are prepared to relieve the Stamp Office of this labour & to take it upon themselves. They propose to affix the stamp in the process of printing, the die being stereotyped in

¹ The price question in the 'sixties is discussed below in the Chapter "Price Threepence."

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the title or inserted in the "form" in any other manner that may appear more convenient. The Publisher will make affidavit from time to time, as the Commissioners may direct, of the number of stamps issued, & the Proprietors will give every facility to the Board for checking the Publisher's return.¹

There were, however, to be other changes more serious than the mere form of the stamps. However content *The Times* and other "anti-cheap" newspaper proprietors might be with the *status quo*, the proprietors of the smaller periodicals viewed the matter differently. To begin with, the legal definition of a newspaper was so vaguely drawn that the Law Officers of the Crown and the Commissioners of the Inland Revenue were not agreed. Thus it



Fig. 9. Fiscal stamp with postal privileges used from October 18, 1853



Fig. 10. Fiscal-postal stamp used for Supplement from November 9, 1853

came about that the *Athenaeum* was compelled to print a column of political news in order to qualify for the postal privileges annexed to the fiscal stamp. But, in addition to this very reasonable discontent in the periodical trade, there remained the successors of the radical Useful Knowledge Societies, supported by Brougham, Place, Roebuck, Wakley, Grote, and others. There existed also that body of opinion which felt, and felt very keenly, that *The Times* exercised a power no newspaper ought to be allowed to possess. Thus at the beginning of the Crimean War Croker wrote to Brougham before the paper's campaign for military efficiency had begun in earnest:

There has grown up, and is still growing, an influence over the conduct of members so imperious that the Speaker, instead of demanding from the Sovereign freedom of speech, had much better ask it from *The Times*.²

This feeling, as has been seen, was intensified by the paper's power as shown during the war.

¹ P.H.S. Papers, M. 3/420 Sir Charles Trevelyan assented to this arrangement on September 5, 1853. A similar concession was made to the *Stamford Mercury* in 1856 and to the *Illustrated London News* in 1860. *The Times* ceased to print its own postage stamp on October 20, 1911, in circumstances to be described in Volume III of this work.

² July 21, 1854 (Croker's *Correspondence and Diaries*, III, 339) For the views of other politicians see Sources X, infra

TROUBLED STATESMEN

In the first place *The Times* owed its power to its circulation, which was due to its own merits, and this, in its turn, gave it what did in fact almost amount to a monopoly of information. Statesmen like Aberdeen and Clarendon, who, for reasons of their own, supplied it with confidential information, contributed, by doing so, still more power to the already powerful *Times*. The combination of omnipresence and omniscience made *The Times* irresistible. Lord John Russell, as has been observed, recognized the risk to Governments—and the cure. In March, 1854, he wrote to Clarendon, who as Foreign Secretary was the paper's most important source of information: “I think when you send news to *The Times*, you should send it also to *Daily News*, and *M. Chronicle*.” From Russell's point of view, the very worst feature of the problem was that Delane was so strong that he could get news without giving support in exchange. “It is a pity,” he wrote acidly to Clarendon, “that *The Times* alternately contains articles personally offensive to me, & articles which are evidently derived from official sources”¹. During the Crimean War, owing to the inevitable demand for news, the situation became such that the Government did not dare withhold information from *The Times*.

Clarendon himself was too sure of his own hold upon *The Times*, through Reeve, and too conscious of the paper's authority abroad to wish to damage its power or to sacrifice its good will, though frequently he had cause to complain of its independence. Lord Malmesbury wrote to him to condemn the breaches of confidence to *The Times* and, while exculpating Clarendon personally, added, quite justly, that “if the sacred records of the office are to be sacrificed to party articles in newspapers, I feel sure you will see that you will be responsible for the consequences.” But during 1855 *The Times* alienated even Lord Clarendon, and Reeve retired from the paper in October in the circumstances described in the following chapter. John Russell was therefore able to write to Clarendon in triumph: “I am glad you now attach the importance which is due to it to the influence of *The Times*, & do not consider it a thing to be despised.” He set himself the congenial task of thwarting the paper, although he does not appear to have considered discrimination against *The Times* by a variation of the stamp law. Among others the

¹ Russell to Clarendon, July 18, 1854. (Clarendon Papers) On June 12 he wrote: “While he continues in this strain, he [Delane] is not entitled to special communications” (*Ibid.*)

1850-1855: THE SECOND "WAR WITH THE TIMES"

Sovereign herself supported Russell's plan to destroy the news-monopoly of *The Times*. She had written to him in 1854 that "she entirely agrees in Lord John's observation respecting the information obtained by *The Times* which she thinks he and the Cabinet ought positively not to tolerate any longer."

At this time she wrote to Palmerston having, it is evident, early information of his new and cautiously favourable attitude towards *The Times*:

[*Draft in the Prince's writing*]

Balmoral Oct 6 1855.

The Queen has been as much disgusted with the late atrocious articles in *The Times* on the Army in the Crimea, the King of Prussia, the late promotions etc etc as she understands the Cabinet to have been in London. L^d Panmure speaks even of the desire evinced in different quartiers to establish an "Anti Times League"—the Queen believes this would but aggravate the evil like any repressive laws, but she would put it to L^d Palmerston, whether it is right that the Editor, the Proprietor and the Writers of such execrable publications ought to be the honoured and constant guests of the Ministers of the Crown? Their introduction into our higher society and political "Reunions" to the extent to which it is now carried and the attention which is publicly shown to them there, is, the most direct encouragement they could receive adding both to their importance and power for mischief. Their exclusion from these circles would on the other hand, without being a direct attack, mark fitly the disapproval of their acts and operate as a check on the reckless exercise of that anomalous power the danger of which to the best interests of the country is so universally admitted. L^d Palm^r would perhaps show this letter to his colleagues.¹

Palmerston appears to have disregarded the request to show the Queen's letter to the Cabinet, but Clarendon, as notoriously civil to Reeve and Delane, was told of it.² Clarendon was not to blame for all the disclosures in *The Times*, for Delane's secret was to have a multitude of sources. His talent in this direction did give *The Times* a kind of "monopoly," which aroused the jealousy of rivals. But in reality their grievance was that Delane had a "monopoly" of talent. From statesmen came graver accusations, such as that the Queen alluded to. Objection was taken not merely to an occult power which *The Times* possessed

¹ Royal Archives, Windsor. Palmerston's equivocal answer is printed in Sources XII; his connexion with Delane, made in October, 1855, is described in Chapter XII.

² Clarendon's letter to the Queen is quoted in the following chapter.

A COALITION OF ANGER

and which, as was alleged, permitted it to get hold of and publish State secrets such as the Russian ultimatum ("this is the most wonderful, and certainly the most mischievous communication that has been made," Aberdeen had written to John Russell), but many, within and without official circles, considered that the tone of the paper's attacks upon heads of States, political persons and soldiers was utterly harmful. Greville grew to hate *The Times*. Walewski, the French Ambassador, naturally could not understand how any Government could tolerate daily efforts to discredit Ministers

I could not help saying [he reported to the French Foreign Minister] to several of the most influential persons in this country, when seeing all the harm done by the unlimited freedom of the press that we are to be congratulated upon having got rid of this at home . . . However, I must remark that, especially since the last article of *The Times* . . . there has arisen against this paper, in London at any rate, a growing wave of indignation which might well be the beginning of a reaction &c.¹

Moreover, there were many officials and others not only jealous of the paper but angry and revengeful on account of its critical attitude to Governments, peace-time and other, and all political persons. Lastly, behind Russell and other interested politicians a large and influential section of country members of the House of Commons which had grown steadily since 1850 stood ready to second, indeed to promote, an "Anti-Times League." In the Queen's words, the need of a "check on the reckless exercise of that anomalous power" was "universally admitted"—at least by all except Palmerston. Thus the opposition to *The Times* of the Radical movement was much strengthened.

The Association for Promoting the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge, a contemporary body of agitators, was formed out of the old Newspaper Stamp Abolition Committee, originally appointed by the People's Charter Union. The president of the Association was Thomas Milner Gibson, a Member of the House of Commons, formerly a Conservative, but from 1839 a free-trader, an active democrat, energetic enough to secure the establishment of the Select Committee of the House which, as has been seen, was appointed in 1850. Though not himself vigorous enough to focus public attention on questions which

¹ Walewski, London, to Affaires Étrangères, Paris, January 23, 1855. (Archives A.E., 699.)

still seemed to many a purely commercial matter, he kept the agitation alive in many quarters. The man who possessed sufficient practicality and experience to create the necessary public and political interest was Cobden. The work was immensely to his liking. The Member for Manchester had several years earlier come to the conclusion that in England the Press was not "free"; that it was all much too highly priced for the common man, and that this was the result of the stamp duties. *The Times* was being maintained by the conditions of the trade in such a position as to give it a practical "monopoly" all over the country—and Cobden was M.P. for Manchester. Much use was made of that ill-sounding word "monopoly." Four times as much circulation as the rest of the London dailies was, he thought and said, equivalent to a "monopoly." Cobden, seeing the official and other interested support there was for a measure that would embarrass Printing House Square, planned a second "War with *The Times*."¹

Cobden's long antagonism to Delane began as early as 1846, when he said publicly that the Press was not "free" and was rebuked by *The Times* for saying it. But Cobden went on; and it is fair to agree with Bentinck's observation in one of the debates of 1855, that the agitation which finally killed the taxes "originated in the ability, eloquence and perseverance of his right honourable friend, the Member for Manchester." The report of the Select Committee confirms this estimate of Cobden's value to the movement. His questions to the several witnesses, Mowbray Morris, Manager of *The Times*, Michael Whitty, of the *Liverpool Journal*, Horace Greeley, of the *New York Tribune*, prove that he had closely studied the industrial side of the Press. When the inquiry began in 1850 *The Times* appeared to be unreservedly confident that the ensuing legislation would not embarrass it, but as the agitation increased and the inquiry proceeded the paper began to be less certain of the benefits to itself of some of the proposed changes. For one thing, the postal privilege of free transmission in consideration of the fiscal stamp seemed inevitably bound up with the tax; secondly, it was impossible to overlook the fact that *The Times*, not costing less to produce but costing the public less on account of tax remission, might possibly attain a circulation so greatly increased as to render the common advertising rate economically

¹ For the first "War with *The Times*" see Vol. I, Chapter XVII.

MORRIS EXAMINED BY COBDEN

unsound for the paper. Mowbray Morris's evidence straightly informed the Committee that "Papers of established reputation, that enjoy public confidence, would either not be affected, or would have their circulation extended." And the Manager of *The Times* indicated in several other answers to questions the belief of Printing House Square that the reduction or abolition of the stamp would have no effect upon *The Times* except, perhaps, to increase the circulation. But drawn by Cobden into some discussion of public policy, Mowbray Morris revealed motives which, current as they must have been in the office, it is fair to surmise may have had their source in John Walter. Morris anyhow, with greater frankness than seems to have been necessary in the circumstances, told the Committee, in answer to a question from Cobden, that he thought the stamp tended to elevate the tone of journalism; hastening, however, to add that "the chief ground upon which I advocate the retention of the stamp duty is that you raise a considerable revenue without imposing any sensible burden."

The impression made was that *The Times* was indifferent to popular education. Indeed, any doubt that an upper-middle-class tone prevailed in Printing House Square was removed when Morris answered in the affirmative the question by Cobden whether he considered it "for the interest of the public that any branch of industry such as that of producing newspapers for the public should be limited to a few hands, and be in the hands of parties who are great capitalists." A later passage showed even more clearly the political cleavage which separated *The Times* from the democrats. Cobden asked whether Morris considered it "proper" to restrict the circulation of newspapers on account of a "fear that certain doctrines might reach certain parties who might not have the opposition papers put into their hands," and if Morris would "leave it to the sagacity of people, to their own self interest and love of truth to find out what was sound." The Manager, formerly of Trinity College in the University of Cambridge, replied: "I have very little opinion of the sagacity of uneducated people." This and other utterances doubtless pleased the agitators with Morris's evidence. On a practical and vital point of business detail Morris gave Cobden valuable confirmation when he agreed that "if you take off the stamp and leave the papers to pay according to weight, it seems to follow that the circulation would be confined to the immediate neighbourhood of publication." This last consideration seriously and intimately concerned *The Times*.

A daily newspaper produced, for instance, in Manchester would be available there earlier in the day and the invention of the telegraph would give intelligence to that paper at the same time as to those of the metropolis. If the fiscal stamp with its free postal privileges were removed, the London papers would have to pay their own carriage or pass it on to their subscribers, who would, it was foreseen, quickly see the point of supporting the local paper at the lower price. These were the predictions of Cobden and his Manchester friends.

When the report of the Committee was published it was found to say that the number of evasions and abuses rendered it necessary to inquire into the postal transmission of newspapers. It mentioned the belief of the Committee that the stamp did impede the diffusion among the poorer classes of useful knowledge regarding current and recent events ; that in their view the removal of the stamp would not deteriorate the tone of the newspaper Press ; that the possible piracy by new and cheap rivals of news taken from the columns of the established journals might make it desirable that a short copyright be conferred. This report was before the House in July, 1851. Its 650 pages required digestion and, as matters turned out, progress was slower than Cobden expected, for advertisements were relieved first. It was largely a question of cash. Gladstone announced that the Government "have no wish to retain and could not retain any restraint whatever upon the Press for the sake of restraint . . . but the money was required." Gladstone proposed to reduce the advertisement tax from 1s. 6d. to 6d. Disraeli promised that were he in office he would repeal the whole of this duty. Gladstone's proposal was defeated, and ever since August 4, 1853, advertisements have appeared tax free. *The Times* participated in the general satisfaction at this benefit to buying and selling. The paper, however, was now decidedly apprehensive regarding other newspaper legislation known to be under consideration by Government. Mowbray Morris wrote to the proprietors of the *Illustrated London News* that though he would rather not take part in any formal expression of the views of the newspaper Press on the subject of the stamp, he could give his view that :

The stamp, it would appear, is to be remitted because it interferes with the free dissemination of knowledge among the people. The chief mechanical instrument in such a dissemination is the post. To deny to newspaper proprietors the use of this instrument (except upon

A "GREAT PUBLIC INSTRUCTOR"

conditions which are manifestly ruinous) & at the same time to remit the stamp, it is an obvious absurdity & amounts to this—you may manufacture a cheap article, but you must sell it dear or not at all.

That Morris now saw the real point of the agitation is clear from his final paragraph

Mr Cobden and his school wish to destroy the influence of the metropolitan press, because it interferes, as they think, with the provincial, and they believe that the abolition of the stamp, which they call free trade, will serve their turn

This letter was written on July 7, 1854, but the Newspaper Duties Bill did not come before Parliament until the spring of 1855. To the embarrassment of Printing House Square, the repeal clause was then found to carry with it a new postage rate based not upon single newspapers, as such, but upon weight. For a penny postage stamp newspapers were to be transmitted which weighed four ounces, which was much below the average weight of *The Times*. In other words, the standard rate was based upon the weight of papers which competed with *The Times* and not upon the average weight of *The Times*, which circulated four times as many copies as all the other papers put together. The average postage on *The Times* was 1½d.; that on the other London journals 1d. The new rate, therefore, must act as a stimulus to the other papers by enabling them to undersell *The Times* in the country and a greater stimulus to the provincial Press by enabling it to undersell all the London journals. The second "War with *The Times*" had begun—without declaration. Indeed, John Bright, speaking for the measure on its introduction, took care to single out the paper for praise :

... I am prepared to admit that there is no journal to which the people of this country are more indebted than to *The Times*. Though it is, I consider, wrong on many points, though it knocks us all about pretty roughly at times, and though it maltreats many questions, yet it is a free press, and, whatever may be its faults, nobody can deny that education, freedom and progress of every kind are very much indebted to that great public instructor.¹

Nor was Bright the only supporter of the Bill who said a good word for the paper. Bulwer Lytton, one of the oldest of the protestants against the "taxes on knowledge"—he had moved

¹ Hansard, Third Series, Vol. CXXXVII, c. 812, March 19, 1855.

the reduction of the tax to a penny in 1835—dissociated himself from the postage proposals :

. . . I am told that the right hon Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer means to recur to the principle of weight. If so, I say, weigh *The Times* as your standard—

"Expende Annibalem—quot libras in duce summo Invenies"

And it seems to me not a worthy distinction in so wholesale a change to separate *The Times* from the Supplement, which is an integral part of the paper, and that, too, a part of which the unrestricted diffusion is of so great an importance to the intellectual and commercial community. I agree in all that my hon. Friend has said with regard to the high character of the press of this country. Far from entertaining any grudge to the existing newspaper press, far from seeking to under-value its signal merits, I grant that it is an honour to the country from the ability of its composition, the integrity of the men who adorn it, the vast and various information it diffuses, and making fair allowances for the heat of party spirit and the temptations of anonymous power, for its general exemption from wilful calumny and personal slander. And if I desired to leave to remote posterity some memorial of existing British civilisation, I would prefer, not our docks, not our railways, not our public buildings, not even the palace in which we now hold our sittings; I would prefer a file of *The Times* newspaper¹

Mr. Henry Drummond, Member for West Surrey, who had never concealed his dislike for the Press and, above all, for *The Times*, delivered himself of a long irrelevant attack on the paper, even mentioning names :

. . . Upon the whole, however, the taste of the English people was for gossip—political gossip—and political gossip of one sort or another they must have, cost what it might. *The Times* seemed to him to carry on their business in this way better than any other people, and that was the reason, perhaps, why they were now attacked. It was not a very long time ago since this newspaper was set up. The first person belonging to it, whom he remembered, was a Mr. Tucker, and then after that came a great number of very clever men, because, of course, the Walter family could not carry on the whole thing themselves, and there was always a man of that accommodating class—a seven years' barrister, or some one of that stamp, who was ready to take up anything. These people, these barristers, reminded him a good deal of what they called on board a ship a "handy Billy"—a tackle that came in upon all

¹ Hansard, loc. cit., c. 1119, March 26, 1855.

UNEXPECTED CHAMPIONS

occasions whenever it was wanted. There were since then Barnes, Alsager, Sterling, Delane, Morris, Lowe,¹ Dasent and others²

Drummond, who had often been taken to task by the writers in Printing House Square for his dislike of the Press as a whole, did not declare his own view on the general question until the third reading. To every one's surprise he accused those responsible for the measure of "indulging private pique under pretence of public virtue":

. . . They attacked *The Times*—they were afraid of it; go where they might, upon what railway they pleased, every man was reading and abusing *The Times*; but, instead of standing up boldly against it they gave it this dirty stab in the dark. They pretended that it was of immense importance to preserve the good and able writing which appeared in *The Times*; how was it preserved? It was preserved simply by that newspaper being a very profitable concern; but if they lowered the profit of the concern it could not employ able men to write in it, and it would dwindle down to the same twaddle as the *Morning Herald*. He would endeavour to do justice even to an enemy, and he should, therefore, vote against what he thought was a private attack under pretence of public virtue, against a single establishment.³

J. F. Maguire, Member for Dungarvan, deeply interested in Crimean as well as Irish affairs, made a speech which deserves quotation. On the adjourned debate (May 11, 1855), on the motion for the third reading of the Bill, he said, in the course of a long address, that:

His own feeling with respect to *The Times* was one of hostility; he had often cursed that journal (laughter); he believed that many Irish gentlemen had at different times expressed the strongest feeling of opposition to that paper on account of the course it had pursued with regard to Ireland; but he was, nevertheless, bound to say that no journal in Europe had ever done more service to the public interest than *The Times* had done. (Hear, hear.) . . . But the whole evil of this partial spirit of legislation did not rest there. It was not only saying to *The Times* newspaper, "because you, by the great efforts you have made have placed yourself in the foremost rank we will therefore impose an extra tax upon you," but it was saying to all the other London journals, to the *Herald*, the *Post*, the *Chronicle*, the *Daily News*, and the *Advertiser*, "if you imitate the activity and energy of

¹ Lowe himself spoke on April 30 against the establishment of a limit in size for the transmission or stamping of any newspaper. Cf. Hansard, loc. cit., 2022.

² Hansard, Third Series, Vol CXXXVII, c 1147, March 26, 1855.

³ Hansard, c. 2034, April 30, 1855.

1850-1855: THE SECOND "WAR WITH *THE TIMES*"

The Times and raise as much capital and increase your circulation to the same extent as that journal, and, if in consequence you are obliged to extend your space and increase your bulk, the moment you do so you must submit to be additionally taxed." A more unfair or unjust principle he could not conceive, and he really could not understand how such a principle could be acted upon by the right hon. and hon. gentlemen opposite (Mr. M. Gibson and Mr. Bright) who were the professed advocates of the utmost freedom in all commercial transactions. . . . But why this hostility to *The Times*? The truth was, that *The Times* newspaper from its boldness, its vigour, and some said, its audacity, was marked out as an object of indignation by all classes in that house . . . He believed that *The Times* had done more towards the salvation of the British army in the Crimea than any Government could have done (Hear, hear). It had shown how much that army had suffered, and how men filling public offices were incompetent to discharge the duties required of them. It had done more—it had evoked the strongest manifestation of public sympathy for those men who had shown themselves greater heroes in the hour of suffering and of patient endurance than in the hour of the bloodiest conflict. If *The Times* had only done that, it ought to have been treated with liberality, and in a spirit of generosity, rather than have been made an exception in a fiscal arrangement by which it became subjected to an extra and unjust tax.

There can be no doubt that Maguire correctly divined the motives of at least a section of the support forthcoming for this Bill. The new postal rate was unquestionably another instance of cunning political discrimination exactly comparable with the "superficial inches" scheme with which the Whigs had in the "war" of 1836 sought to favour their smaller sized journals at the expense of the largest paper. *The Times*, stirred (May 14, 1855) to a leading article nearly two columns long, determined to "tell the British public once more how they have dealt with the Paper which they have abused the most, found right the oftenest and now all but universally take in." It accused the country of ingratitude and warned readers that they expected too much for fivepence. There followed statements that for many years the paper had itself paid the Supplement tax, and that the advertisement *Supplement* barely paid its expenses, that not a few daily issues were financial losses, so great was the mass of news that readers looked for in *The Times*. Yet the paper was to be further victimized by being charged according to weight. "Every Englishman, as he spreads our broadsheet on his breakfast

THE PRICE OF COMPETENCE

table, or divides it among his friends, feels a momentary pride at the marvel that one night has brought forth," but, observed *The Times* with some bitterness, " he can sit still with the knowledge that the achievement which delights his eyes, which beguiles his cares, and assists his business, is unprofitable for that day to its proprietors, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has swept off the whole profit and imposed a ruinous fine for the crime of giving the British public as much as possible for their money. . . . Everybody expects *The Times* to report everything, and everything in full." The paper scorned the " pretence " that the new rate was required by its size and weight, and demanded the postage paid by the *Standard*, the *Herald*, and the rest. It seemed reasonable enough to allow the transmission of 4oz for a penny, until it was realized that the average weight of *The Times* was generally 5oz. and often 6oz. *The Times* warned its large constituency of country readers that their paper would cost them a halfpenny more than the others. It pointed out the true reason for this difference created by the Post Office. " We deny," wrote *The Times*,

that this is a postal question, and we denounce the hypocrisy with which it has been so treated. Nor is it now a financial question, as Government has given up all idea of a revenue from newspapers as such. It is neither of these things. But it is a public question. The public expects an unlimited supply of our journal, large enough to contain all the news of the day, and all the advertisements sent to us ; and, under the law now before Parliament, it is not impossible that we may be compelled to raise our price above that of other papers, for the postal part of the circulation. But it is not only a public question, it is a political one. We well know, and everybody knows, that our just claim to pass as a newspaper at the same charge as other newspapers would never have been disregarded but for our honest exposures of favouritism, incapacity, and inertness in the conduct of the war, and our evident determination to be bound to no party. We know, too, that there are men in the House of Commons who are opposed not only to us, but to any independent and respectable press. We shall never descend to the level of a Manchester machine, to report speeches at command and spin theories to order. For this insubervience *Delenda est Carthago*. Well, what if it does come to that ? It will not be the first time that troublesome honesty has been cashiered, to be afterwards wanted in vain ; or the first time that, in the figure of the fable, " the cock's shrill clarion " has been silenced, to the future grief of the slumberers. At all events, we have done our duty ; the public acknowledges it . . . (May 14, 1855.)

1850-1855: THE SECOND "WAR WITH *THE TIMES*"

Opposition, however, was vain ; Aberdeen and other statesmen of the first rank silently looked on. Palmerston naturally made no move to assist the paper. The measure was passed and, at the end of June, came into operation. On Monday, July 2, 1855, *The Times* was published for the first time at the price of 5½d. stamped and 4d unstamped, while the rest of the Press came out at 5d. stamped and 4d. unstamped. On occasion extra large issues of the paper required a postage of 2d. The paper pressed its subscribers to make every use of the facilities afforded by the railways. Those companies, urged by *The Times*, had organized departments for the carriage of newspapers in single and in bulk. The lines could do this, as the monopoly of the Post Office extended only to the carriage of letters. Stamps, printed by the railway companies, were sold in quantities of not less than one pound's worth to the proprietors of any newspaper. The minimum charge for the transmission by rail of a single paper of unlimited weight was one halfpenny. This



Figs 11 & 12. The new postage stamps of "*The Times*".
Used from July 1, 1855, until September 30, 1870

made it possible for a country subscriber living near a railway station to secure his *Times* at his station for 4d. plus ½d. carriage. The railways' business as newspaper carriers rapidly increased, and, of course, at the expense of the Post Office.

In such circumstances it was predictable that the Post Office would lower its rate. *The Times*, although it correctly forecast the ultimate surrender of the Post Office, ignored, among other unfavourable factors, the strength of official resistance to a lowering of a high postal rate which had the consequence of crippling the circulation of the paper ; was forced, too, to ignore the mutilation of the paper by wholesalers, who brought the paper within the 4oz. weight by cutting out the pages of advertisements. In 1856 a daily average of no fewer than 5,385 were thus passed through the post. Mowbray Morris had often objected to this mutilation, but, he observed to John Walter : "The evil itself I think is exaggerated. The advertisers alone are concerned in the

£1,000 REWARD

matter, & it may be presumed from the steady increase in the number of advertisements that either they are ignorant of the fact of mutilation or they disregard it. If they are ignorant, let them remain so ; it is not our office to enlighten them. If they know but disregard the fact, they probably say to themselves—*The Times* circulates 50,000 copies—5,000 of these are useless to us—there remain 45,000 which are quite enough for our purpose, & our advertisements are cheap at the price.”¹

In the meantime, Morris, anxious to lighten the paper and so qualify for the common transmission rate, vainly pressed paper-makers to produce what they had earlier been asked to invent, a paper cheaper and lighter than that made from rags. The following unfruitful advertisement was inserted in *The Times* on several occasions :

One thousand pounds reward. The Proprietors of a leading Metropolitan Journal offer the above reward to any person who shall first succeed in inventing or discovering the means of using a cheap substitute for rags in the manufacture of paper—subject to the following conditions—1. The material must be practically unlimited in quantity, & be capable of being converted into pulp of a quality equal to that which is at present used in manufacturing the best description of newspaper, & at a cost, *ceteris paribus*, not less than ten per cent lower. 2. It must be tested, approved, & adopted by three commercial manufacturers of paper (two of them to be named by the advertiser) whose certificate shall entitle the inventor to payment of the reward. 3. This offer will be in force only for a period of twelve months from the present date.

In 1858, when, as a result of this failure, *The Times* and the *Illustrated London News* approached the Post Office with a request for the reduction of the postal rate to the railway rate of one half-penny for any weight, the Administration refused to do more than raise the limit of weight from four to six ounces. The claim made by *The Times* was therefore conceded when it was seen that one object of the tax-repeal had been achieved.

It was then too late to restore *The Times* to the numerical position it had occupied before 1855. Three years had been sufficient to change the trade situation entirely. Vital changes had taken place in this short period and the restoration of postal

¹ Morris to John Walter, October 30, 1856. (P H S Papers, M. 6/257) The advertisers' complaint had been made as early as 1849, and Morris had then found it impossible to compel agents to forward the Supplement. The abandonment in 1853 (see above, p 197) of the separate sheet of advertisements was made advisable by persistent destruction in quantity. The paper was again rearranged to prevent mutilation in 1863. For more about advertising see Chapter XVII, “Price Threepence.”

equality in 1858 was of slight consequence, more especially as the railway rate had already gone some way towards equalizing their position. The real master was the rise of the provincial Press. Thus the second war with *The Times* did not leave Printing House Square victorious. The postal discrimination had, indeed, served the turn of the Radicals; for, largely owing to it, the newspaper trade was for the future a totally different business from what it had been in 1855. The high postage of *The Times* had helped the provincial daily Press when it was most needed. Reduction first in 1858 and later in 1870, when registered newspapers of any bulk were allowed to go for $\frac{1}{2}$ d., could hardly assist the old journal against the established new ones. Yet the mighty, the vast, the



Fig. 13. Postage stamp used from October 1, 1870, to October 20, 1911, as a consequence of the establishment of the newspaper and book post, which allowed registered newspapers of any bulk to go for $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

hitherto ubiquitous *Times* could never be pulled down from its dominant position simply by putting a halfpenny on its postage. Unluckily for Printing House Square, the successes of the Radicals were not limited to this mere postal victory, which, after all, only hampered *The Times* in the country. The Act of 1855 was destined to be followed by further consequences, some designed and others certainly not designed or desired by Cobden and his fellow-abolitionists, who for twenty-five years had never tired of crying "monopoly" where there was none. On a score of occasions *The Times* pointed out that it did not own a "monopoly," or anything like it. "Our monopoly" (the paper, for instance, said on January 11, 1850), "is the monopoly of BARCLAY and PERKINS' porter, of TWINING'S tea, of Mr. COBDEN'S agitation, and of FORTNUM and MASON'S hams. It is the monopoly of nothing but the first place, won by fair fighting and held against all comers on the same terms." But "monopoly" was too convenient a slogan in the age of free trade to be sacrificed, and *The Times* was forced to meet not only a new "free" Press in Liverpool, Manchester and

POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES

Birmingham, but the competition of a "new journalism" in London. Incidentally, certain political consequences followed, which the paper faced with a staff suddenly deprived of one of its most active members: "Il Pomposo" resigned in the same critical year.

THE IMPRESSED PRICE OF THE TIMES 1785-1855		
	DATE AND PRICE	NEWSPAPER STAMP
1785	January 1 . .	2½d. [from 1780]
"	April 1 . .	3d.
1789	August 2 . .	4d.
1794	April 21 . .	4½d.
1797	July 10 . .	6d.
1809	May 22 . .	6½d.
1815	September 1 . .	7d.
1836	September 15 . .	5d.
1855	July 2 . .	4d.
And post free	. . .	5½d.
		1d. Extra ½d. for Supplement Abolished in favour of a postage fee based upon weight

XI

IL POMPOSO

THE close connexion existing during the 1830's and 1840's between Printing House Square and the Privy Council Office, of all departments the one most intimately concerned with the day-to-day machinery of Government, provides a story as remarkable in the history of *The Times* as it is in the history of the Civil Service. Himself Clerk of Appeals to the Privy Council, Henry Reeve was introduced on May 15, 1840, to Barnes by the Clerk to the Council, Charles Greville. He started to write for *The Times* in July, 1840, his first leading article being published on the last day of that month.

Greville, who was the connecting link between Reeve and *The Times*, exercised a great influence over Reeve's life both politically and socially. He was one of the first people, moving in society and familiar with the innermost secrets of politics, to appreciate the full possibilities of influencing the Press and the satisfaction to be derived from that influence. He contributed only one leading article to *The Times* and a few anonymous letters ; but he cannot fairly be judged by his output. He said of himself that he was " too little in the habit of composition " and " too deficient in convictions " to write a good article. But he did influence, advise and in some instances restrain Barnes and—to an even greater extent—Delane. For example, the articles in the early days of the troubles with France over the Spanish Marriages were " such as I advised." He described the influence he had over *The Times* as " amusing and agreeable enough," adding that he had never tried to make use of it for any but " good and honourable ends." It was with those ends in view that he introduced to Barnes his youthful colleague at the Council Office—Henry Reeve. He wrote long afterwards to the latter that he had looked to him to give to *The Times* " a higher tone and on great occasions to render it an instrument of public good."

THE FORMATIVE YEARS

Unlike Greville, Reeve had no aristocratic family in the background. Almost alone of his colleagues he had no connexion with Oxford or Cambridge. He belonged to a family, Non-conformist and sturdily independent, which had little in common with the polite, ecclesiastical tradition of those places of learning. His father was a doctor with literary tastes who contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* in its early days, was one of the founders of the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, and counted Brougham, Sydney Smith and Jeffrey among his friends. Dr Reeve married the elder daughter of the Taylors of Norwich, who were prominent intellectual figures in Whig and Unitarian circles. In 1814, when Reeve was a year old, his father died leaving his widow, with a slender income, to bring up their only surviving child.

Throughout life Reeve was a fortunate man, and it may be felt that being taught to read by the learned Mrs. Barbauld was one of the earliest examples of that good fortune. Thus grounded, he passed into Norwich Grammar School. When he was 15 he went to Geneva for three years as a student of *Belles Lettres*, making friends with foreigners of all nationalities and laying the foundations of his knowledge of foreign politics. He returned to England to read for the Bar and to write for the Press. One of the most important and valuable connexions of Reeve's life was his aunt Sarah Taylor, who had married John Austin, the jurist. In 1835 Austin sent him over to Paris to collect material on corporal punishment in France. Here, through Austin's introductions, he made friends with many distinguished Frenchmen, including de Tocqueville, and on his return to London he translated his *Démocratie en Amérique*. Reeve gained by his profound knowledge of French politics and of the French character, which, in later life, he attributed to his intimacy with "the pure and subtle intellect of de Tocqueville."

In England, thanks chiefly to the Austins, he was welcomed in London literary circles and was on friendly terms with the Bullers, the Grotes, the Sterlings¹ and the Carlyles, but most important of all was his introduction to the third Lord Lansdowne by Mrs. Austin. At the time of Lord Lansdowne's death Reeve wrote, "I owe to his kindness almost any distinction and

¹ Reeve's diary for 1831 records that "one of my first friends in London was old Edward Sterling of *The Times*. I dined at South Place [the Sterling residence] with Lord Plunket, Col. Hase, Sir H. Ellis, etc. John and Anthony Sterling were his sons."

IL POMPOSO

advantage I have enjoyed in life."¹ It was not an exaggeration. Not only was the young man a frequent visitor at Bowood, meeting there such men as Tom Moore, Luttrell and Eastlake, but in November, 1837, Lansdowne, who was Lord President of the Council in Melbourne's Government, offered him the Clerkship of Appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which he accepted.²

No writer on *The Times* ever had a larger share in influencing its policy than had Reeve. During the 1840's his control over the foreign leading articles and his reputation in the outside world were hardly less than those enjoyed by Delane. Nothing, perhaps, better illustrates this than the famous article he wrote on the visit to London of the *de jure* King of France, the Duc de Bordeaux. In mocking language he described how "The white flag may be hoisted with perfect impunity at No. 35, Belgrave Square; Pimlico may be beset by a phalanx of Armorican Gentlemen: the west end of the town may be startled from its propriety by a host of long-bearded Gauls."³ Shortly afterwards Reeve was in Paris and was presented to Louis Philippe, who, in reference to this article, said, "I regret, Mr. Reeve, that I cannot more fully express in this place the obligation which I feel for the service you have done us."⁴ Greville confided to his diary that it was astounding that Reeve with "his humble position, his obscurity, his apparent nothingness" should have achieved this remarkable power. But if Reeve's origins were humble, he had an almost uncanny knack of winning the friendship and confidence of those in the highest walks of life. Six months before he joined *The Times* he wrote to his mother, "It is strange that at 26 I should find myself on terms of acquaintance with the whole Cabinet except Lord Melbourne and Baring." An extract from his diary for the same year shows that prominent Whig statesmen were not his only distinguished friends. "On the 27th March [1840] dined with Prince Louis Napoleon in Carlton Gardens with D'Orsay, Sir Robert Wilson and Lord Fitzharris. M. Guizot arrived in April as Ambassador . . . dined at Hertford House—the acquaintance soon ripened into friendship." But Reeve was no mere politician,

¹ Letter from Reeve to Lord Lansdowne's son, in the family papers at Bowood.

² Reeve was appointed Clerk of Appeals in November, 1837. He was promoted to the Registrarship of the Council in 1843, from which he resigned in 1887. After Charles Greville's resignation as Clerk to the Council in 1860 it was generally expected that Reeve would succeed him, but Sir Arthur Helps was appointed owing to the influence of the Queen and the Prince Consort.

³ *The Times*, December 7, 1847.

⁴ Greville *Memoirs*, December 13, 1847.



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THE REGAL MANNER

still less a collector of fashionable acquaintances. His interests were broad; his mind was spacious. He was keenly interested in music, as is shown by his diary in the year already quoted: "Our musical parties were very brilliant; we had Liszt (*sic*), the Battas, Olebull, Moschelles (*sic*), Benedict. On 6th June M. Guizot and the Richardsons¹ came. Liszt and Batta played their great Beethoven sonata '*en doublant les passages.*'" His diary also reveals that he had genuine artistic appreciation and that he had visited almost all the famous art galleries of Europe. The account in *The Times* of the Exhibition at the Royal Academy for 1850 was from his pen. This was the first occasion on which the Press was admitted to the private view. His *critique* displays a trained if unoriginal understanding of the principles of painting and, as might be expected from him, bold praise and emphatic condemnation.

In appearance Reeve was tall and handsome, though in middle life he became very stout and weighed eighteen stone. He had a ponderous, courtly manner with something of the *ancien régime* about it and was inclined to be overbearing, especially to those he considered his inferiors. On occasions he was no doubt intolerably sententious and pompous. His reflections after watching the printing of *The Times* are typical of this side to his character. "It gave me"—he solemnly entered in his diary—"a strange and almost exciting sensation, for by this instrument my own thoughts and opinions are propagated and diffused over the habitable earth, with a power that seems at times irresistible."²

A mocking nickname is a handicap in a man's life story; it is not surprising that Reeve was soon known among his colleagues as *Il Pomposo*. Yet to those whom he liked in the office he could prove a loyal and faithful friend, witness his attempt to influence Prince Albert, as Chancellor of Cambridge University, to appoint Woodham to the Chair of Modern History. That this was not ineffective is shown by the Prince's letter to Macaulay asking for his opinion of Woodham.³ His relations with Delane were friendly to the end, in spite of the stormy patch in 1855. During the disturbances in the office in

¹ Reeve married Miss Hope Richardson in 1841, by whom he had an only child, Hope, who married in 1866 Thomas Ogilvie, of Chesters. Reeve's first wife died in 1842, and he married secondly, in 1851, Miss Christine Gollop.

² Laughton, I, p. 301.

³ See Chapter VI, "Delane's Staff," p. 129.

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1847, when Delane's position was in some jeopardy, Reeve wrote him an affectionate letter assuring him that "If anything should happen, I need hardly say that all my own influence and that of my friends shall be exerted to make you some compensation."¹

It would be impossible to deny that Reeve was a difficult colleague and that the nickname of *Il Pomposo* was masterly in its application. Yet these facts should not now be remembered to the exclusion of the great services he rendered to *The Times*. He was a man of principle and conviction. With his powerful friends, his vigorous opinions, his knowledge of foreign sentiment, his facility with the French and German languages,² and his easy flowing style, he was one of the most valuable recruits ever admitted to the ranks of Printing House Square. Indeed the worth of Reeve's knowledge and influence to the paper during the early years of Delane's Editorship cannot be too highly estimated.

The most important connexion to Reeve, as a journalist, was his relationship with Lord Clarendon, to whom Greville appears to have introduced him in 1842.³ Two years later, in November, 1844, Reeve paid his first visit to Clarendon's residence, the Grove, and it was not long before the Minister was writing him regular and detailed letters upon affairs. This correspondence gave Reeve a unique position in journalism, since he became an important channel for news as well as a valued exponent of views. Thus he secured a status of considerable though ill-defined independence in his relations with *The Times*. Reeve, though careful to indicate that he could not insert articles in the paper on his own authority, seldom disappointed Clarendon's wishes. Not only did Clarendon instruct him what to write, but he sometimes addressed Reeve almost as if the latter were editor of the paper.⁴ Reeve's position with regard to Clarendon, especially when the latter became Foreign Secretary, naturally tended to give him a false idea

¹ P.H.S. Papers, D 2/49.

² "He was one of the very few Englishmen who spoke French almost like a native, and he wrote and thought in German so naturally that for years he was a regular contributor to Prussian and Bavarian papers and periodicals" (Reeve's obituary in *The Times*, October 22, 1895.)

³ On January 16, 1843, Clarendon wrote to Greville: "Reeve takes such an interest in Spain & his views are so able & correct about that country that I thought he might like to know the intelligence that has reached me as I believe it to be authentic" (Clarendon Papers.)

⁴ For example "I hear that a Treaty of Utrecht Pamphlet which has just appeared is attributed by you to Wm. Hevey. Whether it be his or not, pray have the goodness to take care that no allusion to him is made in *The Times*," (January 28, 1847), and "Pray take care that the news is from 'oui own corresp.' at Vienna." (December 18, 1853.)

REEVE'S INDEPENDENCE

of his authority in Printing House Square—even when Delane was present, though the Editor had his own ministerial connexions, and far more so when Dasent, who had none, was in control.

This independence, emphasized by an overbearing manner, was made much the more serious because he was essentially a partisan. In the early years of his work for *The Times* Reeve's pro-French views and his sympathy with Guizot roughly coincided with the policy of the Foreign Office, as represented by Lord Aberdeen, and with the opinions of Delane. But after Aberdeen's departure from the Foreign Office in 1846 matters did not go so smoothly. One cause of disharmony was that Clarendon and Aberdeen, though generally in agreement despite their difference of party, did not always advocate the same policy. In 1850, for example, Clarendon regretted, in a letter to Reeve, "the warmth with which [*The Times*] takes up Russian views & abets the policy of that restless & ambitious autocrat." For this, and for other reasons, the history of Reeve's last seven years in Printing House Square is the history of a series of what Delane once called "scrapes," culminating in Reeve's final breach with the paper in 1855.

The first "scrape" was with Palmerston. Reeve's relentless hostility towards this statesman had the Editor's complete support, though the personal note of sustained ferocity was Reeve's own contribution. Insistence on "style" was an ever-handy weapon for use against political opponents. The man may be recognized in his denunciation of Palmerston's writings, which he described as "Dickens stuff." An instance may be made of a leading article in which he greeted the publication of dispatches about the Spanish marriages with this comment :

If we were called upon, in the exercise of the ordinary functions of literary criticism, to pass a judgment on the style and merit of the English despatches in this collection, we should complain that they are large without being vigorous, hasty without being energetic, coarse and inelegant without being strong. (January 14, 1847.)

The abuse of Palmerston, especially when it was personal, created difficulties which were embarrassing to the paper, and in the end still more so to Reeve himself. Further trouble was caused by the reactionary tone with which Reeve met the

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Revolutions of 1848 ; in this instance, again, he was up to a point in harmony with the policy of the paper, and Delane was concerned more to curb his expression than drastically to alter his attitude. It is true that both the Editor and John Walter feared that his bias and emphasis might offend public opinion, of which *The Times* was ever watchful ; it was Reeve's characteristic resentment of the least restraint which tended to magnify slight discords into serious differences.

Personal sympathies led to another "scrape." It was natural that Reeve, a warm admirer of the Orleans dynasty and on terms of friendship with some members of that house—particularly the Duc d'Aumale—should have viewed Napoleon with the same feelings of disgust as did his illustrious friends, to whom he was simply the usurper of their throne and the confiscator of their property.

The criticisms in *The Times* with which Reeve greeted Louis Napoleon's rise to power had the full support of both Walter and Delane, who upheld him in the difficulties that followed. A certain nervousness, however, showed itself when Reeve burst out again at Napoleon's proclamation as Emperor at the end of 1852. In a leading article of January 3, 1853, reviewing the events of 1852, Reeve wrote :

By slow and stealthy steps he pursued his course to the throne. Every channel of public information was stopped or tampered with. Every artifice of stage decoration was used on several occasions . . . even a mock infernal machine and a sham plot were got up.

Moreover, the article contained an allusion to "the prodigalities of a licentious court." This article was followed by an angry outburst in the official *Moniteur* attacking the English Press and *The Times* in particular. On January 18, when Reeve was confined to his house with the gout, he received a call from John Walter and Delane, who, according to Reeve, were "somewhat disturbed" by the attack in the *Moniteur*.¹ Reeve was able to show that the *Moniteur* had ascribed to *The Times* many phrases that were never printed and that the article was alleged to have appeared on January 2, which was a Sunday. That Proprietor and Editor should call together on the leader-writer may be indicative of his importance, but above all it is indicative of the nervousness

¹ Laughton, I, p. 275.

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of Walter and Delane at Reeve's independence, at his fierce animosities and slashing invective.

This misgiving was to show itself twice again before the year 1853 was out. The first occasion was in the summer, when relations between England and Russia became threatening. On July 8 Reeve wrote the first leading article—obviously inspired by Clarendon and designed to prepare the country for war as a result of the Russian occupation of the Principalities. This was immediately followed by another leading article from Woodham warning the country against lightheartedly entering on a war. According to Greville this so annoyed Reeve that he asked to be excused from writing on the Eastern question any more “and proposed to resign the management of the question to somebody else.” There are, unluckily, no letters bearing on this dispute in the archives of *The Times*, but it shows how strained Reeve's relations were with the conductors of the paper, particularly when, as in this case, he was reproducing the Foreign Office point of view. The episode also helps to explain the more serious dispute at the end of the year.

For his holiday in 1853, which began in the middle of September, Reeve decided to go to Constantinople to form a first-hand opinion on events which even then seemed to be omens of war. On his way through Paris on September 14 he visited, according to invariable custom, Madame de Lieven, and meeting Guizot there discussed with them the Eastern question. Four days later the *Journal des Débats* announced that “M. Reeves” was on a diplomatic mission from the English Government to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and followed this up shortly afterwards by referring to Reeve's connexion with *The Times*. This naturally caused a flutter in Printing House Square, but Reeve, blissfully unconscious of impending trouble, sailed for the East in high spirits because the captain of his French ship referred to Louis Napoleon as “a serpent.” Arriving in Constantinople, he called upon Stratford at Therapia. Mrs. Reeve recorded in her diary that

the Elchi received Henry most kindly, in spite of the reports so absurdly invented by the French papers: and when Henry protested that he had no political position or influence, his Lordship said, “There are various kinds of influence; one may meet Junius at a *table d'hôte* now-a-days”—not a bad bit of flattery.

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For a week Reeve stayed in Constantinople and Therapia, dining with the Ambassador on each of the three nights of his visit to the latter place. On October 9 Stratford, "in great agitation about calling up the fleet," kept him there "half the night."¹ Reeve then went on to Athens and returned *via* Vienna and Paris. In commenting on the paragraphs which had appeared in the French papers in September, Reeve said. "There was not one syllable of truth in the story of my mission."² That was doubtless true, but even so his journey could not be compared with the holiday jaunt of a private individual. His knowledge of English policy, his intimacy with the Foreign Secretary and other influential members of the Cabinet, and his well-known connexion with *The Times* surrounded him with an importance from which he could not escape. They explained, if they did not justify, the comments in the French Press. Reeve himself says that those articles in the French Press "gave rise to infinite comments about my journey all over Europe and proved very disagreeable."

The competitors of *The Times* in England were not slow to seize their advantage. The *Daily News*, offended by the "Spanish dignity" of the Aberdeen Ministry, took the opportunity to attack both *The Times* and its relations with the Government. The announcement in the *Journal des Débats*, "difficult to disbelieve" since the account was so circumstantial and the journal "notorious for its caution," enabled the *Daily News* to point out that the activities of the British Government could only be learnt from a foreign paper. Despite a denial in the *Globe*, the *News* would not disbelieve the story about Reeve, and, on September 24, printed a letter signed "M.P.," which, after condemning the "servile manner" in which the information of the Foreign Office has always been placed by Lord Aberdeen at the exclusive disposal of *The Times*, went on to discuss "Mr. Reeves." "Most of his friends," it declared, "find in the articles on foreign policy, which appear in *The Times*, a wonderful resemblance to his very wordy and vicious style, as well as a very accurate copy of his perverted opinions, in which no one discovers

¹ Writing to Clarendon after Reeve's visit, Stratford thanked him heartily for giving him the opportunity of making Reeve's acquaintance. The Ambassador added "if he learnt something from me in Eastern matters I was more than repaid by his acquaintance with other objects of interest, and by his agreeable talent of conversing on all that is to be found within the range of political and social life in these days of variety and moment" (October 10, 1853; Clarendon Papers)

² In a letter thanking Lord Stratford for his hospitality Reeve wrote that the most valuable result of his journey was "the opportunity it afforded me of viewing the scene of these impending events by the light of your experience and sagacity." (Stratford Papers, P.R.O., F.O. 352/39.)

AN " INTERRUPTION "

either candour or patriotism." These facts should enable the public to assess at their true value "the cunning and violent effusions of a despotically-inclined newspaper, and put some restraint on the proceedings of men who have no scruple in sacrificing the honour and interest of their country, if they can serve a despot or advance a party."

Delane was naturally scandalized by Reeve's indiscretion. On September 30 he wrote to Dasent: "No news of Lowe yet, nor of Reeve. Of the latter I don't want to hear, I am still so angry at his folly which is being continually reproduced in the *Daily News*, etc." No action was taken for several weeks, during which Delane discussed the position with Walter, and equally naturally with Woodham, upon whom would fall the brunt of the work should Reeve's pen be no longer called upon to deal with the Eastern question. Woodham wrote a shrewd comment on the position:

[November 3, 1853] . . . I think, if you shut him out from his subject he may, not without some reason, be a little offended; & I think you would lose more by offending him, than you would gain by substituting my articles for his on this particular topic. Very likely I may be better able to manage a politico-historical subject of large dimensions than he—indeed all things considered it would be odd if I weren't. It seems plain I have improved upon him in this particular question, & it is also plain that the paper should make the most of all improvement. But he has had the foreign work so long, & will naturally, after his pilgrimage to the very Places & his "conferences with Metternich & Buol (! !)" be so expecting to resume his wand, that I humbly think you would, looking broadly at the paper's interest, do more harm than good by offending him.

What Delane wrote to Reeve, when the latter returned, has not survived, but it is clear that he must have explained that he meant to take the Eastern question out of Reeve's hands, leaving him with power to write on other matters of foreign policy. Reeve replied on November 8, 1853:

Nobody can have laboured more than I have done for more than 13 years to merge my individuality in the fame and influence of the paper and to shun the notoriety which has unfortunately and against my wishes attached itself to my late movements, nor have I ever sought to identify [myself] with my contributions, or pursued any object but the legitimate authority and influence of the paper.

But I strongly feel the impossibility, of dividing, especially on a question of universal importance, the foreign department of the paper

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and it must be conducted by the systematic influence and comprehension of one writer, if it is to retain the importance which the subject deserves. The position in which I am placed by the observations you make on my present connection with the paper leaves me therefore no alternative but to withdraw altogether for the present from its columns. If at any future period you should think it expedient to replace me in the position I occupied previous to the 14th September I shall readily acquiesce in such an arrangement, but after the considerable part I have taken in the affairs of the paper for so many years, I do not think it would be conducive to your interests or to my own materially to alter that position, which has always been extremely agreeable to me I hope however that this interruption of my connections with the paper may prove only temporary. I have consulted Mr. Greville on this point and showed him your note, and I find that he entirely concurs in my opinion that this is the only course I can take under the circumstances.

I will not conclude however without a very sincere assurance that our altered position in no degree affects my regard and friendship, now of long standing, for yourself.

Reeve next day wrote to Walter to explain why he was withdrawing from the paper, and added :

[November 9, 1853] . . . Delane says my name has been of late too much bruited abroad in connexion with the paper. If that is so, it is by no act of mine, but in entire opposition to my own wishes, for I suffer by it far more than the paper can do. But filling as I do a public position in the government and having a wide social acquaintance it has happened without any fault of mine that I have been more talked about than I desired or deserved to be. In this respect I differ unfortunately from some of the other contributors, who are not in public life at all, but it appears to me that I am in precisely the same predicament as our friend Lowe.

A letter from Mowbray Morris to Delane deals with the situation from the paper's point of view. He wrote on November 11 :

I return Reeve's letters. They are very gentlemanlike and just amount to this—I will be all or nothing. . . . I have always thought that Reeve had it too much his own way. Whether from weakness of judgment or caprice, or being too easily led by his great friends, he has got the paper into more scrapes than might have sufficed to effect his retirement long ago. No doubt he would be a great loss. He is a persuasive writer and has the knack of putting his arguments so that every one can comprehend them. In this respect he is far superior to Woodham, who is often crabbed, and not infrequently writes like a

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pedagogue. But I don't think we are in any danger of losing him. It is not improbable he has counted upon our giving in, and he very naturally wishes to find himself in the advantageous position of the lady whose lover could neither live with her nor without her. My advice then is—stick to your first note—Try, if you please, to induce him to change his mind and write upon other topics. If he is firm, be you the same.

It would seem that both Reeve and Greville imagined that there was some other reason than the publicity attaching to Reeve's movements for Delane's attempt to supersede him in the writing of articles on the Eastern question. But the letters from Delane and Morris already quoted make it clear that this was the only reason. Some of the further letters in this dispute are unluckily missing, but Reeve eventually withdrew his resignation, perhaps when he appreciated that the reason given to him for Delane's action was the only one. This quarrel ended in a victory for Printing House Square, and on November 16, 1853, Walter wrote triumphantly to Delane "We have now got the vantage ground in our possession, and ought to have no difficulty in maintaining it."

They did not, however, keep the vantage ground very long. By the summer of 1854 Reeve was writing again on Eastern affairs, and in September Walter wrote to Reeve strongly criticizing the policy of Austria. He told Dasent what he had said to Reeve and then went on: "I hope this may produce some effect upon his Excellency, who evidently finds it very hard to say one syllable against his beloved Austrians."¹

With these uneasy relations subsisting between the conductors of the paper and Reeve, the crucial year 1855 opened. Reeve, who had been acting editor since February, was, in the summer of that year, appointed editor of the *Edinburgh Review* and made the characteristic comment in his diary: "The appointment was wholly unsolicited by me (as everything I have ever held is and has been)." During this summer he must have been working at high pressure, with his day occupied at the Council Office, his evenings devoted to writing for *The Times*, and such spare moments as he could fit in given to the editing of one of the most influential quarterlies. Longman, the publisher of the *Edinburgh*, was anxious that Reeve should sever his connexion with Printing House Square, but Reeve noted in his diary: "it would be

¹ P.H.S., D. 5/95.

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unhandsome to my old friends at *The Times* to retire from the journal in the present state of affairs." He apparently told Delane that he did not intend to hold the two literary offices permanently Reeve possessed one fatal quality in any diarist, a tendency to blur the truth when writing about himself It is—to say the least—very questionable if, in fact, he had any intention to leave *The Times* when Longman attempted to make that a condition of his taking the editorship of the Review, for he replied that he would decline the editorship on such terms It is most improbable that he would have risked losing the editorship if he intended to stay with *The Times* only for a few months The importance of Reeve's appointment at this particular time lies in the added power it gave him at a critical moment in his relations with *The Times* and in increasing his independence of what Delane once called "our hard cash."

In September Delane went off for his holiday, leaving Dasent in control The relations between Reeve and Dasent were never cordial. Though Reeve perhaps never went so far as Greville, who dubbed Dasent "a pert, pragmatical little Quiz,"¹ he certainly regarded him with contempt. On his side Dasent must have frequently writhed under Reeve's lordly patronage An instance of his feelings towards Reeve is to be found in an endorsement of a letter from Reeve to Delane, dated December 11, 1853 : "All wrong as usual. G.W.D." According to Reeve Delane went off in September, 1855, "expecting me to control the foreign policy and the war articles"² The moment the Editor's back was turned Reeve became more than usually aggressive. On September 21 he wrote to Dasent protesting against an article on Naples which had been published that morning. He wrote : "I never remember such trash to have been published in the paper. . . . If you wish me to remain in town and to retain the foreign department of the paper in Delane's absence, I must really entreat you to spare me this sort of coadjutor." Dasent, naturally resentful of such a tone but perhaps a trifle over-jealous of his authority, wrote fiercely back : "It is not you, but I who conduct the paper in Delane's absence, and so long as I conduct it you must refrain from injurious

¹ *Greville Memoirs*, October 7, 1855

² Laughton, I, 338 Reeve neither controlled nor expected to contro the foreign side of the paper when Delane was editing Cf a letter from Lord Clarendon to Lord Aberdeen in the privately printed Aberdeen correspondence "Reeve informed me last night that he had obtained permission to write an article in *The Times*" (March, 1853)

A "DAGGER" THRUST AT THE QUEEN

comments on the labours of others. . . With regard to your threat of leaving town, you are welcome to do so as soon as you please, but if you go there might be some difficulty in resuming your position" At this date, it may be relevant to remark, the contributors to *The Times* were expected to preserve their anonymity, not only from the outside world but even from one another. If two of them who were personal friends met in the corridors of Printing House Square, the etiquette of the office required that they should pass without recognition. Thus it is probable that Reeve really did not know who wrote the article of which he disapproved. His wrath was concentrated on Dasent.

Uneasily Reeve continued his work. On October 3 appeared an article on the occasion of the visit of Prince Frederick of Prussia to Balmoral "to improve his acquaintance with the Princess Royal." The article in vitriolic language described the close connexion between the Russian and Prussian Courts and painted a distressing picture of the probable fate of the Princess when revolution should have made her a refugee in the home of her fathers and her husband a prisoner of the Muscovite Court. The King of Prussia was called "the degenerate successor of Frederick the Great," the Prussian royal family were said to be connected in the minds of the Prussian people with "foreign subjection and national degradation. . . . The days of these paltry German dynasties are numbered." The language was violent and, considering the occasion, unseemly. If Reeve had up to this point felt uneasy, the Prussian article made him positively frightened. He was a Civil servant and his patrons were Greville and Clarendon. The former was by now thoroughly discontented with *The Times*, whose "whole conduct," he wrote in February, 1855, "is a source of great vexation to me." He had vainly remonstrated with Delane against the attacks upon Lord Raglan, and, as he saw it, *The Times* was the ringleader of a revolutionary movement, "running amuck against the aristocratic element of society and of the Constitution."¹ Clarendon for his part informed Reeve on the morning of the Prussian article (October 3) that "every condition of treason is fulfilled by some of the recent articles in *The Times*," while, as for "the article of this morning, it will be a dagger in the Queen's heart." The Queen's personal suspicion of journalists was as well known as Reeve's connexion with *The Times*. Certainly Reeve, with a

¹ *Greville Memoirs*, February 17 and 19, 1855; Strachey and Fulford, VII, pp. 114-115.

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career to make in the Privy Council Office, could not afford to offend his patrons and associate himself with "dagger"-thrusts at his Sovereign.

Next day (October 4), therefore, he wrote to Dasent withdrawing from the paper, feeling "it would be dishonourable and improper in myself to contribute to its columns under your management." When Clarendon was informed of this, he wrote to Reeve to express his satisfaction : "I am not only not surprised at the decision you have come to, but as your sincere friend I shd. have been very sorry if you had not taken it, for no man who has the honor & interests of his country at heart or who has the views of a statesman & the feelings of a gentleman wd. now like to be identified, however indirectly, with such a journal as *The Times* has become." He added that he could not believe that the Queen attributed to Reeve "even a knowledge of the Article on the Prince of Prussia, which must have given them so much pain, but I will take care that you stand completely right in that quarter"

Clarendon advised Reeve to "explain fully to Mr. Walter the motives of your decision & let him know the opinion of right-minded Englishmen upon the deplorable mischief that *The Times* is doing to England" When Reeve appealed to Walter, the Chief Proprietor asked him to Bear Wood for the week-end and reminded him that *The Times* had in the past been involved in serious trouble through Reeve's articles, but that the Proprietor had always borne that "cheerfully through confidence in the writer's judgment and ability." But Reeve would not go to Bear Wood. Instead he wrote a further letter to Walter, and, not foreseeing Walter's inevitable reaction against the intrusion of outsiders, however eminent, into the affairs of the office, enclosed Clarendon's indictment of October 3 and, more tactlessly, sent on a letter from Greville, which stated "the first thing I should do would be to advise him (Walter) to remove Dasent from his post without scruple or hesitation."¹ Reeve himself wrote that he was not sorry to be "relieved from the severe labour I have carried on for so many years," and wound up by entreating Walter to put a stop to Dasent's proceedings "by every consideration of the interest of the Paper and of public duty."

¹ Thinking of the necessities of his position in the Council Office, Reeve seems to have wanted to meet Walter in the presence of his friend and superior, Greville. Walter was outraged and, writing to Dasent, remarked "As I have never received the slightest intention from that worthy, I do not intend to put myself in his way."

THE FINAL BREAK

To this letter Walter replied more firmly. He admitted the embarrassment and annoyance which must follow for anyone known to the public as the writer of the foreign leaders in *The Times*, adding "That is an inconvenience to which public writers, who do not preserve their incognito, must always be exposed."

Although Walter stoutly defended his acting editor, it should not be overlooked that he wrote to Dasent that he was "bound to confess that the Father [i.e., Mozley] to whom I have shewn my reply [to Reeve] thinks that the article was indiscreet." That Walter was at this time dissatisfied with Dasent's capacity to conduct the paper is further suggested by the letter, complaining of an article on Godolphin Osborne, which he wrote to him a few days later: "I can hardly express to you how much I was annoyed and disgusted by it. It was not only vulgar and trashy in point of taste but unjust and unhandsome in sentiment." He ended by insisting that personal attacks on private individuals must first be submitted to him. That Walter was not pleased with the turn of events is to be implied from a sentence in a letter from Lord Clarendon to the Queen on October 12: ". . . A renewal of these scurrilous attacks may be expected, altho Mr. Reeve doubts it and thinks that Mr. Walter must feel their impropriety, but the *policy of the paper* is never to admit that it has been in the wrong. . . ."¹

If, beneath the surface the Proprietor was uneasy, no doubts appear to have assailed the Editor, who received news of the trouble while he was abroad. He wrote savagely to Dasent: "[Reeve] just wanted to job the paper to his own purposes, to prove to his patrons that he was supreme and to receive their pay in flattery and dinners while he was taking ours in hard cash." To Walter, Delane summed up the matter thus:

I am sorry for it, for I hate anything which impairs that *solidarite* which has lasted so long and been so eminently successful but I do not

¹ Royal Archives (Windsor, G. 39, 65). The complete passage reads: [October 12, 1855] ". . . Ld C regrets that he can obtain no information respecting the inscrutable ways of *The Times*: Mr. Delane the Chief Editor it appears has been abroad for some time and the paper is in the hands of 3 or 4 ignorant men who think that insolence displays their power and who are perfectly indifferent to its consequences either at home or abroad. Mr. Reeve wrote a very strong letter to Mr. Walter the Proprietor giving his reasons for ceasing to have any connexion with a Paper that was now so mischievous and ill-managed —Mr. W. in reply approved Mr. R.'s resolution and defended the course taken by *The Times* particularly in the Article respecting the Prince of Prussia so that a renewal of these scurrilous attacks may be expected, altho Mr. Reeve doubts it and thinks that Mr. Walter must feel their impropriety but the *policy of the paper* is never to admit that it has been in the wrong."

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see how it could have been avoided without giving R that which it would have been fatal to concede—the unchecked direction of the paper's foreign policy. My chief source of regret is that this disruption has been caused by my absence, for the very point on which R & D quarrelled is one on which R & I so often differed, on which I have so often had to resist the same assumption—that with us it could scarcely have been a cause of quarrell.

In many respects he will be a loss to the paper, for he was always full of work and his pompous style, careless & even ungrammatical as it often was, had a degree of ponderosity about it which imposed on the public and made a little information sound very loud indeed, but he never felt any real allegiance for the paper or was content that what he wrote should contribute only to its reputation. He never served less than two masters willingly and the paper was not always the one he most esteemed. His devotion to his patrons led him and us into many scrapes which would otherwise have been avoided, and we shall at any rate in future have only our own blunders to regret.

I rejoice to find that Chenery quite fulfils my anticipations. As a writer he will fully equal R and will be free too from a bias which was always dragging R into the advocacy of whatever was unpopular & un-national.

The storm rumbled again later in the month when Reeve, to regain favour in those quarters which might be estranged by his former connexion with *The Times*, wrote and published an article in the *Edinburgh Review* on the Press. Its censures dealt largely with *The Times*.¹ Of the change which had come over the Press in general since the beginning of the nineteenth century Reeve wrote (and it must be apparent that he was thinking primarily of himself) “it has been taken almost entirely out of the hands of mere hack-writers—literary workmen—manufacturers ‘to order’—and has been placed in those of men of fixed opinions, of consummate knowledge and deliberate purpose, who sought a connexion with it, as others sought a seat in Parliament or an office under Government, for the sake of influencing their age and country, of promulgating their own sentiments, of recommending and enforcing the principles and measures on which their own hearts were set.” With a certain lack of taste referring specifically to *The Times*, he criticized its “extraordinary and dangerous eminence” and deplored that its circulation was nearly three times as great as

¹ This was published in the middle of October, and written by Reeve before he actually left Printing House Square.

REEVE EXPLAINS TO CLARENDON

the rest of the London Press put together. Alleging that the social position of writers for the Press coloured what they wrote, Reeve clearly had Delane in mind. By this reference he called down on his own head the full fury of *The Times*, expressed in a leading article on October 19.

Reeve's own justification of his withdrawal is to be found in a letter he wrote to Lord Clarendon to be shown to the Prince Consort. In carefully calculated phrases he strove to regain the confidence of those who suspected him of complicity in personal attacks.

I need not tell you that I disapprove and detest the article in *The Times* as much as you can do and indeed so strongly that I feel it incumbent on me to take a step on which I should have been glad to have consulted you, if you had been in town.

I have hitherto retained some connection with *The Times* at great personal inconvenience to myself in the hope that I might sometimes be able to direct its great power to useful and worthy ends and sometimes prevent the too frequent abuse of that influence. In this disagreeable position I had to ask myself how much evil I was to endure in order to prevent the occurrence of still greater evil; and I arrived at the conclusion that from my strong desire if possible to be of some little use to yourself and the country in the present crisis, this was not the time for me to retire. It is clear however that of late, and especially since Delane has left town for the continent, that my influence is not sufficient to prevent the greatest blunders and mischiefs: and I think the tone of the paper has become so objectionable with reference to foreign affairs, and that the article on the young Prince of Prussia on Wednesday was such an outrage to Her Majesty that I cannot reconcile it to my sense of honour and duty to contribute at all to its columns under such management and I have therefore withdrawn. It clearly became wrong to lend whatever support and assistance my humble abilities could give to a newspaper, when I found that the influence of that journal was used by others for the worst purposes: and I do not think that you or any of my friends would recommend me to delay taking a step which is necessary to my complete disavowal of these unjustifiable proceedings.

Nothing I confess could pain me more from my personal attachment to the Government and from my official position in the Privy Council, as well as from the marks of kindness I have more than once received from Her Majesty and from the Prince than that it should for one moment be supposed that I do not utterly disapprove and resent the absurd and atrocious language of that Prussian article. On the contrary

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it is that which satisfied me that I cannot at all work with men capable of publishing such a production, and be the consequences what they may, I believe you will think that I could not without impropriety have acted otherwise than to retire.

I have always considered that a connection with the Press imposes on a writer a moral responsibility of the highest order ; and I have endeavoured according to my own judgment to act up to that standard, but my conscience tells me the moment is come to lay down my pen, if I am thrust into a connection with other writers whose names I do not know, but whose sentiments are diametrically opposed to my own.

So Reeve withdrew, and although his withdrawal was a decided loss to the paper, few tears were shed in Printing House Square at his departure. But from the practical point of view his withdrawal was most regrettable. Reeve's sources of information, both at home and abroad, have probably never been rivalled by any journalist, and above all his articles were distinguished by a great display of knowledge, by virile English and by an agreeable, bustling style which made them memorable as well as readable. The closing of Reeve's valuable sources of information was, indeed, a serious blow, but from a literary point of view Woodham accurately summed up the loss in terms which, since he was Reeve's principal rival as foreign leader-writer, can be considered as generous : " We miss Pomposo. He contributed an element to the paper, which, however nebulous sometimes, was really an element. We miss him . . . whenever the actual diplomacy of the day turns up."

Reeve, with many inaccuracies and exaggerated claims, commented in his journal on his " secession " from *The Times*. Unhappily an account of the actual transaction, which he seems to have written, is not printed by his biographer, and the manuscript cannot now be traced, but Reeve says :

This terminated my long connexion with the paper, which began in June 1840 and ended in October 1855—fifteen years and four months. I believe I wrote in that time about 2,482 full-paid articles, and received upwards of 13,000*l* for them . . .

Its circulation rose in fifteen years from about 13,000 when I joined it, to 62,000 when I left it ; and although I do not take to myself any peculiar share in this result, for many other contributors wrote as well as I did, yet I doubt whether any other writer had occasion to do as much. My articles were almost always printed first, at the head of the

A STARTLING CHANGE OF POLICY

paper, and averaged latterly four or even five out of six days. They were the expression of a great system of foreign policy, such as I should have acted upon if I had been born to the position of a minister. They were never dictated or even influenced by any authority but my own free will—very seldom even suggested to me, either by the editor or by any minister or other person; and though they were often regarded as expressions of the opinions of the Cabinet, or of Lord Aberdeen, or of this country, they never in reality expressed anything but my own convictions.¹

It must be remembered in his favour that Reeve never deliberately courted publicity, though he may have been glad for powerful friends like Clarendon to know that he had "delivered the goods." It may be that the difficulty between Reeve and the authorities in Printing House Square was less the notoriety attaching to his work than his whole attitude to the paper. In his diary, in his letters and in his biography there is no suggestion that he ever regarded himself as employed by the paper primarily to serve its interests and to advance its prestige. Not only did he attempt to express the opinions of his friends rather than those of the paper, but it is clear that at the moment of crisis his principal concern was for his own position as a Privy Council Clerk. Above all (and this, as his diary indicates, was his first thought when he retired) his connexion with *The Times* was a lucrative source of income. The clash came when Delane was absent. Reeve's relations with Dasent were notoriously bad. Both were given to rashness of judgment. But the clash had really more general causes, for, while certain lines of the policy of the paper were making life increasingly difficult for Reeve, Delane was viewing the power and independence of his subordinate with increasing dislike.

The resignation, coming when it did, played a part in disposing Delane to make a startling change in policy.

¹ Laughton, I, 339.

XII

DELANE MEETS PALMERSTON

"**F**ROM the time when I first went to the Foreign Office, for some reason or other which I never could discover, *The Times* has been animated by undeviating hostility, personal and political, towards me," Lord Palmerston told the Queen in October, 1855.¹ And so it had been ; but at the very moment of his writing in this sense there was taking place with his active cooperation, if not on his initiative, a dramatic and permanent change in the relations of the two powers. On October 6 *The Times* wrote of the statesman as it had never written before : "It is but bare justice to say that at this period the country needed a man, and that it found in Lord Palmerston the man it needed . . ."

Palmerston, who had been Secretary at War since 1809, first entered the Foreign Office in 1830, under Lord Grey, whose reform Ministry had the general support of *The Times*. "Lord Palmerston," wrote the paper then, "has had long experience at the head of a difficult department, and, if we may judge by his public speeches, is a man of liberal politics with regard to foreign affairs" (November 22, 1830.) Very soon, however, it appeared that he was not liberal enough, and his failure to give vigorous support to struggling nationalities brought him censure. Grey and Palmerston, *The Times* declared in 1832, "are not so firm or so resolute in action as they are tasteful in the use of political professions." (November 17, 1832.) Nevertheless, the Whigs were better than the Tories and, despite shortcomings, Palmerston was treated leniently during his first period at the Foreign Office.

But during the brief Government of the Tories Barnes had formed his alliance with Peel ; Melbourne and the Whigs returning in 1835 found *The Times* their enemy. Palmerston in particular became the object of a sustained attack remarkable for its note of personal acerbity. He was "the simpering Secretary,"

¹ To the Queen, cf. Marquess of Lorne : *Lord Palmerston*, p. 174

CASTIGATION BY BARNES

habitually given to "silly dandyism" and "feeble facetiousness," the "worn-out hack of a dozen Administrations." No doubt the virulence of the language used was partly due to the war raging between *The Times* and the *Morning Chronicle*, Palmerston's organ, but it is clear that Barnes himself felt a strong personal antipathy towards the Foreign Secretary. His character was essentially "frivolous"; it was, Barnes considered, the cause of England's failure to assist the Poles. In Spain, Portugal, and Greece also Palmerston's policy seemed to him to amount to empty threats and nothing more. "There is no parallel furnished by the history of any minister to the fatal frivolities of our foolish Foreign Secretary." (December 8, 1836.)

Above all, Palmerston consistently ignored the advance of Russia. *The Times* throughout the 'thirties demanded that "the fierce tartar who now fills the throne of Russia" (November 17, 1835) be restrained. Not only did Palmerston fail to act, but he had even "enabled Russia to justify her violence against Poland, her aggression against Cracow, her interference in Wallachia and Moldavia, her usurpation in Turkey, under the shelter and excuse of England's sanction." (January 1, 1838.) *The Times* secured the services of David Urquhart, the life-long enemy of Palmerston, when he was recalled from the Embassy at Constantinople, where his anti-Russian zeal had embarrassed Lord Ponsonby. Urquhart was the moving spirit in the Vixen affair, when a British ship was sent to the Circassian coast to "test" the Czar's suzerainty and was seized by the Russians. *The Times* described Palmerston's failure to defend it as the "most disgraceful act that ever shamed the annals of a country." (January 1, 1838.)

Reeve, after Barnes's death, continued the war in the belief that his principal duty as a writer for *The Times* was "to punish the presumption of that man."¹ In Barnes's time the lukewarmness of Palmerston's Liberalism and his unwillingness to champion small nationalities had been grounds of the paper's objection. In Delane's period, when Palmerston's outlook and that of *The Times* had changed under the pressure of events, the paper found it necessary to rebuke his interference in behalf of insurgent nationalists throughout Europe.

At the beginning of 1847, instigated by Aberdeen, *The Times* counter-attacked Lord Palmerston, who was held responsible

¹ *Graville-Reeve Letters*, ed. A. H. Johnson, 1924, p. 131.

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for the attacks on Aberdeen in the *Morning Chronicle*.¹ Palmerston was forced to admit the justice of the reply, but felt that *The Times*, in its retribution, exceeded the injury :

There was certainly a very ill-judged and to a certain Degree unjust attack upon Aberdeen in the *Chronicle* about the Cracow affair [he wrote to Russell], but the Tories had had several tirades against me before that. That article in the *Chronicle* however drew forth the next day a vehement abuse of me in *The Times*, and though I was urged by friends to make a Representation about it, I refrained from doing so, because I knew the connection of *The Times* with Aberdeen and I felt that though the Blow at him did not come from me, yet *The Times* might fairly retaliate upon me, and Blow for Blow is fair Play all the world over.

But the *Chronicle* abstained from any Rejoinder, though Rejoinder would have been easy ; and it has never mentioned Aberdeen's name since, so that the article of Today in *The Times* is offensive and not retaliatory.²

In the autumn of 1846, *The Times* had not been unfriendly towards Lord Palmerston, and after the journalistic exchanges in the early months of 1847, Clarendon made a determined effort to regain its goodwill for Palmerston. He was so successful that, on June 5, he could write to Reeve : "The art. in *The Times* this morning was excellent, & J.R. & Palmⁿ are much obliged. The latter will send the first copy of the Papers he gets to *The Times* office & he hopes to do so on Monday mornⁿ, of course with the understanding that they are not used before they are laid upon the table of Parliament." For a time Delane was favoured with Foreign Office communications, but he shared the advantage with other Editors (those of the *Globe*, the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Daily News*), while certain papers continued to receive exclusive information.³ The reconciliation therefore was without solid foundations and Palmerston was soon again the object of attacks.

These became so virulent that, on February 23, 1848, Lansdowne questioned Greville whether Reeve was the author of the "very

¹ Delane informed Reeve on February 5, 1847, that Aberdeen was "more angry than I could have imagined with Palmerston. He says he excused all P.'s factiousness out of office as being a fair means to obtain it, but having acted to him in the most friendly manner ever since, having not only smoothed his path to Downing Street, but done his best to help him there, it is 'too bad' for him to inspire such articles as that in Thursday's *Chronicle*."

² Palmerston to Russell, February 5, 1847. (P.R.O., G. and D. 22/6.)

³ Thus on June 24 the *Globe* alone was sent an early copy of the Spanish Marriage papers, and on July 15 the *Chronicle* had a similar advantage. (P.R.O., F.O. 96/21.)

bitter articles," and Greville did his best to shield his colleague, who, it must be remembered, was the paid servant of the Privy Council and Lansdowne his immediate chief. Reeve was, however, saved by Palmerston himself, for, on the sale of the *Morning Chronicle* to the Peelites in February, 1848, the Foreign Secretary sought a reconciliation with Delane, who agreed to go to see him on February 24. Palmerston tried to win him over with the offer of "all sorts of information and suggested, if he was disposed to accept, that *it would be better if he would put the gentleman who conducted his foreign business into immediate communication with him*" Delane, after asserting his own responsibility for all foreign articles, declared that such a connexion as had existed between Palmerston and the *Chronicle* would benefit neither the statesman nor *The Times*. He professed to have no hostility to Palmerston and had supported his policy, those acts, which the paper could not approve, had been attacked without unusual asperity.

P. shook hands with him, & so they parted, not I think on the whole, on a bad footing; neither D or R. will bind themselves on any account to P. but I don't think D. is at all indisposed to amicable but independant relations with him, and this I have encouraged by all the arguments I could think of. I suggested that it must not appear by any sudden turn, as if the hit at R. had driven home, so that P. might conclude he had by terrifying R. muzzled *The Times*, but on the other hand, what had passed between P. and D. was sufficient to warrant a more mitigated and less hostile tone towards him, and I begged that the articles might be written with the view of steering betwixt the two considerations. D. is well inclined to this, and as R. is frightened I shall be able to keep him to it I really would rather reform Palmerston than punish him.¹

This interview, however, failed to produce a reconciliation, for the Foreign Secretary was by no means "reformed." Within a year, a typical example of his methods led to an exposure by *The Times* and a scene in the Cabinet. The affair arose out of the rebellion of the Sicilians against King Ferdinand.

In January, 1849, Delane learnt from Tom Hood, an armament contractor, whose acquaintance he had made when hunting with the Old Surrey hounds, that the Sicilian rebels had applied to him

¹ Greville to Clarendon, February 24, 1848. (Clarendon Papers.)

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for arms.¹ Having none ready he went to the Ordnance, which had recently bought all he had, and asked for their return. It was necessary to explain the reason for his application and since it involved politics the Ordnance referred the request to Palmerston, who gave his sanction. Thus the Foreign Secretary became guilty of a serious indiscretion, since Great Britain was on good terms with the King of Naples.

The Prime Minister first learnt about the matter from an article in *The Times* indicting the Government's foreign policy, alleging more particularly the "daring violations of our international duty to Naples" (January 9, 1849). At a Cabinet meeting on the 23rd Russell described the action as "indefensible," and Lord Grey "began a harangue protesting that, although in the first instance he was for taking part with the Sicilians, he could not be a party to this proceeding, and . . . he would not share the blame."² Palmerston consented to apologize to the King of Naples, despite his hatred for that monarch, and the matter was satisfactorily explained in Parliament. After a good deal of desultory skirmishing, *The Times*, while continuing to censure Palmerston, formally absolved the Government from blame. (March 8.)

The Foreign Secretary, gravely annoyed by the attacks of the newspaper, according to Greville, prevailed upon Lord Lansdowne again to question Reeve on the authorship of the offending articles. Sir Charles Wood, meanwhile, repeatedly intervened with Delane and begged him to drop the attack.³ His intercession was for the sake of the Government rather than of Lord Palmerston, since he himself was ready to sacrifice the Foreign Secretary, even to assist in his removal, if the Government could thereby be preserved. *The Times*, however, did not cease from its campaign against the Minister, and denounced especially his notorious independence of Cabinet control.

In the next year there developed another affair which seemed to provide the journal with an opportunity of ejecting Palmerston from the Foreign Office. At Eastertide, 1847, the Jew-hating populace of Athens had burnt the house of Don Pacifico because the Greek Government, in deference to a visiting Rothschild, had

¹ *Greville Memoirs*, March 2, 1849. There is no evidence that the information came to Delane actually in the hunting field, both Dasent and Cook misread Reeve's note on Greville.

² I. C. Hobhouse, Diary, January 23, 1849 (B M , MSS Addl 43753/79.)

³ *Greville Memoirs*, January 19 and 28, 1849

DON PACIFICO

forbidden the annual amusement of immolating Judas Iscariot. Don Pacifico was a Levantine Jew who had served the Portuguese Government, but he had the good fortune to be able to claim British citizenship by his birth in Malta. He therefore prepared an exorbitant bill of costs, and, ignoring the Greek Courts, appealed to the British Government for redress. Palmerston took up his cause with enthusiasm. It was complicated by certain lesser grievances against Greece, including the loss of a boathook belonging to H M S Fantome, and the upshot was that, on January 18, 1850, Admiral Parker proclaimed the blockade of the Piraeus. This high-handed action nearly caused a European war. Russia protested strongly, France recalled her Ambassador from London. Once more it appeared certain that Palmerston was defying not only most of Europe but his own Cabinet colleagues.

The Times gladly seized the opportunity of renewing the assault. Having fruitlessly demanded the production of papers, on February 5 it procured, through O'Meagher in Paris, and published on February 9, the correspondence between the British Minister in Athens and the Greek Government. Meanwhile first-hand accounts of the dispute were being sent from Athens by Patrick O'Brien, who had previously served the paper in Constantinople. O'Brien was wholly on the side of the Greek Government. Lord Clarendon, now Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, did his best to put his colleague's point of view to Reeve in a series of letters that are on record,¹ but *The Times* was uncompromising. On February 22 the claims against Greece were examined and roundly declared to be quite untenable:

England may be disgraced, Europe exasperated, Greece oppressed—what matters if the whim of the Foreign Secretary be gratified, and if his Lordship's sovereign commands are obeyed?

Palmerston had roused "the indignation of the civilised world," and

though by a renewal of naval compulsion his pecuniary claims were ultimately extorted from Greece, the question of public right and public duty lies in a higher court and stands for judgment before Europe (May 18, 1850.)

On May 22, in printing the correspondence justifying the French action, *The Times* had to deplore that "we receive, as usual, from

¹ Laughton, Vol. I, pp. 222 ff.

DELANE MEETS PALMERSTON

a foreign source the information which our own Government delays to produce."

From this time on there were "Pacifico" articles almost every day, reinforced in the last days of May by a series of four special articles in the news columns, critically examining the whole controversy, and filling nine columns in all. The great agitation mobilized once more the coalition against Palmerston, and Russell felt compelled to discuss with the Queen a rearrangement of the Cabinet so as to remove Palmerston to some other post. The plan broke down, partly because the only possible substitute at the Foreign Office was Clarendon, and "Lord John objected to Lord Clarendon's intimate connection with *The Times*"¹. In default of reconstruction, the hostile forces gathered themselves for a general assault in both Houses. A vote of censure in the House of Lords on June 18 was carried by a majority of thirty-seven, which *The Times* rather optimistically described as "overwhelming." The effect of the vote was to declare "to the world that the Foreign-office of England is not England." (June 19, 1850.)

Not for the first time, however, *The Times* had underestimated the resilience of Palmerston. Sir Charles Wood, as he told Delane, was for resignation, but was overruled, and Russell announced in the Commons on June 20 that the Government would neither resign nor modify their foreign policy to suit the opinions of the House of Lords. "My noble friend is not the Minister of Austria, nor the Minister of Russia, nor the Minister of France, but the Minister of England." On this "melodramatic defiance" *The Times* dryly commented, on the 24th, that "our 'English' Minister has been compelled . . . to surrender at discretion to the not very mild remonstrances of General Lahitte"—for the dispute with France over Pacifico had at last been patched up at some sacrifice of British dignity. That night Roebuck moved a general vote of confidence in the foreign policy of the Government, and one of the great debates of the century followed. Putting forth his utmost power and eloquence in a speech lasting nearly five hours, Palmerston turned upon his enemies, including *The Times*, whose correspondent he accused of putting about false statements relating to the coercive measures at Athens, upon which statements public opinion had been formed. This, the famous "Civis Romanus sum" speech, carried the day, in spite of powerful replies from Gladstone, Disraeli, and Sir Robert Peel,

¹ *Queen Victoria's Letters*, Vol. II, p. 289.

and Palmerston won back his place in the esteem not only of the House but of the people. He gained his vote of confidence by a majority of forty-six, and he swept the country with a wave of patriotic enthusiasm that made him at once the hero of the hour. Lady Clarendon wrote in her journal for July 1. "He has triumphed over a great mass of educated public opinion, over that mighty potentate *The Times*, over two branches of the Legislature, over the Queen and Prince and most of the Cabinet he sits in, besides all foreign nations!"

The counter-attack took *The Times* by surprise. On a previous occasion, in 1848, when the veracity of Honan in describing the Messina massacres had been impugned, a strong leading article had been devoted to his justification, though Delane himself felt not too easy at times about Honan's probity. It was the more significant, therefore, that Palmerston's charges against the correspondent in Athens were allowed to go unanswered. Indeed, it is probable that *The Times* was already losing faith in O'Brien, who was later dismissed for his subservience to the Greek Government. With the result of the debate the leading article of July 1 professed itself "not surprised and not dissatisfied . . . for though the majority is probably just sufficient to enable Ministers to retain office without disgrace, they have received such a lesson on the conduct of the foreign relations of the Crown as the boldest of them will not readily forget." But there are clear traces of misgiving; *The Times*, ever sensitive to public opinion, seems very conscious of having by its late campaign outrun the feeling of the country, and now tries to correct its tactical error by holding out an olive branch to Palmerston:

We are quite ready to begin a new score without more reference to past miscarriages and offences than is absolutely necessary to account for the position in which we find ourselves; and we think the leading Ministers of the Crown will acknowledge that it is more than ever their duty and their interest to exercise a vigilant control over the correspondence of the Foreign-office, to renounce its unbecoming acerbity of tone, to labour in good faith and good spirit to improve the state of their relations with the rest of the world, and to efface past accusations, not only by a party vote, but by a substantial amendment of their conduct abroad. (July 1, 1850.)

Delane, indeed, was fast losing his enthusiasm for the campaign against the Foreign Secretary. He had hoped for a concerted attack by the newspaper and by statesmen, but the statesmen had

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failed him. Both Cabinet Ministers and the leaders of the Opposition wished to get rid of Palmerston, but not even the Opposition desired the fall of the Government, with whose policy, apart from foreign affairs, Sir Robert Peel was in agreement. This situation led to some curious negotiations. Before Palmerston's Commons victory Delane discussed with Sir Charles Wood, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the possibility of moving him, and at the same time Aberdeen, meditating with Stanley a vigorous and combined attack upon the Government's foreign policy, talked the matter over with the Editor. The weak point was Peel, who was in agreement but did not wish to damage the Government. Aberdeen, however, tried to persuade him that the elimination of Palmerston would in effect strengthen the Government. "The substance of this conversation Delane repeated to C. Wood, and they discussed the consequences that might result from a hostile vote in the House of Commons."¹

Out of these conversations came a series of general indictments of Palmerston's activities throughout the world. One leading article concluded with the statement that :

It is public and notorious that the foreign policy of the Cabinet is the work of one Minister, who is even more feared and distrusted by his colleagues than by the public. (May 28, 1849.)

Another still more comprehensive indictment shows the active part which Lord Aberdeen played in the campaign. The former Foreign Secretary wrote to Delane to suggest that a recent article in the *Globe* might be taken as the basis of a critical article ; among other things, he said :

The success (of Palmerston) is surprising, and I know not where it is to be found. In Portugal, Costa Cabral, officially proscribed by us, is made Prime Minister. In Spain, Narvaez to overthrow whom every mode of attack was employed, is stronger than ever. The King of Naples is in possession of Sicily, and the refugees whom we have betrayed come here to curse us. Austria still holds Lombardy, and Charles Albert is dying at Oporto."²

A few days later his exact words found their way into the leader columns of *The Times* :

In Portugal, Costa Cabral, officially proscribed by us, is made Prime Minister. The King of Naples is in possession of Sicily, and the

¹ *Greville Memoirs*, June 3, 1849.

² Aberdeen to Delane, June 30, 1849. (P.H.S. Papers, 3/88)

THE EDITOR'S THANKLESS TASK

patriots of Palermo, whom we have betrayed, come here to curse us. Austria still holds Lombardy, and Charles Albert is dying at Oporto

But, though we may have greater interests elsewhere, the triumph of Narvaez and the tranquillity of Spain are the keenest cuts of all; for they have made the name of an English Minister not dreaded, but despicable, and have exhibited in its most complete results that system which every foreign nation and foreign Government views with equal aversion and resentment. (July 4, 1849)

Palmerston nevertheless managed to withstand these attacks, for in spite of the forces which were marshalled against him in the Don Pacifico debate, and in spite of the encouragement Delane received behind the scenes, in the open *The Times* was fighting its campaign virtually unassisted, and Delane felt his task to be a thankless one. He wrote complaining of the situation to Lord Aberdeen. "The general public," he declared, "looks to the debates for a confirmation of leading articles, and can scarcely believe that a foreign minister's policy is censurable when they find a set of men whom they have always been taught to confide in expressing their approval of it by the silent assent they give to all his proceedings."

Peel's passivity was at fault, for his silence persuaded the public that *The Times* policy was based merely upon personal spite or even upon worse motives. "This," said Delane, "is by no means a pleasant position and I hope I am not to be left to do battle single handed with both sides in both Houses of Parliament and all the press."¹ The Editor was therefore inclined to take the opportunity provided by Palmerston's debating triumph to end a lonely campaign, which he was conducting in such circumstances of ingratitude.

Greville was quick to appreciate the situation, and on the day of the "olive-branch" leader (July 1, 1850), quoted above, he noted in his journal that even *The Times* was prepared to abandon its opposition, which had "produced a good deal of resentment and disgust." He suspected that the paper, finding it had gone too far, was now seeking for a decent pretext to modify its policy. "The truth is," he added, "that Reeve's bitterness has made him overdo it on several occasions and I have very little doubt that he has had a hint to that effect."

¹ Delane to Aberdeen, March 12, 1850. (B.M., Aberdeen Papers: Privately Printed Aberdeen Correspondence.)

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Apparently Reeve was once more in difficulties with the head of his department, Lord Lansdowne. An undated letter has survived, which probably belongs to this period.

private and confidential

Dear Delane,

After further consultation the Chief and I have hit upon the following expedient which we think may mend my case, and also account for some slight modification in the tone of the paper, if you will assist us. Suppose I addressed to you such a note as that which I enclose, and suppose you answered it by saying that you thought you had put an end to these imputations last summer—that as for my suggestion, that is unnecessary for you had already had a conversation with Sir C. Wood, in which he had dwelt on the inconvenience and irritation produced by these attacks on the foreign office, and that you were now disposed, having expressed the opinion of the paper on these subjects, to leave them to be discussed in Parliament.

Something of this sort—but particularly alluding to C. Wood, and implying a slightly pacific disposition, as far as is consistent with the line of the paper. Such a note as this could be shown Ld. L. and would do more good than a mere conversation.

Such is our notion, and if you are disposed to adopt it, I shall be obliged to you

Yours faithfully,

H. R.

Here follows the note *pro forma* which you are to answer.

(Enclosure)

Sunday Night

Chester Square

Dear Delane,

It has happened more than once that whenever the articles in *The Times* on the Foreign Office have been particularly vehement they have been attributed to me, and some observations have again been made to me on the subject, which in my position are by no means agreeable (*sic*). I cannot of course pretend to interfere with the course you may feel bound to pursue on this or any other subject—but as I feel this impression with reference to myself has not been entirely removed, I should esteem it a personal favour if you would endeavour to moderate the strength of these attacks which irritate Lord Palmerston, annoy the Government, and are then ascribed to my pen.

Yours very faithfully,

HENRY REEVE

John T. Delane Esq

OVERTURES FROM LADY PAM

Palmerston himself might be described as eager to grasp the olive-branch, for, if Greville is to be believed,¹ Lady Palmerston made repeated attempts between July, 1850, and March, 1851, to entice Delane into her salon. But neither of her emissaries (Sir Charles Wood and Lord Granville) could effect this, for Delane thought that "it would be too ridiculous" after what had happened to meet his adversary. Nevertheless his attitude relaxed and he expressed a willingness to desist from hostilities—provided Palmerston merited it. Greville's interpretation of the affair was that "a treaty of peace and amity was brought about between them in which Reeve, the object of their especial abhorrence, and dread, was included."

Reeve, indeed, went much further than Delane; dramatizing the incident in his diary, he wrote. "after the Greek fight, Fleming made the peace between the Palmerstons and me I was introduced to Lady P at Lady Shelburne's concert on July 24, and went to Lady P's party on August 3 for the first time"² Unlike Delane, Reeve had an official position to consider; he was moreover far more intimately bound to the Whig party than Delane was. The importance of this rapprochement therefore lay rather in its effect upon Reeve personally than in its influence upon the paper. Reeve's sting was, if not wholly, at least partially extracted; the paper's good will was but conditional, and did not survive further Palmerstonian indiscretions.

The "treaty," in other words, was but an "armistice" Lady Palmerston still complained of the "vicious articles in *The Times*" and suspected that Clarendon, Reeve's friend, was intriguing against her husband.³ This was unjust; Clarendon had indeed advised Reeve after the Greek debate that Palmerston "evidently intended to hold out the olive branch, and it will be ungenerous, and what is of more consequence unwise, if it

¹ *Greville Memoirs*, July 19 and August 11, 1850, March 4, 1851.

² Years afterwards, in a moment of hostility to *The Times*, Russell described the incident in acid words "when P was at the Foreign Office, especially during the Pacifico business, *The Times* fired at him six times a week and Palmerston burnt it." It all ended in Reeve going to Palmerston to announce that the hostility of *The Times* was over, and to ask that Mrs Reeve might be invited to Lady Palmerston's parties. This Palmerston told me himself" (Maxwell's *Life of Lord Clarendon*, Vol II, p 314.) It is hardly necessary to argue that such trivial considerations cannot have influenced the editorial conduct of *The Times*, but they may not have been without their effect upon the temper and literary tone of Henry Reeve. At any rate, the foreign leaders of the ensuing two years, though they continued to be more often hostile than friendly to Palmerston, were phrased with much less personal acerbity.

³ Hobhouse Diary, March 8, 1851. (B.M., MSS. Addl. 43755/103.) Lady Palmerston's distrust of Clarendon was of old standing, in 1840, she told Lord Granville (then Lord Leveson) that he was "incapable of realizing the depth of the cunning of his friend, George Villiers," who was an intriguer aiming at the Foreign Office (Fitzmaurice, I, 30.)

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be not accepted."¹ However, Clarendon's Press connexions (as may be seen during his differences with Stratford) led naturally to such suspicions. Moreover, *The Times* certainly had its friends and informants within the Cabinet² who occupied an equivocal position during the campaign against Palmerston—as, for example, Sir Charles Wood.

On June 27, 1851, on the anniversary of the "Civis Romanus" debate, the paper was able to give a favourable review of the Foreign Secretary's proceedings during the past year. The nation's diplomatic business "had been carried on in entire accordance with the principles which we ourselves have uniformly defended."

The armistice, however, was to be ended suddenly by the arrival in England of the exiled Kossuth in the autumn of 1851. The Hungarian patriot was received with wild enthusiasm, and this was one of the comparatively rare occasions when *The Times* deliberately defied public opinion :

. . . the object of these addresses and honours is not what his admirers suppose him to be, and . . . if the people of this country receive Kossuth as a hero and a patriot they will render themselves an object of derision in those countries where his conduct is more correctly appreciated . . . (October 9, 1851.)

The Times of November 18 had to reply to a charge that it was bribed to attack Kossuth. But responsible statesmen welcomed the attitude of the paper, and Clarendon wrote to Reeve on November 22 : "It must have been a difficult task to stem the tide of ignorant enthusiasm ; but it was done with consummate skill and tact, and *The Times* will be all the more powerful for risking momentary unpopularity."³

Palmerston, however, did not agree with his colleague. The Cabinet would not allow him to receive Kossuth personally, but he received addresses from the electors of Finsbury and Islington in which the Austrian and Russian Emperors were described as "odious and detestable assassins," and he made a reply, sympathetic but indiscreet, which was fully reported by *The Times* of November 20. It was less fully reported by the papers edited in Palmerston's interest, which not only omitted

¹ Clarendon to Reeve, July 6, 1850. (Clarendon Papers)

² Hobhouse Diary, August 27, 1850 : "The *Times* of Thursday contained an account of the proceedings of our Cabinet the day before. I wonder who sent it."

³ Laughton, I, p. 240.

THE QUEEN INTERVENES

those passages in which the Foreign Secretary most deeply committed himself, but even questioned the accuracy of *The Times* report.¹ Replying on the 26th, *The Times* vindicated its own reporter and went on

That address of Lord Palmerston's is now circulating throughout Europe to convey his acceptance of the grossest terms of insult that could be applied to the rulers of foreign States by men who, we are now told by his own organ,² are so vulgar and illiterate as not to know how to express themselves (November 26, 1851)

Palmerston's indiscretion caused the greatest resentment at the Court, and the Queen went as near as constitutional propriety allowed to asking the Prime Minister for his dismissal. Russell interceded for his subordinate, who was reprieved for the moment, but in less than a month Palmerston, by a fresh offence, figured in an even more serious incident—one that led to his disappearance at last from an embarrassed Government. On December 2 the Prince-President Louis Napoleon, having dissolved the National Assembly and the Council of State, placed the leaders of the Opposition under arrest and declared a state of siege in Paris. Walewski, the French Ambassador, communicated the news to Palmerston on the following day, and immediately received an assurance that the English Government approved of the *coup d'état*. Palmerston had consulted neither the Queen nor the Cabinet. The *coup d'état* was announced in *The Times* on the 3rd with an unequivocal condemnation of the Prince-President's conduct.

This article appeared on the morning of the day when Palmerston gave his unauthorized assurance to Walewski. But the fact was not publicly known for several weeks, and the resulting dispute between the Queen, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary was conducted behind the scenes. *The Times* appears to have been kept in the dark about Palmerston's action,³ but on December 24 the Editor, having

¹ "It is clear that Palmerston himself was alarmed at the lengths he went by his making the *Morning Post* and *Globe* deny the accuracy of the statement which appeared in all the papers. This was very humiliating and rather base, for it took nobody in, except those who thought it their interest to be deceived by it. And what makes the contradiction the more ridiculous is, that the *Morning Post* got its intelligence from the same reporter who made the communication to *The Times*, and the identical report, only *The Times* inserted it as it was, and the *Post* garbled it according to order" (Greville, December 2, 1851)

² The *Morning Post*.

³ If *The Times* was in the dark, some members of the Cabinet were even more so. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, for example, first learnt of Palmerston's resignation through its announcement in *The Times*. (Diary, December 24, 1851.)

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startling news to announce, placed it, according to custom, at the beginning of the leading article. In publishing in this way the news that Palmerston ceased to be a member of the Government on December 22, it is clear that the Editor did not know exactly what had happened, although the article mentions incidentally that "we believe that his very last act in power was to express his unqualified approbation of the French *coup d'état*." Actually Russell, strongly supported by the Queen, had made this a pretext for demanding the resignation of his troublesome colleague, although according to Greville¹ "the *causa causans* was without doubt the Islington speech and deputations, and his whole conduct in that affair." If that be true, *The Times* may be credited with no small part in bringing about Palmerston's fall, for without its anti-Kossuth opinion, in the then state of public feeling, would have had no voice. Having won its victory and believing the aged statesman's career to be over, *The Times* took leave of the fallen Minister not unkindly, and turned from his indiscretions to recall the indefatigable activity he had often shown in the public service, the vast capacity for work, the courage in presence of dangers, and the charm of social manner which had made him, in spite of all his faults, a favourite of the House of Commons and of one great party in the country.

Under the impression that Palmerston was now a spent force, *The Times* followed him benignly in the country, pausing only to criticize his survey of his own policy. (July 13, 1852.) When Palmerston turned to agricultural problems, *The Times* praised his worthy interest in manure. "Well done, Lord Palmerston! Younger men might take a leaf out of your book, with credit to themselves and advantage to the public." (July 19, 1852.) His election at Tiverton had a pleasant holiday air about it, and the paper commented happily upon its "frolicsome" character. When the formation of Aberdeen's coalition brought Palmerston's name once more into practical politics, the paper, though eager to congratulate the Government upon his not being Foreign Minister, compared favourably his modest speech with Lord John Russell's self-praise for his serving under Aberdeen.

The shelter of the Home Office protected Palmerston from the attacks of *The Times*, and they were not to be found in hostile camps again until the Eastern question divided them. The paper did the statesman a grave disservice in December, 1853, when he

¹ *Greville Memoirs*, December 23, 1851.

resigned after the "massacre of Sinope." Palmerston's motives for resignation were rather obscure, for, while his official reason was Lord John Russell's Reform Bill, his organ, the *Morning Post*, asserted that his real objection was the failure of Aberdeen to pursue a vigorous policy in the East. Palmerston had good reason to wish to leave the matter ambiguous. Aberdeen however wrote to tell Clarendon that, when the papers mentioned the affair, "it ought to be made clear that it is Reform, and not the East, which has produced it."¹ Next day *The Times* insisted that reform alone was the cause of his resignation. Acting in support of Aberdeen in his struggle with the popular ex-Minister, the paper proceeded to accuse Palmerston of his old vices of frivolity and irresponsibility in retiring. Its accusation that he was hostile to all reform was felt by Palmerston to be "very unjust . . . and meant to damage him in public opinion."² Clarendon moreover believed that there might be danger in denying all difference of opinion about the East, for this would give Palmerston's organ a loop-hole.

Too much must not be said about perfect agreement on the Eastⁿ question as there have *at times* been differences between P. & Abn., tho' they have ended as such matters usually do in Govts. by mutual compromise. Still, however, under the present circs., P. might wish to have these differences thought greater than they were & he might resent its being supposed that he & A. *had not* differed.³

Thus there was a recrudescence of the old antagonism ; *The Times* supported Aberdeen's peace efforts, while Palmerston was in favour of sterner methods. But war broke out, and the paper led the campaign for its efficient prosecution. Aberdeen's peaceful administration was not strong enough to bear the strain of the critical years 1854 and 1855, and the public looked to Palmerston as the great War Minister. At the beginning of 1855, therefore, Printing House Square was prepared to welcome him as the leader of a warlike Government, comprising new men and following an active policy.

When it became known, at the beginning of February, 1855, that Palmerston was to be Prime Minister, *The Times* declared it "the first duty of every honest politician to give the new Cabinet

¹ Aberdeen to Clarendon, December 14, 1853. (*Clarendon Papers*)

² Clarendon to Reeve, December 17, 1853. (*Ibid*)

³ Clarendon to Reeve, December 16, 1853. (*Ibid*)

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that support which alone can enable it to grapple with emergencies more terrible than any of which this generation has had experience" (February 8) The paper praised the probable composition of the new Ministry, enthusiastically favoured Clarendon for the Foreign Office, tolerated the possibility of Panmure at the War Office. (February 6)

Its good will was tempered. There remained the need for fresh blood since the country recognized that Palmerston's powers would not increase with advancing age. (February 3) The introduction of "a younger and more efficient class of men into office was vitally important" Moreover, "bold, stringent, and decisive measures are absolutely requisite. If they are taken, we have no doubt that Parliament and the nation will rally round the Government, if they are omitted, the country will ask what we have gained by this change." (February 8.) When the Peelites Graham, Herbert, and Gladstone retired a fortnight later, *The Times* was displeased by the appointment of John Russell to the Colonies, and of so many members of the Cabinet chosen from noble houses. Molesworth, Delane's nominee, was left as First Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings.

At first Palmerston had been willing to compromise with the cry for new men to the extent of offering Layard the Under-Secretaryship at the War Office, but, as the *Morning Advertiser* remarked on February 12, "at the eleventh hour, an obstacle was interposed" According to Disraeli,¹ the Peelites made Layard's exclusion a condition of their adhesion to Palmerston. His "push and go" virtues recommended him to Delane, but to Clarendon he was a "mighty self-sufficient gent. Nobody is right or knows anything but himself."² Layard's disappointment at being passed over was known to Delane by the middle of the month. "I think you are well out of this Ministry," he encouraged him on the 16th, "If any good were done in it you would have to do it all yourself."³ In consequence, though leading articles were not unfriendly to the new Government, Clarendon in a personal interview found Delane's attitude decidedly unconciliatory.

When Russell was appointed, the criticism of Printing House Square stiffened, and the new Colonial Secretary was described

¹ Disraeli to Lady Londonderry, February 25, 1855. (Buckle & Monypenny, III, 571-572.

² Clarendon to Russell, October 4, 1854. (P.R.O., G. and D. 22/11)

³ Delane to Layard, February 16, 1855 (B.M., MSS. Addl. 38983/16)

"WRITING UP A REVOLUTION"

as "the harlequin of this pantomime" Final judgment on the reconstructed Ministry was, however, reserved, as at this date (February 26) there were rumours that Layard, Lowe, Laing, Horsman and others of the new men might be given places The Government was, however, warned that "if the management of its affairs in Parliament does not show a far higher degree of judgment and ability than Lord Palmerston has yet displayed in the office of Chief Minister . we can prognosticate no long duration for such a Cabinet."

Within a few days, however, it became clear that Palmerston did not intend to satisfy the demand for new men, though Molesworth advised him to promote Layard and Lowe¹ Layard was fobbed off with the suggestion of the Colonial Under-Secretaryship, which he refused *The Times* was indignant Layard had been marked out for the War Office "by the almost unanimous opinion of the country", the man chosen (Peel's son) had given no proof of capacity ; the affair was a vivid example of this Government's idea of "the right man for the right place." "Absorbed in their own little game of intrigue and management, our leading statesmen forget that there is a public out of doors which takes note of all these things." (March 2.)

In the meantime, also, Robert Lowe, who seems from the first to have been discontented with being given nothing better than his old minor post at the Board of Control which he had held under Aberdeen, was turned into an active critic by a conviction that he had no chance of promotion. "Palmerston and others set their faces against him," notes Greville,² and Lowe resigned.

Thus by March, 1855, two men with knowledge of tendencies within the Ministry were free to criticize in public Henceforth Layard, Lowe, and *The Times* were equally vigorous in their attacks upon Palmerston This association of forces did not escape the notice of contemporaries. Of Layard, the *Morning Post* (Palmerston's own organ) remarked : "Mr. Layard goes to Aylesbury (his constituency), and vilifies everybody in the army, the navy, and the civil service. . ." (May 1.) Of *The Times*, the *Morning Herald* (Tory) remarked that its writers "are now engaged in writing up a revolution, because Mr. Layard

¹ Mrs Fawcett. *Life of Molesworth* (1901, pp. 333-334).

² Although "Granville had moved heaven & earth to get Lowe a place" In Greville's opinion Lowe would "do them some damage" if he were not recognized. Cf. *Memoirs*, February 25, 1855.

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and Mr. R. Lowe have not been admitted to seats in the Cabinet" (March 3, 1855.) Greville, writing to John Russell, told him that

The Times has rushed into furious opposition to Palmerston's Gov^t, and will do all the injury it can . . . *The Times* is now in the hands of Lowe, Layard and one or two more, men who are able ambitious dissatisfied and unscrupulous and they will never rest till they have created as much of a revolution as they can, and it will be a good deal.¹

The relations of Layard with Delane during these months were very cordial. They had not always been friends, but the new attitude towards Russia made all the difference and they had been companions on their Crimean visit. Layard had more than once assisted the paper by putting its case in Commons debates. On February 19, 1855, at the Editor's request, he asked the Government whether they thought *The Times* would be "what it is if it met your views—if it deceived the country as you deceive the country? If you want to have the position *The Times* has—if you want to be backed by the people of this country—do as *The Times* has done."² On its side the paper so loyally supported the Member for Aylesbury that a correspondent in the *Morning Herald* could remark that: "Every other day an article appears in that identical paper puffing the hon. member for the Ninevite boroughs. How strange, how unaccountable!! . . ." A few days later the same paper announced that it had heard, in spite of all, that Layard was about to become Under-Secretary for War, and "in order to propitiate *The Times*." (March 12.) The connexion between Delane and Layard was so inconveniently known that early in May Delane asked Layard to deny that he went to the Crimea "as the recognised agent of *The Times*." The rumour was current gossip, but it was not obviously harmful to the paper unless Delane considered the charges of "revolution" to be mischievous, which is unlikely. It was inevitable that apologists for the Government should question the political stability of the leaders of any campaign for administrative efficiency. A section represented Layard, Lowe, and *The Times* as leading an attack upon the principle of aristocracy. This was what the Tory *Herald* meant by charging the paper with "writing up a revolution."

¹ Greville to Russell. (Russell Papers, undated, marked 1852, but clearly Feb -March, 1855. P R O , G. and D. 22/10)

² Hansard, P D , 3rd series, Vol. 136, col. 1528.

THE TIMES' "MOVEMENT"

The language of *The Times* was strong, in the previous year it had encouraged vigorous action against inefficiency and irresolution, and had supported "the outcry which years of jobbing and favouritism produced when the calm times of peace passed away, and the blast of war tried the rotten edifice of political immorality and shameless nepotism." (August 24, 1854) *The Times* did not waver despite the genuine fear in certain non-partisan quarters that the English Constitution was straining under the pressure of war. The interval between the fall of Aberdeen and the accession of Palmerston was a serious blow to the prestige of Parliament. Some observers thought that *The Times* was leading a "movement" sufficiently strong to do damage which, in the circumstances, might be irreparable John Walter, M.P., was in favour of the severest strictures of *The Times*, yet even he became apprehensive at the "revolution" charge, and he made a tentative suggestion to the Editor that when an opportunity offered a diplomatic word would be appropriate in favour of the British Constitution as embodying a great principle not to be found in such a democratic system as that of the United States.

But the "movement," so far from being "revolutionary," was based on the programme of the Administrative Reform Association, which, with its motto "The Right Man in the Right Place," won much support in the City. Its immediate object was competitive examination as a qualification for the Civil Service; its chairman was Samuel Morley, the philanthropic capitalist; its Parliamentary spokesman was Layard.¹ Hence *The Times* in 1855 was no more an organ of "revolution" than it had been in 1832. As the organ of middle-class efficiency it was not unfitted to be the mouthpiece of an association whose members were described by a correspondent of one of the newspapers as "hugging their ark of Mammon, clasping the ledger, which is their Bible, and kneeling before the sacred till, which they adore." The campaign for a business-like Government, *The Times* saw, would be faced with many difficulties: "Downing Street will be defended like Sebastopol. The First Minister will show himself as expert as General Todleben, and entrench himself behind official earthworks, which will not be carried without regular investment and assault." (June 12.)

Thus in the early summer of 1855 *The Times* stood hostile towards Palmerston for his general toleration of inefficients and

¹ *Morning Advertiser*, August 5, 1855

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for his particular detachment from the claims of certain of its nominees whom it regarded as the "Right Men" capable of effective war work if appointed to the "Right Place." Of course, these men could not be given offices without displacing others—who, in all probability, belonged to the great families which, in the words of Layard, possessed the Government like a "close monopoly."

But a little later in the summer when the peace talks at Vienna were broken off a great public clamour for a rapid and decisively victorious end to the Crimean War was led by *The Times*. Also, there was widespread discontent with the leader of the British mission at Vienna, Lord John Russell. On July 9 the Government was strongly attacked and Russell's resignation demanded by *The Times*. Russell was pro-Russian; he was under Austrian chloroform. His office was the Colonies, which meant that if he went there would be a vacancy in the Cabinet, due largely to agitation led by *The Times*. On July 13 the Government saved itself by "throwing Johnny overboard." Palmerston, though he had no love for Russell, had less love for the paper, which had been his unrelenting opponent for thirty years. But "Cupid," as he had been nicknamed in Barnes's leaders, had now a war on his hands; in July, 1855, after the peace talks had failed and within a few months of his seventy-second birthday, he knew he must win it rapidly, and that to do so he had to count with *The Times*.

The first six months of his Administration, with its abortive peace negotiations, had certainly not been a success. And in the second half of July what was ahead? Derby observed to Disraeli that by throwing Johnny overboard Palmerston might be able to save himself, but he argued that "it will be only for a time" His Government was attacked by almost every journal, and his personal popularity and influence, great when he entered office in February, were ebbing fast. Palmerston, for all his astuteness and experience, must have felt uncomfortable. Equally, there can be no doubt that *The Times* realized that the moment was serious, that the country regarded the leading journal's campaign at home, however risky, as of vital importance to the campaign at the front. Nor could it be said that the anti-war parties had much support in the country. *The Times* was not alone. It knew itself strong and knew the Government to be weak.

Russell, naturally, was tempted to see in *The Times* a force superior not merely to himself but to the Government as a whole.

PAM'S SIGNIFICANT APPOINTMENTS

In a letter to Lord Minto, the ex-Minister for the Colonies wrote that :

Many tell me they look to me still as the leader of the Whigs. But these are mere words.

The present Gov^t, w^{ch} they support rests on *The Times* newspaper, & so long as *The Times* supports the Gov^t they will support it.— C. Wood owned to me yesterday that the Gov^t was fall^s every day.¹

So wrote Russell on the 22nd. At the same time his successor's name was announced. Palmerston's new appointment was significant. Against the wishes of colleagues (*e.g.*, Lord Clarendon) he raised Sir William Molesworth to the Colonies.

Palmerston's primary motive for choosing him was doubtless his known value as an expert on Colonial affairs ; and, secondly, to satisfy critics, for the appointment was hailed as a victory for Administrative Reform. But the Prime Minister could not help being aware of the close connexion which had existed for some time between Molesworth and Delane, and aware also that to appoint him at this time would probably have far-reaching consequences. He must, therefore, have taken into account the fact that Molesworth's promotion would please *The Times*. Though the appointment did not bring Molesworth (or therefore the paper) any closer to Cabinet secrets, it is reasonable to presume that Palmerston saw the move in immediate association with a policy he was taking, or thinking of taking, towards *The Times*.

Anxiously John Russell watched these proceedings. It was his conviction that Palmerston was making a deliberate effort to please Delane. On July 23 he unburdened himself to Clarendon in the following terms :

I cannot say that the "rascally motives" of *The Times* ought not to attract our attention.

Phinn a jackal of that paper is made Secy of the Admir^y² Molesworth an intimate friend of the editor Secy. of State, a place was intended for Lowe a constant contributor.

The whole official fry were in hot water on account of *The Times* and thought it best to forswear me who had made the fortunes of most of them.

¹ Russell to Minto, July 22, 1855 (P.R.O., G. and D., 22/12)

² Thomas Phinn appointed Secretary of the Admiralty, May 22, 1855, resigned 1858.

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These are not matters of indifference to the Govt. of an Empire ; they are lowering very fast the character of the administration and will stain all who belong to it.¹

A month later, the proroguing of Parliament gave the paper an opportunity to reconsider the Parliamentary position, in the light of a debate on a vote of censure moved by Disraeli. The debate, which lasted six nights, ending on June 8, was not considered by *The Times* to be useful to the prosecution of the war Palmerston's part in it was not then praised ; soldiers were fighting while politicians were talking² In the paper's retrospective leader of August 14 a different tone was evident. The time had now come when Palmerston was to be singled out for highly flattering mention. " From the speech with which Lord Palmerston concluded the debate may be dated a complete change in his position, and a rise as rapid as his previous decline The manly and frank declaration of that speech restored to him the confidence of his own party and placed him again in the position, so desirable for a Minister, of an exponent of the popular will " (August 14, 1855.)

The phraseology is in the commonplace of politics ; but it presents here a change of situation almost dramatic in its suddenness. The leading journal could give no higher praise to any statesman than to raise him almost to its own level by describing him as an " exponent of the popular will." To confer that title upon Palmerston, whom it had consistently opposed as man and as statesman during twenty years of Barnes's editorship and fifteen of Delane's, could not have been other than deliberate in the extreme It was a line that was entirely new. For Palmerston to seek to use *The Times* was not so new. He had made a serious effort five years previously, when Delane refused even to meet him. In 1850 and again in 1851 Lady Palmerston had vainly endeavoured to bring Delane round.

Despite the past, it is not in the least difficult to imagine that Delane could regard the conditions of July and August as justi-

¹ On the previous day, he remarked to Clarendon " July 22. I am afraid Molesworth's accession to the Colonial Office will be considered as a proof that the whole object of abusing me in *The Times* was to put him in my place That newspaper must be considered in future not the organ but the organiser of the Ministry " (Clarendon Papers)

² " Now mark the difference between words and things. While the debate has been dragging its slow length along the conferences at Vienna have closed, and the allies have entered the sea of Azoff and penetrated into the Crimea, and now threaten to cut off the retreat of the Russians. Such is the march of events, and so little is it retarded by subtlety and eloquence.

" Europa will thus see that she must not look to the speeches of our politicians, but to the acts of our Legislature, the choice of our rulers, and the deeds of our warriors." (*The Times*, June 9, 1855.)

LOWE'S GRATITUDE

fying on the part of *The Times* some degree or at least tentative approximation towards a policy of neutrality. Yet the "exponent of the popular will" paragraph in the summary of the Session printed on August 14 is much more than neutral. Sebastopol had not yet fallen; its surrender was not known in Printing House Square until September 10. It is true that there had been some military successes during the period of the Session, but *The Times* had hitherto felt that they were achieved independently of statesmanship at home. The paragraph is a positive approval of Palmerston. The publication of a Summary of the Session on the eve of prorogation was a matter of routine, but the reference to Palmerston suggests that it was prepared with deliberation and reserved for printing upon a fit occasion. However calculated, its appearance coincided in fact with the giving by Palmerston, in accordance with Russell's July forecast, of the "place [that] was intended for Lowe." The appointment of Lowe was duly considered in August. Palmerston offered him the place of Vice-President of the Board of Trade and just before the middle of the month Lowe accepted it. Indeed the article on the Session praising Palmerston as the "exponent of the popular will" was written at the same time. The author and the period of composition are revealed in Delane's letter of August 18 to Dasent on holiday. The Editor of *The Times* reported that Lowe bore his honours meekly, and "on the Sunday before going to Osborne¹ wrote the Summary of the Session." The language of the article thus proves to be that of a writer grateful for his portfolio in Palmerston's Government, and, but for Delane's known presence in the office, could be interpreted as a determined personal essay towards changing the line of *The Times*. The familiar language and line of the paper are to be seen in an adjoining column of the same issue, where Palmerston is still found wanting: "Results there are none." It is not necessary to assume that this inconsistency was deliberate.² On the other hand, it may well be doubted whether, as early in the month of August as the 12-14th, Delane appreciated his situation with complete accuracy.

Whether printed under Delane's active direction or his merely passive toleration, the "exponent of the popular will" paragraph did, in fact, represent something more than a detached, though

¹ To be sworn as a member of the Privy Council. Lowe's appointment as Vice-President of the Board of Trade was not announced in *The Times*; it appeared in small type under the headline "Election Intelligence," Lowe having to be re-elected by his constituency of Kidderminster.

² Similar inconsistencies are not infrequent in the Delane period.

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definite, approval of Palmerston. It cannot be regarded even as a step taken with possibly immediate retraction in view. If the words of this paragraph be applied to the Editor as well as to Palmerston, then from the appearance of this article of August 14 "may be dated a complete change in Delane's position" towards the Prime Minister.

Palmerston, challenged some years later on his relations with *The Times*, informed the House of Commons that "if there are any influences which have fortunately led Mr Delane to me, they are none other than the influences of Society." He took the pains to insist that Delane had, indeed, occasionally done him the honour to join in society under his roof, and "I need hardly say I feel proud when persons so honour me without undertaking any other engagement than that which Mr Delane always makes good—of making themselves agreeable during the time of their stay."

Nevertheless "the influences which fortunately led Mr Delane" to Lord Palmerston were certainly not all "social." Delane's reasons for moving towards Palmerston were political and, in the most practical way, journalistic. He may have recognized that Layard's Administrative Reform was not going. The Association was praised on August 24, but the article reads rather like an obituary. Later it was admitted that Layard was not the coming man that he had seemed to be. Lowe's influence would wax as Layard's waned. Moreover, Lowe was a practising leader-writer and thus possessed immediate technical access to Delane and to the journal. At any time after the resignation of Russell in July, Delane might have been prepared by the representations either of Lowe or Molesworth, or, as seems probable, of both, at least to see Palmerston. Even from the purely journalistic standpoint there was some justification for meeting him. Thus the connexions of Molesworth and Lowe with Palmerston would certainly make important contributions to the creation of a new political situation. Rumours of an "Anti-Times" League were circulating. There were also new and significant circumstances of another order.

On July 1 the new Stamp Act had come into force in the circumstances described in an earlier chapter. It promptly placed *The Times* in a new position, perhaps at length vulnerable from the cheap Press, which could certainly outdo any anti-aristocratic reforming tendencies agreeable to *The Times*. The *Daily News*, in any case, was ardently reformist. The new *Daily*

THE CIRCULATION BAROMETER

Telegraph supported reform, Cobden and democracy. Its attitude to Palmerston had been no more cordial than was that of *The Times*.

Mr. A. I. Dasent tells us that the Stamp Repeal was a subject in which Delane took an interest. While there is no evidence of editorial inquiry into circulation during July, 1855, Delane could hardly have failed to scrutinize the new figures reached by *The Times* and relate them to the new trade conditions called into being by the Stamp Repeal, the war, and the political situation. During this period a comparative statement of the circulation figures of *The Times* occupied a conspicuous position in the Editor's private room, and Delane's income rose or fell in accordance with profits. Supremely practical journalist that he was, he could not but look at the circulation question, and the numerical relation of *The Times* to the penny Press, in the light of the national situation as a whole. Palmerston, although he shared Delane's dislike of both Cobden and Bright, had silently watched Parliament follow them to the enactment of a postal rate all knew to be deliberately framed to upset *The Times*. He had doubtless observed that neither Aberdeen, Clarendon, Malmesbury, nor any other Minister or ex-Minister rose in either House to defend the paper. That Palmerston himself should not speak for it needs no explanation. Indeed, as an old hand at the Press, he must have been more pleased than most of its recently made enemies to see its progress decisively checked. The connexion between Printing House Square and Lord Aberdeen had endured for twenty years. Certainly separation from customary and necessary sources of news and inspiration would prove serious to *The Times*, to any other newspaper fatal. Palmerston would guess that the rupture, gradual as it had been, must embarrass even *The Times*, and he was the last politician to be blind to Delane's journalistic needs—and his own opportunities.

Aberdeen was done with Delane, or Delane with him. Other sources of information, such as Lord Granville and Charles Greville, were by this time equally closed to the Editor. Clarendon remained, for, in spite of his statement in June, 1854, that "I have long ceased to have any Commu^a direct or indirect with Delane," the Delane correspondence of the same month discloses a request for an article in praise of the young King of Portugal, and the article duly appeared. Nevertheless, Clarendon, during the summer of 1855, was becoming more antagonized by the vituperation of *The Times*, and preferred, so far as the paper

DELANE MEETS PALMERSTON

was concerned, to "put himself entirely into Reeve's hands."¹ Delane had reason at this time to wish to avoid dependence upon Reeve, and to welcome the counter-balancing rise of Robert Lowe.

In view of the widespread fear and jealousy of *The Times* among politicians, any advances that Palmerston chose to make would need to be very discreetly covered.² Although himself in by no means a strong position, he could confidently guess that *The Times* itself would welcome information from him as well as from Molesworth and from Lowe now that the link with Aberdeen was decisively broken and it was faced by a new set of trade conditions likely to make any London editor wish to strengthen his position. Delane, too, had learnt a little earlier in the year of Longman's offer to Reeve, which was contingent upon his dropping the vitally important work he had so long performed for *The Times*. Because of the condition laid down, Reeve, as narrated in the preceding chapter, declined this offer, which Longman then withdrew in that form. It is likely that reports, accurate or inaccurate, of Reeve's possible change of occupation had reached the ears of Palmerston. Although, with Clarendon in the Cabinet, Palmerston could count upon Reeve's neutrality, he knew that the Reeve-Clarendon relationship was too intimate to admit a third member. Reeve's resignation from *The Times* was therefore both a danger and an opportunity to the Prime Minister. Palmerston, in all the circumstances, would be willing to consider being of service to *The Times*; but how in July could he change its line towards himself?

While Palmerston knew very well that Delane would not give twopence for Palmerstonian views without Palmerstonian news, he equally saw that it would not pay any Prime Minister to follow a policy of refusing to communicate all intelligence whatsoever to *The Times* and to rely chiefly upon the weak, and in other directions compromised, *Morning Post*.³ He could, were it an

¹ Delane to Dasent, October 20, 1855. (P.H.S. Papers, D. 6/68; Dasent, I, 222.)

² "Either the House of Commons or *The Times* must govern," wrote John Russell in 1855. Cf. *supra*, Chapter X, "The Second 'War with *The Times*'."

³ Cf. Lord Malmesbury, "Nov. 5 [1852] sent for Walewski. He confessed that the French Government paid the *Morning Post* and that he saw Borthwick, the editor, every day" (*Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, p. 277). Evidence of Walewski's peculiar intimacy with the *Post* will be found in his report of 18.2.1853, which asks for money with which to influence English opinion through the press. Cf. Archives Affaires Etrangères, Vol. 687. The *Post's* subservience to Palmerston was well known. Cf. Stanley to Aberdeen [May 13, 1855]: "You will see the Government version of the case in the leading article of the *Morning Post*, which I presume you know is in Palmerston's pay, Mr. Peter Borthwick being the Editor," &c. (B.M., MSS. Addl. 43072/145.) Inspiration from Walewski and from Palmerston were far from incompatible; but "in the pay of" Lord Palmerston is an exaggeration.

advantage to him, overlook the treatment, regarded as scandalous even by his own severest critics, that he had even lately received from *The Times*, as, for instance, at the end of 1853, when, on December 16, he had resigned from Aberdeen's Cabinet. As a statesman and diplomat he could make up his mind to encourage Delane; he could even be as friendly towards him as to Peter and Algernon Borthwick, and have him, like them, invited to the soirées of Lady Palmerston—notwithstanding that she had only eighteen months before referred to "that brute of *The Times*." It would manifestly require a supreme diplomatic effort to bring such a paper round to anything like personal support, for Delane and *The Times* were in a position which must be reckoned as very strong even in the estimate of such a crafty opponent as the Prime Minister.

Yet at this time of unknown risks created by the new Stamp Act it was clearly Delane's task to see that *The Times* continued to secure that early, exclusive, secret, and often sensational intelligence upon the disclosure of which its national reputation so largely depended. Such news was bound to mean no less, if no more, to its future than to its past circulation. And before the middle of July Reeve announced positively that, having agreed with Longman, he would henceforth be partly occupied with the *Edinburgh Review*.¹

A number of circumstances, therefore, disposed Delane to consider, as a matter of journalistic prudence, giving a certain detached support to Palmerston for those sides of his policy upon which the country as a whole was agreed. He may even have come to the conclusion that *The Times* might benefit not least in early knowledge of political doings at home and abroad from some closer connexion with the Prime Minister. The association would be a delicate matter to form, so notoriously antagonistic had the parties been for many years. Any such change of attitude needed to be reserved in its expression, yet each side would need to be thoroughly satisfied that the other was in earnest before it committed itself. Also, Delane and individual members of the staff, particularly Reeve and Lowe, were being watched, as never before, by the large band of new enemies and critics raised up by the paper's Crimean sensationalism. Old opponents were also on the watch. Nevertheless, in spite of old antagonisms and new risks, a meeting was arranged. Palmerston and Delane talked.

¹ His friend the Editor, Sir G. Cornwall-Lewis, succeeded Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer in February. Reeve became Editor of the *Edinburgh* from July 13, 1855.

any material element in the question - because we must on no account overlook it. I mean how much of the undiscriminated people happens to be on the County - is owing to the conduct of individuals. Observe the devil-worship of some men. I saw among the persons who were enumerated as dining with Pam & others at Molesworth's, The Times, people - that is Mrs Twiss & Mr Delane - or on making enquiry I find there is the greatest intercourse between Molesworth & those indecent - dealers - and also to

"I saw among the persons who were enumerated as dining with Pam & others at Molesworth's, The Times people, that is Mr Twiss & Mr Delane."

FROM LORD BROUGHAM'S LETTER TO LORD ABERDEEN, AUGUST 25, 1855.
From the original in the British Museum.

DELANE MEETS PALMERSTON

The talks developed into an understanding. Delane came to recognize Palmerston as the Right Man in the Right Place.

Palmerston and Delane, who had Travers Twiss with him, met at the house of Sir William Molesworth in August, 1855—some time in the week following the publication of Lowe's summary on the 14th, with its championship of Palmerston as “the exponent of the popular will,” and after Reeve had left for the Continent. A letter from the veteran opponent of *The Times*, Brougham, to Aberdeen, its friend until recently, describes that fraternization as “devil worship” :

Private

Brougham

25 Aug^t. 1855

Alas, My dear L^d. A.—your kindness alone & not the fact makes you suppose I am fit for the work—which I quite admit to be necessary—of grappling with this monster evil—of the abuse of the Press. In reality I also see the difficulty of the attempt in a strong light—and it is shadowed with the doubts in the few lines of announcement in the *Law Review*. However there must be a full discussion of the question & that I think I have secured.

But let me mention one very material element in the question—because we must on no account overlook it—I mean how much of the mischief at present pressing on us & on the Country—is owing to the conduct of individuals. Observe the *devil-worship* of some men. I saw among the persons who were enumerated as dining with Pam & others at Molesworth's—the *Times* people—that is Mr. Twiss & Mr. Delane —& on making inquiry I find there is the greatest intercourse between Molesworth & those individuals—and also it is understood between Granville¹ or at least C. Greville & the same parties, and Lowe, lately² promoted help to the *Times* set. Is it to be believed that nothing oozes out which should be kept secret, in these connexions? . . .³

In September a change was noticed by Disraeli's weekly, the *Press*. Under the heading of “Lord Palmerston and *The Times*,” a writer, after mentioning the Atlantic telegraph, turned to wonders nearer home. “Far more surprising,” he wrote, “than

¹ Granville, in fact, stood aloof from *The Times* at this period. His reason given to Newcastle in January is worth reading for the light it throws on the contemporary status of journalism: “Mr. Delane and Mr. Reeve have frequently dined with me, and have come to Lady Granville's parties. I have for some time found it entailed personal inconvenience from the impressions which it creates, but I am sure that on public grounds nothing can be so mischievous as to exclude from all community of interest with the higher classes, and all intercourse with public men, those who by their pen can exercise such enormous influence for good or bad” (*Granville Papers* Fitzmaurice, I, 91.)

² Lowe was first appointed leader-writer in 1851.

³ B.M., MSS. Addl. 43194/262.

"PAM HAS 'DONE' THE TIMES."

any of these marvels is the astonishing event that on Saturday, the 20th of September, a panegyric was actually fired off from *The Times* at Lord Palmerston. Well that is a wonderful event . . . Pam has now humbled his old enemy into being his trumpeter . . . It is plain that Lord Palmerston has regularly 'done' *The Times*." The Disraeli paper's attack was published on September 22. By that time, too, Molesworth's parties were becoming notorious. A Press agent attached to Lord John Russell wrote, on the 24th: "You see how *The Times* that have threatened Lord P. with impeachment now beslavers, & how well invested Sir W. Molesworth's dinners to Mr. De Lane & Mr. Twiss are."¹

Towards the end of September, Reeve being back, Delane went abroad, leaving the paper in the hands of Dasent. At the beginning of October, while Dasent was still in charge, Reeve suddenly withdrew all his services. The Queen's letter to Palmerston on the "atrocious" *Times* was written on October 6 and Clarendon's letter to her ("the paper is in the hands of 3 or 4 ignorant men," &c.) on October 12.² Almost simultaneously —there is no evidence that the events were connected³—*The Times* declared its allegiance in unmistakable terms.

A fortnight had gone by before the office chose to notice Disraeli's attack. On October 6 the paper referred to Palmerston's speech on the capture of Sebastopol. *The Times* deemed it "manly," and after allowing that it was the utterance of one whom "we have so often blamed," it turned to "that fraction of the community who cannot understand why we should now praise the policy of our ancient foe." Urging that the sole ambition of the paper was to give a truthful summary of events and just reflections thereon, it professed indifference to individual statesmen and parties. "The country needed a man, and it found in Lord Palmerston the man it needed," and it was only justice to say as much, whoever took scandal. And

these things may be disagreeable to certain of our contemporaries, who habitually prostitute their pens to the purpose of faction or animosity. They may even come from us with something of the air of a constrained and unwelcome admission; but they are the simple truth, and, as the

¹ Report of W. W. Clarke to Gilbert Elliot, Dean of Bristol, forwarded to John Russell. (Russell Papers, P.R.O., G.D. 22/12.)

² See page 202 *ante*; also page 231.

³ But notice Delane's letter to Dasent of October 19 quoted *infra*, p. 270. Reeve left England on August 2 and did not return to London until the middle of September. It is to be presumed that Reeve was unaware of Delane's meetings with Palmerston. See also Chapter XI, "Il Pomposo."

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truth most worthy to be spoken, both by us and by all who respect truth for its own sake, we have little reason to be ashamed of the impulse which prompts us to do fair and noble justice to an ancient adversary, or to wish for that consistency which would teach us to withhold well-merited praise because we have at other times felt it our duty to express equally well-merited censure. We sincerely believe that it will be found that our success is due very much to the general conviction that the power which its circulation places in the hands of individuals is not wilfully abused, and that the public receive from us, together with the best intelligence we can collect, the fairest and most honest comments which we are able to make. Nothing else could account for our undoubted influence among persons of every phase and shadow of opinion, and nothing else could maintain for a single week the position to which the favour of the public has raised us. It is our wish, as it is our duty, to rise above personal and party feeling, and, so far as the infirmities of human nature permit, to present to our readers every day a fair and impartial chronicle of the times in which they live. It is not for us to say how far we attain this object, but we are quite certain that we should attain it no better by sacrificing our honest convictions to personal animosities, to party predilections, to an unmanly dread of the charge of inconsistency, or a childish desire of the appearance of infallibility. In a word, we are Journalists, not Popes.¹

Finally, as if to ratify the treaty, the paper printed under the headline "Lord Palmerston and *The Times*" the following paragraphs.

Sir,—It is not a little gratifying, to those who defend *The Times* against the yearning desire of a small section for a stereotyped and hollow consistency, to observe that the arguments employed by Lord

¹ The concluding paragraph of the leading article is as follows "On the long and checkered career of Lord Palmerston history of a more deliberate and philosophic character than we pretend to write will pronounce its verdict, but that verdict will not be as our contemporaries would have it,—unmeasured praise or indiscriminating blame. Such consistency besits neither the philosophical historian nor the honest journalist. Censure there will doubtless be on a policy often vigorous and patriotic, but also often irritating and dangerous,—on a jealousy of France which endangered the peace of the world in 1840, and a restless desire to anticipate Russia in the East which involved us in the Afghan insurrection in 1841. But history will not fail also to record that, while England was plunged in domestic faction, and parties were exclusively occupied with religious differences or economical heresies, there was one man who faithfully and honestly watched over the destinies of the empire, who, while others were sunk in sloth or blinded by meanness and subserviency, saw through the masked designs of the Imperial robber, and sought by every means in his power, in season and out of season, to counteract them, until at last the opportunity came, and, while others fainted and shrank back, he accomplished the object of his life,—the humiliation of Russia and the deliverance of Europe from the swoop of that greedy vulture whose outstretched wings had so long darkened the sky over her head." For the reply of the *Press* to the accusations by *The Times* of "profligacy," "meanness," "habitual baseness," "habitually prostituting their pens for the sake of faction and animosity," &c., see "The Press and *The Times*" in the issue of October 13, 1855, p. 968.

THE TIMES ON ITS NEW POLICY

Palmerston in his late admirable speech are throughout but a *résumé*, so to speak, of topics urged from time to time in your columns.

The section to which I allude may well look upon it as a significant fact, and one which under any supposition—and there can be but three—does no small credit to *The Times*, for, either *The Times* has been converted by Lord Palmerston, or Lord Palmerston by *The Times*, or both have arrived independently at the same conclusions—conclusions crowned with success.

That *The Times* has been converted by Lord Palmerston, no one will maintain who has any recollection of the march of events; and yet, if it had, who could find fault with so independent an institution for having given way to arguments proved triumphantly true by the sequel?

Again, that Lord Palmerston was converted by *The Times* might or might not have been true without detracting a tittle from the just merits of each, and most certainly not of the latter.

But the final and most likely alternative—that both arrived more or less independently at the same conclusions, *The Times* by means of its extraordinary information and consummate ability, and Lord Palmerston in virtue of his own genius and experience as the master diplomatist of the day, is a likelihood equally flattering to both parties, and one which should fill all the friends of national co-operation and unanimity with joy and with hope when they see their Prime Minister, after giving the best pledge of future in present success, now boldly walking forward backed by the best support he could have in the fourth estate of the realm.

I have the honour to be Sir, your obedient servant,
A CONSTANT READER.

The publication of this manifesto on October 10, 1855, was no accident, although its position on the sheet was humble—ostentatiously so, indeed. It seems not to have attracted the slightest public notice. But public notice was not necessary—nor invited. The letter was intended for Palmerston's eye. It had become necessary for *The Times* to indicate the thoroughness of its conversion.

Russell, of course, was suspicious of the trend of affairs as revealed in the columns of *The Times*. He wrote on October 6 to warn Clarendon yet again of the dangerous omnipotence of the paper. “The railway of revolution is made, & it only remains to run a train along it. If you see the civil as I do & many others do, the remedy is in your own hands & Palmerston's; do not make yourselves like poor foolish Molesworth the unconscious tools

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of a domestic revolution."¹ But Clarendon was not privy to the negotiations with Palmerston. In fact, according to Greville, when he saw the article on Palmerston's altered and improved ways, "he took up his pen, wrote a reply & sent it to Ponsonby (his P. sec'y) to send to the *Globe*—but the *Globe* declined putting it in!"² A month later, Clarendon met Delane, whom he had not seen for some time, and afterwards informed Palmerston of what had taken place. The Prime Minister felt the need of explaining to his colleague some features of the new attitude of *The Times*, and did so with the utmost caution. "I believe Delane to be personally friendly & I am told that Some Influences (what they were I know not), which have hitherto been hostile to us in *The Times*, have ceased to have Power. This may or may not be"³

It is to be noted that, after embarrassing Palmerston for twenty years by its attacks, *The Times*, while still in the hands of Dasent, involuntarily embarrassed him by its defence. The paper's conversion, in spite of Palmerston's delicacy, did not escape the eyes of the Prime Minister's colleagues or those of the Court; all were amazed that the reconciliation with the Prime Minister coincided, at the beginning of October, with a sudden and violent attack upon the Court itself. Clarendon described the situation thus :

Things are stagnant here and only kept alive by *The Times* wh. runs like a mad dog thro' all ranks and classes of society trying to damage all public men and to make all Govt. impossible—You [Stratford] come in for a leading article today—The C. of the Exchr. was vilified yesterday—and 2 days ago an attack was made on the young P. of Prussia and thro' him of course upon the Queen.

¹ Russell to Clarendon, October 6, 1855. (Clarendon Papers)

² Greville to Reeve, October 11, 1855. (B.M., MSS. Addl., 41185/260-1) The whole of this cryptic letter must be quoted: "I must write you a line to tell you what will rather amuse you—you recollect the article in [Times] a few days ago about Pam's altered & improved ways, & the happy effects thereof etc. etc., praise of him, & some self-glorification etc. I thought they wd be provoked, and I heard yesterday they were so *immeasurably*. They protested that he has never varcd ! & as soon as he saw the article (wh Ld P. showed him) he took up his pen, wrote a reply & sent it to Ponsonby (his P Sec'y) to send to the *Globe*—but the *Globe* declined putting it in ! I have no doubt they have had their cue, & with reference to their former absurdities had a lecture from John [Russell ?]—I think this is droll " This letter is printed in *Greville-Reeve Letters*, p 246, but with the omission of "wh. Ld P. showed him," which radically changes the sense. The "they" may be the Palmerstons and "Ld P." Palmerston. Spencer Ponsonby, later Sir Spencer Ponsonby Fane, was Clarendon's private secretary. If the statements Greville heard were accurate, it is to be supposed that the line taken by *The Times* in coming round to his support did not meet with the Prime Minister's approval, but it must also be remembered that, on the days immediately following the attack on Prussia ("a dagger in the Queen's heart," as Clarendon called it), Palmerston would not be inclined to advertise his connexion with the paper or his approval of its policy.

³ Palmerston to Clarendon, November 15, 1855 (Clarendon Papers.)

THE QUEEN QUESTIONS PAM

In short everyone, except Palmerston for the moment, is held up to odium¹

Palmerston himself was questioned closely by the Queen in the letter quoted in Chapter X² Hinting at her knowledge of the Minister's practice in the matter of the Press, she informed him of her opinion that journalists should not be received socially His reply, written on October 19, was evasive :

There is no Doubt some inconvenience in the Admission of Editors and writers of newspapers into general society, but if they happen to be in a Position in Life which would naturally lead to their being invited, it would not be easy to exclude them merely on account of their Connection with a newspaper ; and if they were not to be excluded intirely it is obvious that it would not be advisable to make their admission or exclusion depend upon the character of the last article in the Paper with which they may be understood or known to be connected.³

He concluded with an explanation of the support he was now receiving from *The Times*. It was due, he affirmed, to that paper's well-known readiness to support a winning cause, and he attributed the conversion to the accretion of popularity he had gained by the capture of Sebastopol Finally he hinted that *The Times* would probably revert to its old antagonism, thus leaving the impression that he had no personal relation with its Editor or any responsibility for its policy.

In truth the paper may not at this precise date have regarded itself as being definitely associated with him. But, as has been seen, long strides had been taken by both sides in the direction of an understanding If in July Palmerston had striven to win over the paper, now, in October, *The Times* felt in need of the Prime Minister's support. The friends of Russell who were discussing the projected new rival morning journal agreed that its policy would be to give general support to Palmerston.⁴ Delane's interest, journalistic and other, in the Palmerston alliance was in fact transformed into a positive anxiety. Il Pomposo's intentions, except in so far as the *Edinburgh* was concerned, were unknown. It was possible, perhaps, that he

¹ Clarendon to Stratford, October 6, 1855. (P R O., F.O. 352/42)

² See page 202.

³ Lord Palmerston to the Queen, October 19, 1855. (Royal Archives, Windsor)

⁴ Russell advised the organizers to consider Reeve, who "I understand has broken with that paper [*The Times*] and might be consulted," &c

DELANE MEETS PALMERSTON

might be used against *The Times*. Writing to Dasent on October 19, Delane said "it was very good policy of you to have that civil article on Palmerston's Romsey speech. It will show him and the rest of them that it is not to Reeve alone they are indebted for support."

As a further anxiety Molesworth died suddenly on October 23.¹ In the next few months the new Palmerston line became explicit. At the end of the year it was the paper's recognized policy. The *Saturday Review* thus commented upon it on January 26, 1856

Applause is rarely displeasing, but when it flows from the pen of the most hostile and persistent of one's detractors, a very stoic could hardly repress a passing sensation of triumph. We certainly do not grudge Lord Palmerston his victory over the most inveterate of his assailants. . . . Short as is the memory of the public in such matters, the world can hardly have forgotten the systematic war which *The Times* so long waged against Lord Palmerston. When not merely his political position, but the foreign policy which he represented was at stake, the loudest and most vehement of his assailants was the journal which now eulogizes the system it so lately denounced. . . . If it were possible for a man to be destroyed by fine writing, Lord Palmerston must long ago have fallen beneath the attacks of *The Times*.

Thus was the Delane-Palmerston alliance settled and the journalistic leadership of *The Times* preserved in the highly competitive period from 1855 to 1865.

¹ Cf. Graham to Aberdeen, Netherly, October 22, 1855: "I suppose that poor Molesworth is dying. The usual reflection presents itself, who will be his successor? I should be sorry to think or to speak harshly of him, but we have no great reason to commend him. *The Times* will lose its principal channel of early secret information." (Privately Printed Aberdeen Correspondence)

Hayward to Gladstone, January 2, 1856: "Since *The Times* break with Lord Clarendon and Reeve, they are no longer so well up in information as they used to be. Molesworth is another loss to them." (*Correspondence of Abraham Hayward*, 1886, Vol. I, p. 270)

XIII

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE TO 1865

MOWBRAY MORRIS believed that a first-class newspaper could not profitably be sold for one penny. The cost, never showing a tendency to rise, of an efficient foreign news-service was one of the reasons for his opinion. Morris further asserted that the penny Press did not "pretend to original news," but nothing elated the *Daily Telegraph* so much as to be able to claim priority, as it did in December, 1855, only six months after its foundation "The *Morning Herald*, like *The Times*, is a day after the fair in its information. . . . It would not do, however, for the journals 'price fourpence unstamped' to acknowledge a priority of intelligence derived from a journal price only ONE PENNY. The 'dear' papers would not think, as yet, of such a thing." To increase and maintain the excellence of *The Times* foreign news-service became to the Manager a matter not only of pride but of anxiety. Exigent competition forbade a policy of complacency and standstill.

Expense could not be cut. The Manager wrote to W. H. Russell during the Indian Mutiny: "I have not yet been called on to pay the Indo-European bill for telegraphing; but I reckon that altogether we shall not get out of this job, for telegrams alone, under £5,000. It was, however, one of those occasions on which it would never have done for us to have been content with moving neck and neck with the penny papers."¹ *The Times* recognized from the first the nuisance as well as the importance of the growing network of cable lines. Morris described the Atlantic submarine telegraph as a "great bore," because he saw that, while the public would expect its daily use even for messages whose trivial content would not justify the cost, the paper would gain nothing from the consequent additional expenditure. Nevertheless, he instructed the correspondents to make full use of the lines, though he was

¹ Atkins, I, pp. 311-312.

scandalized by their unnecessary employment as, for example, when a reporter in the North of England, with more zeal than judgment, telegraphed the whole of an unimportant speech by a minor politician.

Another element had entered the field of journalism to intensify the Manager's disquiet over the portents of change. The penny Press was greatly helped by the telegraphic news agencies Reuter established himself in London at the end of 1851 with an address at No. 1, Royal Exchange Buildings, conveniently situated for Lloyd's, the banks, and the brokers. *The Times* was not at first inclined to make use of his facilities; in answer to several applications which he directed to John Walter, Morris informed him on December 29, 1857, that "the proprietors of *The Times* are not prepared to enter into arrangements with you."

The expense of the daily American cable incurred in the summer of 1858, however, induced Morris to reconsider Reuter. The daily American cable was primarily a City requirement. As the collection of Stock prices was merely a matter of routine, and as the figures could easily be checked, reliance upon Reuter in commercial matters was felt to be justified. When, therefore, Reuter offered *The Times* an American money-market service Morris was at last interested. The charge on cables from the paper's own correspondents was two sovereigns for each word—to Morris a most extravagant tariff. The use of Reuter for a limited purpose was an unexceptionable economy, and when the first American cable failed Morris gave Reuter his first month's general trial as a European agency—in October, 1858.¹

The function of the agent was to supplement the paper's own service. If Reuter could quote Stock prices and summarize foreign newspapers he could shoulder the burden of transmitting all news "known to persons of average information." Morris therefore instructed correspondents upon the new situation. Reuter, he wrote in April, 1859,

is all very well for summaries of articles in official and semi-official papers, about which there can be no question, but the transmission of which by telegraph on our own account would cost us a great deal of money. But when it comes to important facts—Austrians crossing the Ticino, French crossing the Alps, the delivery of an ultimatum, and

¹ On October 13, 1858, Morris noted in his diary: "Saw Reuter about telegrams of foreign news. He agreed to send all to us and to charge us only for what we publish at 2/6 for 20 words if his name is quoted, and 5/- if not quoted."

REUTER'S

such like, then we get rumours and intentions for *facts accomplis*. In this state of things I think we ought not to trust any one but our own correspondents, and I wish you, quite regardless of expense, to send us all important news respecting the present crisis.

In February, 1859, Morris found Reuter's news "hitherto . . . pretty accurate," but in later years he had frequently to remonstrate with him owing to the paucity and occasional untrustworthiness of his information. Morris, for instance, wrote to Reuter in 1861 as follows

I have had frequent occasion to remonstrate with you against the flimsy stale and even ridiculous character of some of the intelligence which you send to *The Times* I call this stuff "intelligence" by a great stretch of courtesy but it is in fact neither intelligent nor news For example the celebration of the King of Prussia's birthday on the 22nd is announced in the second edition of (*The Times*) to-day, 24 hours after the fact might have been transmitted by post. . And a few absurd scraps of Neapolitan so-called politics are given as telegrams, whereas they might have been, and probably were in fact, sent by post or written in London. Finally the only news in the paper comes from our own correspondents I must really protest most seriously against this scamping of your work.

Sceptics believed that Reuter's telegrams were concocted from letters in Paris or in London ; sometimes the nature of their contents persuaded Morris that this might be so At any rate, the function of the paper's own correspondents was too responsible and too confidential for Reuter completely to replace them. The corps of correspondents was recruited with great care, and the weaker members were weeded out with ruthless severity :

I am opposed [the Manager wrote to an applicant in 1856] to the engagement of strangers as foreign correspondents By "strangers" I mean gentlemen unconnected with *The Times* and who have not served it in some other capacity. It is a different thing when a man is resident in some European capital or spot which happens to be the scene of political or other interest. Such a man may become a casual contributor and grow into a regular employé. But to take an untried man and send him to a distant spot, where he is beyond the reach of instruction and control seems to be an unwise course, and I should never adopt it except in a case of urgent necessity.

An austere code of morals was expected of the correspondents. If one could not resist the blandishments of Courts, "he should at once abandon his vocation, as one for which nature had made

him unfit." When the Mayor of Southampton wished to greet Russell with a civic reception on his return from the Crimean War, Morris on his behalf gratefully but firmly declined the honour, as it "would place him in a position which has been systematically avoided by all the gentlemen who have served *The Times* newspaper."

In 1856 there occurred a scandalous episode which justified Morris's unwillingness to appoint "strangers" *The Times* maintained an agent in Alexandria, whose principal duty was to transmit the Indian mails, but who was steadily gaining the status of a correspondent because, with the growth of the Suez Canal scheme, Egypt became a centre of interest J. Corlett, the agent of *The Times*, found allurements that were out of consonance with the responsibilities of a correspondent Visiting Egypt in the autumn of 1855, Nassau William Senior, the economist, who kept an elaborate journal and circulated it in manuscript among his friends, entered therein the following account of words used to him by Lesseps :

I am inclined to think that we made a mistake in withdrawing the salaries or bribes which used to be paid to the foreign correspondents of the European newspapers. The correspondent of *The Times* used to receive £1000 a year from Abbas Pasha He is a man who was a clerk in a merchant's house, was turned out of it for good reasons, and is now employed to enlighten Europe as to the acts and the intentions of the Egyptian Government, and he performs his task with the ignorance, the falsehood, and the malice which might be expected from his previous history.¹

The entry came to the knowledge of Mowbray Morris, who wrote to Corlett to say that he must bring a libel action, in which *The Times* would bear all the expenses But Corlett had to reply that, although he had refused the larger bribe offered, he had received £80 per annum from Abbas. He pleaded that all the other newspaper correspondents received similar subventions, and that information of Egyptian affairs could be obtained on no other terms. This excuse was not accepted ; Corlett was immediately discharged, and a new agent, H. C. Kay, sent from London to take his place.

Morris, however, unwilling to put the good name of *The Times* in the hands of men unknown to him, was eager to have access to first-hand information in all parts of the world ; though he drew

¹ *Apud Morris* ; Letter to Corlett, August 4, 1856.

INFORMATION AND ANECDOTE

the line at the Fiji Islands, he accepted the offer of an occasional correspondence from Japan, then a mysterious and unknown country. By good fortune, too, he got letters at a critical moment in Bucharest from John Barklay, who had for a short time served the paper in Constantinople ; and when the American Government sent an expedition against the Mormons. *The Times* was able to publish letters from Utah.

The correspondents of *The Times* were a mobile body ; the Manager was averse from the establishment of a series of permanent offices. *The Times* had more than a dozen Staff Correspondents established all over the world from Calcutta to San Francisco , the Paris office alone was a fixture . After the Crimean War, Eber was stationed in Constantinople but sent little material to the taste of the Manager, who admonished him not to " go too deeply into Palace intrigues. We don't care much about them—I think that, at this moment, railways, telegraphs and finance are more interesting." But Morris generally emphasized the need for a light touch ; the communications of the foreign correspondents had to be more than bald statements of fact—and for this reason among others Reuter could not supply their place. One correspondent was congratulated for having " contrived to season your information with anecdote—to mingle the grave and gay."

When Eber was transferred from Constantinople to display his peculiar talents upon the battlefield in Italy, no successor was appointed. Apart from Paris, the securest berth was in Vienna, whence Bird continued to survey the eastern parts of Europe. But even Bird was at times unable to find interesting news, and in January, 1857, Morris asked him in mock exasperation :

Do the Viennese never commit murder or rape ? Does no merchant prince ever forge or levant with other people's money, or break disreputably—does nobody in Vienna or elsewhere in the Austrian dominions ever do anything amusing or exciting ? I declare the Austrian correspondence, tho' full enough of matter, is as dry as a stale paper or a page of Lingard or the last protocol. If you have no other means at hand, you must invent something to enliven your letters, or at least to give them variety. A new play or opera, a new singer or actor, a new pamphlet, a new book—anything for a change.

Even Berlin had no permanent office. Filmore had been succeeded by Wilkinson, who represented the paper until 1858. Lord Bloomfield, the British Ambassador in Berlin, described him as " a vain foolish fellow who writes absurd letters filled with

what he considers ‘des traits d’Esprit’”; but he thought that *The Times* rather than Wilkinson was at fault. “There is no possibility of making this man change his tone; I have spoken to him frequently. He listens but no good comes of my hints, because he says *The Times* would not publish his letters if they are otherwise written!”¹ The hostility of *The Times* towards the Prussian Government led to his social ostracism and to personal attacks in the Prussian Press Morris consoled him thus:

As for society in general, I know by my own experience that a married man with children and an engrossing occupation may live very happily without mixing much with the world and tho’ I am unwilling to believe that gentlemen of our profession are “pariahs” in London, yet it is true here, as elsewhere in the capitals of Europe, that the universal censor is a general object of fear and hatred, or at least of suspicion.

Wilkinson, however, was inconsolable and, to improve his position, he wrote a letter to the *Kreuz Zeitung* apologizing for the tone adopted in *The Times*. This brought down upon him the wrath of the Manager, who, writing that “a correspondent must look for protection to those who employ him,” relieved him of his office. He carried back to England a letter from Lord Bloomfield recommending him to Clarendon. “I believe,” the Ambassador wrote, “that he ceased to give satisfaction in consequence of his desire to bring about a better state of things between England and Prussia, & of his refusing to take hints that are given him by his superiors & to his being perhaps too independent.”

In Morris’s opinion “German politics are singularly dull. It is almost impossible to prevail upon even politicians to give their attention to the subject. To the multitude they are Abracadabra—mysterious and unintelligible.” In the winter of 1858-59 Mark Pattison temporarily occupied the post, and in the following summer James Hamilton was commissioned to go “as a roving correspondent in Germany upon trial for a limited period.” He was instructed to study especially the Prussian and the other German Armies, but not to spend much time in Berlin. When Hamilton’s mission ended no successor was appointed until the Danish question seemed likely to come to a head. In January, 1861, John Walter, seeing that the trend was towards “the dissolution of Austria and the aggrandisement of Prussia,” recognized that Berlin must soon become the centre of the “really

¹ Bloomfield to Clarendon, Berlin, January 27, 1858. (Clarendon Papers.)

HARDMAN THE ROVER

German element in C. Europe" , in April, Morris sent Hardman to Berlin with instructions to pay particular attention to the Liberal Party :

In most places, but especially in Prussia, the liberal party comprises all that there is of wisdom and patriotism, even honesty, in the country. It is our business to back up the honest men everywhere, and it is our interest to do so in Prussia, because the liberal party is the English party. The Court and the retrogrades are Russian.¹

Hardman was Morris's favourite among the correspondents.² After serving the paper in Constantinople, he had made an extensive tour through Austria and Hungary, twice deputized for O'Meagher in Paris, and then went as correspondent to Madrid. In 1857 Morris, as we shall see, sent him to Turin, and Madrid again ceased to have a regular correspondent, although Molony was appointed to narrate important events since, in Morris's words, "we wish to be secured against any sudden and unforeseen emergency" When the Italian troubles ended, Hardman went to Berlin He was beginning to tire of his travels :

He had travelled through the wildest wastes of America, as well as through the civilized ways of Europe, he knew all the languages and much of the literature of the Continent, before he had attained to any connexion with the great paper with which his name is now associated.³

In 1863, therefore, Hardman asked to be guaranteed at least a kind of semi-permanence in Berlin. Morris replied : "It is simply impossible for me to guarantee you the quiet occupation of Berlin for 2 years. . . . Paris is the only haven of repose for wandering correspondents. . . . Every other place is but a temporary resting place and every correspondent except the favoured one at Paris is but a Rover."

"The favoured one" in 1863 was still O'Meagher, who had managed to retain his office despite the trouble of his earlier years. He was thus described by a paid agent, a personal friend of his own, of the French Government : "Mr. O'Meagher a beaucoup de talent—il est très distingué dans ses manières et très honnête homme. Mais son ambition force souvent la main à son jugement. Il désire être considéré comme une autorité sur les affaires françaises. Il est certainement bien informé et

¹ Morris to Hardman, April 29, 1861. (P.H.S. Papers, M. 11/94)

² Hardman (1814-1874) had, like O'Meagher, been in the British Legion in Spain in 1834, it is said (D.N.B.) that he owed his first engagement on *The Times* to a critique of the Paris Salon in about 1850

³ Mrs. Oliphant, *William Blackwood and His Sons*, II, p. 287.

le journal met à sa disposition une forte somme d'agent pour obtenir des informations."¹ His sources of information were so complete, indeed, that the French Government frequently applied to him to pass on to them the news and rumours he gathered—a request which he uniformly rejected. This fact may be accepted as an adequate reply to Lord Cowley's irritable assertion that O'Meagher was "so ill-informed that they (*The Times*) make all sorts of misstatements. I wish that they wd. send a better man "²

In 1852 he had made himself obnoxious to the conductors of *The Times* by his support of the rising Louis Napoleon. In Morris's opinion the "variance of opinion" between Editor and correspondent by weakening the influence of the former invalidated the services of the latter. "The English public looks to us for liberal and independent views of passing events, and when it finds the very reverse of those qualities in an important department of the paper, not only the opinions are regarded with dissatisfaction, but even the facts are received with distrust." Lack of faith in O'Meagher led *The Times* to supplement his contributions, and a hostile observer, Algernon Borthwick, correspondent of the Bonapartist *Morning Post*, thus described the situation to his father on January 3, 1852 :

I explained (to the Prince President) how *The Times* correspondent in Paris was an honest man, but that *The Times* had sent over two special correspondents, charged to distort and exaggerate every fact that could be brought against him, that this was part and parcel of the intrigue against Lord P.; that *The Times* was at present used to show two things, first what an atrocious and unconstitutional tyranny was exercised in France, and next how bad was the conduct of Lord P. in approving of it. I begged him to pay no serious attention to such infamous and provocative articles as he had read (he told me he had) in *The Times* of this morning—and to believe the honest English mind would soon reject with loathing all such poison when its nature was clearly shown.³

After a time the united remonstrances of Delane and Morris had their effect, and O'Meagher became an ardent anti-Bonapartist. This inevitably led him into difficulties with the authorities,

¹ Michael George Mitchell to M. Isidore Salle, Chef de la division de la Presse, December 4, 1857 (Paris, Archives Nationales, F-18, No. 544b, Letter No. 189) For the Mitchell family of secret agents see p. 82 and Sources V

² Cowley to Clarendon, March 26, 1858. (Clarendon Papers.)

³ R. Lucas. *Lord Glenesk and the Morning Post*, p. 98.

A THREAT OF EXPULSION

who, for example, withdrew from him the advantage of telegraphing the bank returns before their publication in Paris. To remedy this Morris could only suggest "the judicious application of money. If a bribe will serve our turn, I should not grudge the cost", but, according to Mitchell, the French secret agent above quoted, one of the causes of O'Meagher's dissatisfaction with the régime was "l'incorruptibilité des membres actuels du Ministère de l'Intérieur."

O'Meagher in fact began to out-Herod Herod.¹ Powerful influences in Paris were working for nothing less than the expulsion of the correspondent. O'Meagher's bearing at this time is revealed in a report made to the Sûreté Générale :

May 1st, 1858

The Times is the most important mouthpiece of the English Press ; it is the richest as well as the most independent, and the paper which best exploits its immense publicity for the exclusive benefit of its material interests. The approximate proceeds of its paid advertisements alone amount to about 7,500,000 francs. Its own circulation is higher than all the rest of the English Press combined. Moreover, this tremendous power can only be ascribed to the absence of any positive political patronage. Faithful to its title it follows the *times*, the drift of public opinion. At home Whig, Free-trader, very Anglican . . .

Abroad, hostile to France and since 1849 to the Prince-President as well as later to H.M. the Emperor. This hostility is particularly aggressive in its Paris correspondence. Not a day passes that it does not publish some item of news, false or true, purposely minimized or exaggerated to challenge the acts or men of the Government—insinuations, slander, abuse—anything will do to mislead public opinion in England and in Europe and keep alive the blind animosity of the masses against France. Since January 14th for instance, it has not ceased for an instant to give the most misleading details concerning the character, circumstances, causes and consequences of the attempt on the Emperor's life and about the assassins, whose biography it is pleased to relate while showing up with perfidious care the romantic aspect of their existence, along with, naturally a number of articles written in this same detestable spirit.

To carry out this scheme of organized slander and permanent conspiracy against the Government of the Emperor, the *Times* installed

¹ O'Meagher's criticisms of Napoleon found an appreciative audience in John Walter, who wrote to Delane (January 26, 1858) that "O'Meagher has hit upon a rich mine in L Napoleon's chapters on England. What he says about passports, etc., is delightful."

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE TO 1865

a central correspondence office in Paris, at the head of which it placed a man, cleverly selected because of his antecedents, who receives a very large subsidy which he uses in a very unscrupulous manner.

M. O'Meagher, First correspondent of *The Times* (rue Lepelletier No 1) was formerly a paymaster to the English troops in Spain. He was employed successively by the *Times* at Barcelona, Madrid and elsewhere and later even had in his employ members of the Government. Better still, when the Laguérronnière¹ pamphlet was still in proof at Firmin Didot's, he offered 1500 frs to a workman to obtain a copy.

Thus independently of the personal, diplomatic or other relations and the information which he regularly buys here and there, or receives from the enemies of the Government who assiduously frequent his office, M. O'Meagher has no scruples about corrupting the people who, from above or below, obtain important information for him.

Invited on several occasions, either by the Press Department or by the Minister of State, to come and obtain accurate information in advance relating to facts collected, news transmitted or rumours spread, M. O'Meagher constantly refused.

When summoned to receive official warnings or observations, always kindly in form, he does not obey or obeys partially

Full of confidence in the moderation of the Government and until now, unfortunately, too sure of impunity, when threatened with the suppression of *The Times*, like the *Indépendance Belge*, he replies : " Suppress it ! " If his own personal position is referred to he says : " Expel me ! " And in diplomatic circles, in the offices of French newspapers which he visits regularly, in the clubs and salons everywhere, just the same as in his paper, M. O'Meagher seems to defy the Emperor's Government while violating the laws of generous hospitality which France accords him.

For all these reasons and because of the systematic hostility which the First Correspondent of *The Times* betrays in all the Paris correspondence which he addresses to that newspaper,

It is proposed to apply to him the measures of the Sûreté Générale which have already been imposed in the case of several other correspondents of German newspapers and expel him from France.

(unsigned)

N.B. The leaders enclosed are written in the same spirit as the Paris correspondence.²

¹ Louis Etienne Vicomte de La Guérinière published *L'Empereur Napoléon III et l'Angleterre* in Paris, 1858.

² Translated from the original in the Archives Nationales. (F 18, 544 bis, Angleterre, No 189; see Appendix I, No 2, for the original French text.)

INSTRUCTING THE FOREIGNER

Higher authorities, however, considering expulsion undesirable, brought pressure to bear in London. Delane, though not less unfriendly towards Napoleon than he had been, was more than once requested by Palmerston¹ to tone down the personal element of the attack , it became necessary therefore to bring pressure upon the correspondent to see the desirability of burying the hatchet In November, 1859, Delane, being in Paris, tackled O'Meagher on the subject.

I compelled O'M to listen to me (a task of no small difficulty) while I made him a long speech upon the irritating character of his correspondence as regarded both the Emperor and his cousin and from his reply it appeared that this tone of his was perfectly gratuitous, for both the Emperor and Jerome had made numerous advances to him and Jerome especially had shown him much civility. Upon this I begged him to drop at once the tone of irritation, accusing Jerome of cowardice etc. and to take an early opportunity of hanging out a flag of truce, discussing international questions of course upon their own merits but not importing offensive personal element. This he promised to do.²

Peace was thus airanged.

The criticisms of the Prussian Government which embarrassed Wilkinson in Berlin and the criticisms of Napoleon III which caused Lord Palmerston and other English statesmen so much anxiety, were but examples of the universal policy of *The Times* in the mid-nineteenth century when the paper shared with the rest of Victorian Englishmen a love of instructing the foreigner. This practice was defended by Morris, when at the end of 1857 a friend criticized the paper's strictures upon the Neapolitan government. "Many people say," he wrote to Dr Lardner,

that we trouble ourselves too much about our neighbours on the continent; that their Governments are good enough for the mass of the people, and that the only effect of our misplaced sympathy is to keep alive the flame of discontent and give undue importance to the discontented. *The Times* is particularly obnoxious to these people, and its conductors are advised to mind their own business. Now I say we *do* mind our own business when we expose the evil systems of the continent. No doubt it would be easier to make things pleasant by false representations or by total silence; but if all men were to pursue this course, what would become of the world's progress?

¹ Palmerston to Delane, December 6, 1858 (P.H.S. Papers, D 9/80; Dasent, I. 305) and March 2, 1859 (P.H.S. Papers, D. 9/93).

² Delane to Dasent, November 1, 1859. (P.H.S. Papers, D. 9/134.)

Though ready to defend the paper's general right of criticism, Morris took to heart the strictures upon the particular correspondent in question. He himself believed that "the despot of Naples is worse than the despot of France," but he felt that justice should be done to whatever good instincts the King might exhibit. In consequence he advised the correspondent at Naples to try to mix with men of every opinion and to gain an understanding of the Government's point of view. "Indiscriminate abuse has a tendency to defeat itself—if we wish our reproaches to carry weight, we should show ourselves apt to praise when occasion serves."

The correspondent in question, Henry Wreford, also represented the *Daily News*. He was in fact a casual correspondent whose contributions had become more frequent as the British public began to be interested in Italy. The value of his correspondence was much reduced by his antipathy to the King of Naples, which amounted to a mania, and Morris informed Hardman in January, 1858, "I should very much like to dispense with this gentleman." In October, however, the Manager, describing Wreford as "an amiable enthusiast, well informed but without judgment," admitted that he would be "a useful man in the event of a row; for he has zeal and courage and strong popular sympathies; for these qualities I retain our connexion with him."

Morris saw clearly the impending troubles in the Italian peninsula. "On all sides," he wrote in 1857, "one hears the same rumour of approaching insurrection in Italy." In the autumn of that year he decided to strengthen his staff there by sending Hardman to Turin, where he was advised to secure the ear of Cavour but to gain other sources of information by visiting all the capitals of the peninsula and making friends in each, since "it is quite clear that no Government will tell a newspaper correspondent what it wishes to keep secret, and this is precisely the sort of news we ought to get."¹

At the same time Morris asked Hardman to look out for a correspondent in Rome, a difficult matter, for *The Times* was much disliked by the Papal Government. This situation had further complications. There was in Rome a cosmopolitan vagabond named Fynn, whose activities permitted him the leisure to attempt the extraction of money from Lord Odo Russell

¹ Morris to Hardman, September 23, 1857 (P.H.S. Papers, M. 8/37)

AN IMPOSTOR IN ROME

on the pretext that he was "a correspondent of *The Times*" Morris, having been informed, wrote to Lord Odo on March 14, 1859 :

Mr. Wreford's illness alone prevents my taking steps to make a public example of Mr. Fynn. A more audacious imposture was never attempted. The man is an utter stranger to me and all my colleagues, and his very name would have been unknown if it had not appeared in the newspaper in connexion with some fraud, the particulars of which I cannot call to mind at this moment. *The Times* is much indebted to you for having repudiated this person, and I hope you will lose no opportunity of causing his true character to be known¹

Thereupon, with the approach of the war between France and Italy and Austria, Morris asked Wreford to remove to Rome until a regular correspondent could be established there, as it seemed probable that the Pope was likely to be more immediately involved than the King of Naples. On March 28, 1859, Morris sent Wreford instructions :

The point to which your chief attention should be directed is what we in England call "Administrative Reform." The original pretence for the interference of Europe in Italy was its bad government. The people were oppressed, humanity outraged, and a hotbed of discontent kept up, endangering neighbouring countries. Is all this true? Let us bring the Pope and his cardinals to trial, make a specific charge against them and prove it. That should be your task. It is in the hope that you will execute it, that *The Times* has sent you to Rome. . . . Bear in mind that liberty has its necessary degrees, varying inversely with the degrees of latitude. The South has never been able to bear what is necessary for the very existence of the North. I throw out these hints without any intention to bias you. We want to have your free and independent testimony. Above all we want facts.

But throughout the Italian war Morris was dogged by misfortune and difficulties. In the first place, no sooner had Wreford arrived in Rome than he fell ill, and Morris had to accept his sister as a temporary substitute—the first occasion upon which *The Times* employed a woman correspondent.² He accordingly wrote to Miss Wreford : "We shall be glad to

¹ A Robert Fynn, in the previous year, had been the subject of some solemn correspondence among officials of the French secret service. He had, it appears, described himself to French agents at Geneva as a correspondent of the paper, particularly connected with O'Meagher, and able, for a consideration, to alter the tone of *The Times* on French affairs.

² Literary criticism by Mrs. Norton had been appearing for some years.

receive from you whatever information you can gather from Mr. Wreford's friends and your own observation."

The war began at the end of April, 1859. The problem of correspondence from the front was scarcely less difficult than it had been in the Crimea, but rather different in character. Reuter's Agency was a help; but also, through the other papers that subscribed to it, a competitor. Military oligarchy was added as top-dressing to the other handicaps: the Sardinian Commander-in-Chief had threatened to hang any newspaper agent whom he might catch within his lines. The ablest war correspondent on the paper's staff, W. H. Russell, was not available. In default of Russell, Morris fell back upon Eber as his principal correspondent with the Sardinian forces. Eber, it would seem, was hoping for an early outbreak of war in his own country, in which event he would naturally wish to be in the forefront of the thickest battle, and would be constrained to leave the service of *The Times*.¹ Failing a Hungarian revolt, a war of some other subject nationality against the Hapsburg oppressor was the next best thing, and he assured Morris that he anticipated little difficulty in obtaining permission to attend the Sardinian headquarters. He relied, apparently, on the fact that his compatriot, General Klapka, held high command. Hardman did not share his optimism, and Morris moved him to Italy with considerable misgivings. On May 11—nearly three weeks after the French disembarkation, and a fortnight after the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Grand Duchess of Parma had fled from their capitals—no news having arrived from the Sardinian army, Morris resolved to bring in another man. Antonio Gallenga was an Italian rolling stone, now aged nearly 50, who had spent much of his life in exile, but had also been a Deputy in the Sardinian Parliament and correspondent for the *Daily News*. After an abortive essay in regicide, he became a supporter of Cavour, and was hated by Mazzini, who suspected him of being a police agent. He obtained an introduction to Walter, who sent him on to Morris, to whom he represented that his nationality and connexions made it likely that he would succeed in Italy where

¹ This, allowing for the known tastes of the man, seems the likeliest interpretation of the following paragraph. "I was not unprepared for your confession. A man can hardly entertain the ardent feelings which you cherish towards your country, and conceal them altogether from those who are interested to know them. I have always known and respected, whilst I deplored, your aspirations after national independence. I can only hope that an opportunity may not soon arise for attempting the execution of your wishes, since it would deprive us of your services, and might lead to your ruin" (Morris to Eber, March 24, 1859.)

ANTONIO GALLENGA

foreigners were certain to fail. Concerning him Morris wrote to Hardman on May 13, 1859 :

You know him by reputation, and I think you will agree with me that no one can have a better chance of remaining with the army. He will leave London to-morrow evening and arrive I hope in Genoa on the 17th His plan is to abstain from all communication with the authorities and to trust entirely to his own resources, and his well-established character as an Italian patriot. He will see you on his way through Turin, but it is not probable that he will afterwards hold any further communication with you. Such a proceeding, he thinks, might compromise him and draw suspicion upon his movements. However this is a matter for you and him and Eber to arrange among yourselves.

When Gallenga reported himself in Turin, Hardman took a dislike to him and wrote to Morris to protest against the appointment. The objection, apparently, was that Gallenga thought more of his country than of *The Times*—which, as Morris pointed out in reply, was only to be expected. On Hardman's advice Gallenga abandoned hope of joining the Franco-Sardinian Army and returned to Genoa, where he re-embarked and found his way, *via* Legnagno, to the headquarters of Prince Napoleon Jerome in Tuscany. The Prince gave him a flattering reception, expressed his high esteem for *The Times*, and took him on his train until Gallenga found it convenient to transfer himself to the Tuscans, whose commander, the Neapolitan Ulloa, gave him a commission and appointed him *aide-de-camp*. With Ulloa, Gallenga went forward, on a long and tranquil march, until the Tuscans achieved a junction with the French and Sardinians on the Mincio. He then found that the two decisive battles of the war—Magenta and Solferino—had already been fought, and Eber was installed in comfort and honour as correspondent of *The Times* at headquarters.¹ It appeared that the Emperor, hoping to win Hungarian support against the Austrians, had lifted the ban in favour of correspondents of that nationality and in their suite the representatives of all journals, of any nationality, had also been admitted. Eber, however, had been forced to give an undertaking that he would not make his occupation known in the camp, or allow his letters to appear in *The Times* as coming from an accredited correspondent.

¹ Gallenga, *Episodes of My Second Life*, II, p. 303:

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE TO 1865

The result of the various restrictions was that *The Times* found itself behindhand—or apparently behindhand—with the news. Morris wrote to Haidman on June 10, 1859 :

This whole subject of the correspondence from Italy has been a vexatious one to me. Whilst every obstacle was being thrown in our way at Turin, and we were being told that no one connected with a newspaper would be allowed to go near the allied army, the Paris newspapers and some of our own contemporaries in London were publishing daily reports from eyewitnesses of the battles and skirmishes which neither you nor Eber could find an opportunity to see.

And to complete one's annoyance the *Daily News* and *Daily Telegraph* this morning come out with what purports to be an account of the battle of Magenta¹ written by their special correspondent on the very eve (*sic*) of the battle. It is true that when all these letters are carefully read and sifted, they are found to be mere froth and flummery, and I fully believe that we have published more real information than any other paper. But you know how careless the general public is and how easily deceived by an attractive heading or a pompous introduction. Our dear friends and rivals here and in Paris seem to be free to describe their letters as they please and take full credit for all their correspondents. *The Times* alone is to speak with baited breath and to hide its candle under a bushel. Surely it is high time we were allowed to take our true position before the world.

It is clear from this letter that Morris was oppressed with what was already becoming a major problem of *The Times*, and one that the growth of the news-collecting agencies was to aggravate—the problem of maintaining its own standards of thorough investigation and reporting in competition with a newer and less scrupulous school of journalists, to whom priority of news was more important than either completeness or exactitude.

On the other side of the conflict also Morris was dogged by misfortune. Bird, it would seem, was on better terms with the Viennese authorities than he had been in 1848, and had little difficulty in getting permission for a correspondent of *The Times* to accompany the Austrian Army, but the man selected, Captain Blakely, R.A., proved a failure. His letters had a strong pro-Austrian bias, and, instead of recent war news, he was apt to send in "flimsy" essays on "the constitutional history of Sardinia."²

¹ June 4, 1859

² Morris to Blakely, May 21, 1859. (P.H.S. Papers, M. 9/386.)

A MELODRAMA OF DESERTION

He was superseded at the beginning of June by Crowe, the Bombay correspondent, who was home on leave,¹ but by that time the campaign was nearly over. The most that can be said to have been achieved by *The Times* in organizing the correspondence of this short war is that the ground had been prepared for reporting the more eventful struggle of the following year. To crown Morris's chagrin, on July 20 Gallenga, from whom he was expecting a regular correspondence on the condition of Italy, unexpectedly appeared in England, and, according to himself, at Printing House Square. The prosaic records² of *The Times* suggest that the subsequent negotiations were conducted by correspondence, but Gallenga's own account³ is more dramatic and illustrates the style and character of a man who was to serve *The Times* for twenty years :

Never in my life have I seen such astonishment depicted on any human face as was shown by that of the manager of *The Times* when he saw me.

"What? What?" he cried. "You here? Has anything happened?"

"What should have happened?" I answered. "The war is over, and the War Correspondent goes home. That is all."

"What?" he insisted. "And not one line; not two words of a telegram to tell us of your desertion."

"It was for the war alone—it was for my country—that I enlisted in your service," I said. "What else would I have had to do with the Press? The war is at an end. All is over."

He looked hard at me, as if he could not believe me.

"Are you in your senses?" he said. "Do you really think the affair is at an end? Are you so ready to give up the cause of your country? Or do you think your hand can wield a mightier weapon in that cause than such as *The Times* supplies you with? Perhaps you have travelled too fast to learn what is going on. Know then, that all our statesmen here are convinced that the Treaty of Villafranca won't hold water. War may be at an end, but Revolution has not spoken its last word. The noblest mission that ever beset a journalist

¹ J. A. Crowe had served the *Illustrated London News* during the Crimean War and *The Times* during the Indian Mutiny, after which he became the Bombay Correspondent. In 1860 he was appointed Consul-General for Saxony, but he is known principally for his work in art criticism, which, in collaboration with Cavalcaselle, he is said (D.N.B.) to have "revolutionized." Another veteran of the Crimea, N. A. Woods, who had served the *Morning Herald* with some success and then joined *The Times* staff to become a very notable reporter, was under consideration for service in place of Blakely, when the problem was solved by the appointment of Crowe.

² Morris to Gallenga, July 26, 1859 (P.H.S. Papers, M. 9/476)

³ Gallenga, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 307 ff.

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is offered to you. Go back to Italy ! For months, and perhaps years, your country will be the all-absorbing subject in Europe. . . . Run all over the peninsula from end to end , go back to Turin, to Florence, wherever you think you may find the task best suited to your purpose. Whoever writes for us fights for Italy. You will have *The Times* and the almost unanimous sympathy of English opinion to back you ”

“ Done ! ” I exclaimed, grasping his hand, and shaking it with responsive enthusiasm. “ Till the Italian question is settled, be the Press my career ; I am at your orders—I am off at once Back to Italy —this very evening ! ” and I jumped to my feet. . . .

I set off by the evening mail, and before the end of the week I had put the Channel and the Alps between England and myself.

Gallenga’s desertion had been occasioned by the Armistice of July 8 and the meeting of the Emperors at Villafranca His sudden return momentarily upset Morris’s arrangements, since on the signing of the Truce of Villafranca the Manager had recalled both Eber and Hardman, intending to leave Italian affairs entirely to Gallenga. On returning to Italy he made his headquarters at Florence In January, 1860, he made an abortive visit to Rome but was expelled by the “ imbecile tyrants,” as Morris indignantly described the Papal Government.

Eber came to England for his holiday, but returned to Italy in September. Hardman again did holiday duty for O’Meagher in Paris, and was scarcely back in Turin when he was sent to report the Spanish campaign in Morocco. Thus Eber was left responsible for all the news from Northern and Central Italy. He moved about freely, but made Milan his headquarters. In March, 1860, he went to Chambéry to report the annexation of Savoy to France, while Gallenga attended the opening of the Legislature at Turin. It was evidently Morris’s intention to send Eber to Rome, after he had been to Switzerland to investigate “ this neutralized territory question,” but on April 17 he wrote : “ I should like you to visit Sicily first and let us know what sort of thing this new insurrection is.” Eber did not hurry ; he visited Turin and Naples *en route* and arrived in Palermo on May 24.¹ Meanwhile the island was in revolt ; Garibaldi and his Thousand had landed at Marsala on May 11 ; Palermo fell on May 26² ; and *The Times* naturally expected from Eber a

¹ Munday, *H.M.S. Hannibal at Palermo and Naples*, p. 103

² The capture of Palermo seems to have been made possible by intelligence that Eber collected in his capacity as *The Times* correspondent and immediately communicated to Garibaldi. (Tievelyan, *Garibaldi and the Thousand*, pp. 286, 287.)

EBER AND THE THOUSAND

succession of stirring narratives of great events. He sent a full account of the landing and of the capture of Palermo,¹ but soon his letters dwindled to nothing, and rumours began to reach Printing House Square that the lure of the battle had been too much for him. He had, in fact, applied to Garibaldi for a commission, and been appointed to the command of a brigade of the insurgent army. Morris wrote to him on August 1 :

What are you about? Everybody can describe the battle of Melazzo but you, whose special duty it was to describe it. . . .

Surely you do not think that we sent you to Sicily to liberate the island, or even to describe it. Rumour says you are engaged on the one, and your own letters show how much attention you have paid to the other. It is not my wish, nor have I any right, to interfere with your sympathies or your ambition. If you desire the fame of a patriot and liberator, and choose to fight for Italy in the service of Garibaldi—do so—but at least be candid and say what you are about, and do not leave me in a state of uncertainty. . . .

This cannot go on—and I must call upon you to make your election between *The Times* and your other masters whoever they may be. We cannot have half a service.

Eber being apparently lost to the service of *The Times*, Morris hurriedly dispatched Gallenga to take his place, at the same time calling on Eber, if he wished to remain correspondent, to prove his sincerity by resigning his command. The new General,² however, resigned neither of his appointments. He had been absent from the battle of Melazzo, being engaged on his military duties in the middle of the island, but he pieced together a rather belated account of the engagement, which filled five columns of *The Times* on August 4. By September 10 Morris was labouring under the bane that oppressed him from time to time in all wars : all his correspondents were in the same place. "Pray go to Florence," he wrote to Gallenga, "or Bologna or Rome or Turin—anywhere away from Naples, where we now have THREE correspondents."³ To add to his troubles, both Eber and Gallenga successively fell ill. Reuter, on whom he was beginning to rely as a supplement to his own correspondents, proved useless at

¹ "An epic poem could be written about what the 1,062 Italians and 5 Hungarians did in Sicily." (*The Times*, June 9, 1860.) Mr. Trevelyan (*Garibaldi*, p. 218) says there were four Hungarians. No doubt Eber was already including himself.

² Morris first addressed Eber by this title on October 10, 1860.

³ Wreford, Eber, Gallenga.

more than one crisis of the war, he had to write several such letters of complaint as the following on September 20, 1860 :

In the second edition of *The Times* this day appears a telegram headed "Sardinia and Garibaldi" purporting to come from Genoa. A little lower down in the same column is a letter wh. came by post direct to Paris, was published there and transmitted by post to London—this letter is the telegram amplified—or rather your telegram is the letter condensed. I have no sort of doubt how the thing has been done.

Finally Morris once more fell back upon Hardman, whom he ordered to Turin on September 25 :

There is no one I can ask to go with perfect confidence in his sobriety and moderation except yourself. Garibaldi seems to have the knack of drawing every one into his vortex or of turning their heads. You, I know, are not an enthusiast and will be able to keep a cool head and a clear judgment in the midst of the exciting scenes which may be expected shortly to take place.

A little later Hardman succeeded in establishing himself, apparently *incognito*, in Rome, taking care to address his dispatches to "Mr. Preedy, Temple Bar, London."

In October, 1860, the future of Italy was still very uncertain, as Garibaldi's intentions were unknown. Morris was suspicious of the great freebooter, and wished rather to assist Cavour; he advised Hardman, who had previously been stigmatized as anti-Italian, to "try and conciliate Cavour and his party." Hardman succeeded so well that Italian partisans accused him of partiality to Piedmont¹; indeed "conciliation" may have come from Cavour, who in July, 1860, wrote of Gallenga : "Je l'ai laissé nommer député. Cela lui donnera une plus grande autorité auprès du *Times*; il faut espérer qu'il en fera bon usage."² The Manager had as early as 1856 been in favour of strengthening Sardinia, so that she might extend her influence. But he feared the consequences of Garibaldi's methods, as an attack upon Rome or upon the Quadrilateral would menace the peace of all

¹ Delane wrote to Layard : "You might as well accuse him (Hardman) of being six feet high as being hostile to Italian unity or too partial to the Piedmontese, for I know of nobody who looks forward to a change from Turin to Florence with greater pleasure" (B M MSS , Addl 38986/307). Layard's strictures were not based upon personal knowledge, for, as Delane wrote to Panizzi, who made the same complaint, he admitted "that he had never read any of the letters because he thought they were written by Gallenga!" (B M MSS , Addl 36721/206)

² Cavour to d'Azeglio, July 7, 1860. (*Cavour e l'Inghilterra*, II (ii), No. 1177)

PRESTIGE

Europe¹ Morris expected Cavour to achieve a great part of the Italian ambition with less danger and hardly less expedition. To Hardman in Rome he wrote on October 17, 1860 :

If I am to back you or the Pope against deportation, I will choose you. And if you can hold your ground against the old gentleman for a while, you will find yourself, when Cavour's programme is realised, in the advantageous position of our representative in the new old capital of Italy.

This, however, was not to be, and before the Italians entered Rome, Hardman went off to examine those movements in Germany which were ultimately to enable united Italy to destroy the Pope's temporal power.

Stirring events in Italy ended with the meeting of King Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi at Caianello on October 25, 1860. The staff of *The Times* in the peninsula was reduced to normal proportions, and the Florence Exhibition became the centre of interest. People began to complain, Morris wrote in October, 1861, that the paper's foreign correspondents did not give "practical information concerning common things of Trade and Commerce and material products."

Eber returned to Constantinople but soon became restive. In 1863 he asked to go to Poland to describe the insurrection there. *The Times*, however, was already represented by Sutherland Edwards,² who sent from Lemberg and Cracow descriptions of the disunity of the Polish insurgents and the terrorism of the extremists.

In the last stages of the revolt the adventures of another Englishman gave a curious demonstration of the prestige enjoyed by *The Times* in Russia. A certain Mr. Appel, or Appel, had joined one of the insurgent bands, and after their defeat was found by a Cossack up a tree. The Cossack attempted to bring him down with a bullet but missed, and, without waiting for a second shot, Mr. Appel descended and claimed immunity on the ground that he was the representative of *The Times*. The defence was held to be valid. However, wrote *The Times*:

It is painful to think what might have become of plain Mr Appel, taken with arms in his hands, but "our own correspondent" was

¹ John Walter, however, admired Garibaldi. "I doubt whether, in all history, there has been such another instance of the right man in the right place" (To Delane, September 14, 1860.)

² Edwards, later (in 1869) editor of the *Graphic*, had reported the coronation of the Tsar in 1856 for the *Illustrated London News*; *The Times* had been represented by W H Russell, who gained a great success because, according to a rival, he was mistaken for Lord John Russell.

reserved for a different treatment. The distinguished captive was escorted with especial ceremony to the town of Lublin, and there brought into the presence of the Russian Commander, by whom, instead of being handed over to a file of soldiers, he was invited to dinner. . .

We are much obliged to General Chrutcheff for the attention which he showed to a supposed representative of *The Times*, and we ought to acknowledge, we presume, the complimentary terms in which the "interesting" prisoner was introduced to the notice of the Russian public by the journals of that country, but the simple fact is that their politeness has all been thrown away [Mr Appel] may be a correspondent of some kind, but he is no correspondent of ours (October 13, 1863)

There was another reason why Morris would not send Eber to Poland: the fear that his antecedents would put him in some danger among Russians and Austrians, who would not treat a Hungarian refugee, even when a correspondent of *The Times*, so well as they treated Mr. Appel "Let it suffice that we decline the responsibility of sending you upon any mission involving danger to life" The safety of the correspondents was a frequent concern of the Manager, who once tried to dissuade Filmore from going to New Orleans because of the danger of yellow fever.

In 1857 George Wingrove Cooke, after writing some brilliant letters from Algeria, was sent to China, whence his correspondence exhibited such qualities of a quick and observant eye, a ready memory, a practised pen, and, above all, an independent judgment, that the *Saturday Review* of September 11, 1858, declared. "to state that these are the best letters that have ever been contributed to a newspaper would be invidious, but we may safely say that they have never been surpassed." In Cooke's agreement there was a clause stipulating that his movements should not be such as might involve serious personal risk.

The clause was not out of place. In 1860 Thomas William Bowlby succeeded Cooke as correspondent with Lord Elgin's mission, at a time when the trouble in China had broken out afresh in the form of the Taiping rebellion. Riding ahead of a main body of British troops in the company of Sir Harry Parkes, he fell into a Chinese ambush, and with several companions was slowly tortured to death. *The Times* made itself responsible for the

ENFORCED CHANGES

education of Bowlby's eldest son ; Mowbray Morris with members of the family acted as trustees

The outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861 gave a new orientation to the foreign department of *The Times*, the United States became the scene of the activities of Russell, Gallenga, and numerous other correspondents Before the Civil War had ended, the question of Schleswig-Holstein was already setting in train the events which led to the unification of Germany The new Europe, which Bismarck created, enforced a reconsideration of the principles upon which hitherto the foreign department of *The Times* had been organized Indeed, after the Crimean War, the principles of journalistic practice as a whole had undergone great and lasting changes

XIV

THE NEW JOURNALISM

WHEN the law imposing the penny fiscal stamp ceased to operate on June 30, 1855, there occurred two revolutionary changes in the news trade. First of all, new dailies were established where they had never been published before Provincial daily papers made their first regular¹ appearance in the same June, 1855, at Manchester (the *Guardian*, hitherto a weekly, founded May 5, 1821), Liverpool (*Post*), Sheffield (*Telegraph*), Birmingham (*Mercury*), and Edinburgh (*Scotsman*), to mention only a few centries. Forthwith the London dailies found themselves in competition with new journals which, if they were inferior in talent, were supported by a very vigorous local patriotism and, as a previous chapter has shown, helped against *The Times* by the high postage rate. For the new country journals to compete successfully with the powerful metropolitan Press unquestionably demanded great resources. At first it was natural for them to follow the style of the journal with the largest circulation in town and country—namely, *The Times*—but the attempt ran them into difficulty. Mowbray Morris, writing to his agent in Manchester, put his finger on the source of the trouble “There is no reason why a daily newspaper should not be published for one penny with a moderate profit,”² but, he wrote, “it is impossible to produce a first-class paper at that price.” The country at length saw the wisdom of abstaining from such an attempt. Nor in 1855 was there any effort made by the sponsors of the penny Press in London to produce a first-class paper in Morris’s sense of the word. London’s effort was to produce a cheap paper at a cheap price, and it was a rapid success.

This, the second revolutionary change which followed the repeal of 1855, *i.e.*, the establishment of the metropolitan cheap Press,

¹ There had been penny provincial papers of irregular appearance during the Crimean War—*e.g.*, the *Manchester Examiner Extraordinary* (four days a week from October, 1854). This paper was renamed the *Manchester Daily Times* on and from December 12, 1854.

² Morris to W. P. Stokes, January 4, 1858.

THE PENNY DAILY TELEGRAPH

originated in the enterprise of Colonel Sleigh. With his preparations made some weeks before the repeal, Sleigh brought out the first number of the *Daily Telegraph and Courier* on June 29. It was a four-page paper and sold for 2d. In appearance it was noticeably lighter than the familiar London morning newspaper and the type a little larger. After a month the *Daily Telegraph and Courier* found itself in difficulties and changed its printer. Within a few weeks the paper was in debt, principally to the new printer, Levy. Finally, Joseph Moses Levy, the printer and already editor-proprietor of the *Sunday Times*, recouped himself by buying the daily paper. On September 16, 1855, Levy, anticipating by six months the activities of the friends of Bright and Cobden, gave London its first morning paper at the sensational price of 1d. Its success, from the circulation standpoint, was instantaneous. A few days after the reduction the *Daily Telegraph* (the sub-title, *Courier*, was dropped) printed the following notice:

THE Circulation of the *Daily Telegraph* EXCEEDS THAT OF ANY LONDON MORNING NEWSPAPER, with the exception of *The Times*. More than that, the Circulation of the *Daily Telegraph* is greater than any FOUR MORNING Newspapers all put together. As an ADVERTISING MEDIUM, the *Daily Telegraph* stands second only to *The Times*. This journal not only circulates with the million, but it is taken in the very highest circles. We will venture to assert that there is no one Daily Newspaper so universally read in London and all over the United Kingdom as the *Daily Telegraph*. It is to be found at the chief Club Houses and Hotels, at every Railway Station and Commercial place of resort, at every News-vendor and the corner of every street. The Banker, the Merchant, the Peer, the Member of Parliament, the Lords and the Commons, all now alike read the *Daily Telegraph*. One Advertisement in our columns will have a fairer chance of being seen by a greater number than if inserted in the crowded Supplement of a contemporary.

As the million read the *Daily Telegraph*, so it is one of the finest mediums in England to make the wants of Advertisers known to the million.

The paper was gradually lightened, for the new proprietor, Mr. Levy, had an admiring eye on James Gordon Bennett's *New York Herald*. The *Daily Telegraph*, which in its maturity was to reach a notably high standard of journalism, began that imitation by London newspapers of sensational New York journalism which, as was feared and prophesied in 1835 and 1855, has since gone far

THE NEW JOURNALISM

to destroy the English type of popular newspaper and periodical. The *New York Herald*, published at two cents, provided London's penny paper with a model more agreeable to the taste of the new penny public, as calculated by J. M. Levy, than *The Times* or any other London journal. Unlike the proprietors of the new provincial dailies, the owner of the *Daily Telegraph* determined to cater for what was known in contemporary slang as the "million." The penny paper's news was dramatized, its style was colloquial. It invented a new advertising method known as the "box" system, by which replies were sent to the newspaper office to be called for; it charged the uniquely low rate of one shilling for two lines of advertisement. Within a very short time the circulation of the *Daily Telegraph* gave the proprietor still further satisfaction :

All classes have now a journal which, dependent upon no Party, will support good and useful propositions, irrespective of their sponsors, and fearlessly expose all abuses, in whatever quarter they may be found. People will not now have to buy the day before yesterday's *Times* . . . they can have a first-class newspaper upon their breakfast table as well as the rich. The price of the *Daily Telegraph* places it within the reach of every man ; and London is at length to be upon an equality with New York. . . . We have every reason to be satisfied with the support we have received : our circulation, which already exceeds that of all of our daily contemporaries put together (*The Times* excepted), is every day increasing.

This was the situation, happy enough, of the *Daily Telegraph* in October, 1855. But, the proprietor predicted, "in a very short time the *Daily Telegraph* bids fair to have a larger circulation than any London daily paper ; it has already beaten all the others put together and now we have a fair start towards the circulation of *The Times*." Nevertheless, though by the end of the following January (1856) the *Daily Telegraph* could claim a daily sale of 27,000, the figure of *The Times* still remained constant and more than twice that of the *Telegraph*.

During these first years of its career the *Telegraph* office felt itself obliged to notice the shortcomings of Printing House Square —the "Old Gentleman," or "Poor Old Grandfather," though, on occasion, "our talented contemporary." On October 27, 1855, for instance, the penny paper wrote, apropos the controversy in America, that :

It has not been our custom hitherto to criticise the tone adopted by our great and powerful contemporary. There was a time, when to

A REAL RIVAL

have done so in the columns of the *Daily Telegraph* might have justly appeared presumptuous , but now, as our immense circulation justifies our having an important voice in the affairs of our country, we can no longer permit *The Times* to speak for the whole nation, as the exponent of its views *The Times* still stands first in point of circulation at the head of the London Morning Press , the *Daily Telegraph* is second only to *The Times* in that respect , and in that proud position in which the People have placed us, the influence of our voice shall no longer be wanting to check, when it becomes necessary, the dangerous dictation of a talented contemporary

The Times has no right to assume that we are on the eve of a rupture with the United States , neither has it any right to speak, on behalf of the English People, their sentiments upon a question, which should be approached with care, and touched upon with hesitancy.

On March 17, 1856, as another, and more radical, challenge to *The Times*, there came out the first issues of Cobden and Bright's penny papers, the *Morning Star* and the *Evening Star*. Naturally *The Times* was attacked in these as in the *Telegraph*. *The Times* was "part, and the principal part, of the monopolistic press " ; the *Stars* were a free Press, standing for the people, not for party. The second issue of the *Morning Star* claimed that the "' dull and dear ' old press of London has received a blow under which it staggers. It has not only been beaten in news but in sale. The people have shown that they appreciate a really good and cheap press." The fact in 1856 was that the *Telegraph* and the *Morning Star* were hurting the *Chronicle*, the *Herald*, and the *Post*. The penny papers, whatever they might do in the future, then differed too much from *The Times* to secure its readers.¹ The position, which the *Daily Telegraph* coveted, of second newspaper after *The Times* itself was effectively occupied by another journal unsuspected by *The Times* or the *Telegraph* or the *Star* of any such ambition.

The *Standard*, in the late 'sixties and 'seventies the most serious rival to *The Times*, had been an evening paper ever since 1821, when it was founded for the purpose of blocking Catholic Emancipation. But notwithstanding the political impulse given to it by the widely resented compact between Lord Melbourne and Daniel O'Connell, and the "No Popery" agitation under Lord John Russell, Protestantism suffered eclipse during the

¹ In October, 1856, Gladstone, always cool to *The Times*, had it that the *Star* was "really worth reading, as being better edited than any of them except *The Times*." (Privately Printed Correspondence of Lord Aberdeen)

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late 'fifties. In 1857 the paper was bought by James Johnstone, who on June 29 converted it from an evening to a morning paper. Thus there came into the "morning" group a paper which, in its own words, "consisting of Eight Full-sized pages, the same size as *The Times*," was designed to have the conventional appearance and style agreeable to Conservatives. As an evening paper the *Standard* had sold at 4d., as a morning paper from 1857 its price was 2d. The innovation had immediate effects. The circulation of *The Times* dropped 2,000 a day from July 1, and, although it slowly recovered to the normal post-Crimea average of 54,000 to 56,000, the paper became conscious of the existence of a rival. From the outset, too, the twopenny *Standard* planned to challenge the fourpenny *Times*. "It quits the ranks of the Evening journals and takes its place beside *The Times* and its contemporaries," announced its first leading article. The ability with which the twopenny *Standard* was conducted—Robert Cecil, later Lord Salisbury, was one of its leading-writers—constituted an undeniable threat to the supremacy of *The Times*. Even the *Daily Telegraph* considered the 2d. eight-page *Standard* to be a very desirable money's worth in comparison with its own four pages for 1d. It had also by this time to compete with Cobden's morning pennyworth. An enlargement of the *Daily Telegraph* by a lengthening of the column had been attempted on March 16, 1856, but reversion to the usual size took place on June 18. The proprietors described this as a temporary measure; but as it was known that the financial condition of the *Telegraph* was none too sound, interested circles expected the old size to continue for an unlimited period, and the proprietor of a competing journal meditated a rapid move.

Before Levy could effect any permanent enlargement of his paper, the *Telegraph* and the entire town and country trade was staggered by an announcement that the *Standard* was about to reduce its price to 1d. without any reduction in size. It did so on February 4, 1858. On May 29 the *Daily Telegraph*, though feeling a strain, was compelled to enlarge. The latter paper now claimed, with its new press room strengthened by one of the latest Hoe models printing eight pages at the rate of 15,000 an hour, an average circulation of 30,000—the figure reached by *The Times* in the year 1847. The *Standard* at a penny came not far short of this total. *The Times* began the year 1858 with 55,000 and ended with 50,000, and, unlike the general newspaper

trade, was not at first impressed with the *Standard's* unexpected move. *The Times*, with the vast majority of its readers, shared the view that cheap papers were, or would be, nasty papers. But the expected deterioration of the *Standard* did not make its appearance. The effect, therefore, of a well-edited Conservative penny journal of full size on the sales of *The Times* was bound to be serious.

Clearly the maintenance of *The Times* in the dominating position it had held for a generation was becoming rapidly more difficult. Indeed, Walter was soon forced to make decisions of the most critical kind; to deal with issues reaching farther than any that had thrust themselves upon the Chief Proprietor for many years. Not since 1804, when the young John Walter II determined to revive *The Times*, then failing, had the Chief Proprietor faced such a crisis as John Walter III saw approaching at this period. Confident as the office had been in 1854 and 1855 that any new Act would fail to affect the paper adversely, only three years after the repeal of the stamp the Chief Proprietor and the Manager were forced to realize that the penny Press in London and the provinces had to be accepted as a normal if unfamiliar trade condition. It was clear enough that the *Daily Telegraph*, catering as it did for the "million," affected *The Times* sales very little, if at all. It was unfortunately only too sure, however, that the *Standard* was successfully competing with *The Times* almost on its own level—and at a quarter the price. The Indian Mutiny assisted *The Times*, but days and weeks and months of a well-edited and well-produced penny *Standard* gradually brought down the sales of *The Times*. The remission in 1861 of the paper tax of 1½d. per lb provided it with the opportunity, which it eagerly took, to lower its town (unstamped) price from 4d. to 3d., and from October 1, the first day at the 3d. price, *The Times* regularly increased its sales, at the end of the year reaching the satisfactory figure of 65,000¹. As further reduction in the price of the *Standard* was impossible, the lowered price of *The Times* restored buoyancy to its own circulation.

But at this time the paper, in addition to the new risks arising from the development of an independent provincial journalism and a well-established penny Press in London, had to contend with a change of sentiment in certain classes of the educated

¹ For details of retail distribution of *The Times* and the premium added to the published price by all the railway bookstalls of the country see Chapter XVII, "Price Threepence."

THE NEW JOURNALISM

public. The very strength of the public position which *The Times* had secured for itself before 1855, when the tax was removed, added to the dangers of the new situation. It drew upon the paper not merely the natural and healthy competition of the newly founded metropolitan and country Press, and the familiar jealousy of politicians, but the honest criticism of intellectuals, writers, and publicists of the rising generation. Thus many among the new school of would-be directors of public opinion, whose attention was drawn to the enlarged opportunities in journalism created by the tax repeal, began their careers in a spirit of hostility to *The Times*, not so much because the paper was wrong but because it was strong. It was, in the words of Reeve's *Edinburgh* article,¹ "autocratic"; and read, as it was alleged, in a passive and believing spirit had reached an "extraordinary and dangerous eminence." This was not an uncommon estimate of the power of *The Times*. A striking example of the contemporary fear of the paper is provided by the *Saturday Review*, established in 1855. The Peelites who had bought the *Morning Chronicle* in 1848 from Easthope sold the paper, after six years of unsuccessful but certainly talented conduct. To compensate for their lost representation in the daily Press they determined on the establishment of a new type of weekly political, literary paper. On November 3, 1855, No 1 of the *Saturday Review* appeared, edited by John Douglas Cook, formerly of the *Chronicle*, and earlier still of *The Times*. The first leading article of the first issue, echoing Reeve's survey of the Press published in the previous month's *Edinburgh*, announced that "No apology is necessary for assuming that this country is ruled by *The Times*. We all know it, or, if we do not know it, we ought to know it. It is high time we began to realize the magnificent spectacle afforded by British freedom—thirty millions of *cives Romani* governed by a newspaper."²

¹ Cf. *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1855. "The *Times*, it is notorious, has reached this extraordinary and dangerous eminence . . . Sometimes it has rendered the most signal services by resolutely stemming the tide of popular frenzy and delusion; sometimes, we think, it has done vast mischief by echoing and encouraging the most ignorant prejudices of the people. But on all essential points of home policy at least it has usually been on the side of justice, freedom and popular improvement, and, right or wrong, its ability has been always wonderful, and its unflinching courage beyond all praise." For *The Times* comment on these words of "the great trimestrial critic . . . [whose writer we] imagine sitting at a study table with a blue book, a glass of water and a paper-knife" see the paper for October 15, 1855.

² Reeve's estimate of *The Times* was also accepted by Bear Ellice. "The *Times* has become omnipotent and despotic" (Ellice to J. Russell, December 15, 1855. See P.R.O., G & D. 22/13.) The *Saturday* article was written by George Stovin Venables, who himself joined *The Times* in the following year. He wrote from 1857-1882 the annual summary of events which the paper printed in its issues of December 31; also the sessional summary.

THE SATURDAY REVIEW ON THE TIMES

The *Saturday Review* proceeded to deal critically and consistently with the British Press, counselling newspaper readers to inform their minds as to political principles and facts, and to read leading and other articles by whomsoever written with independence and reserve. It was the old Radical cry, as old as Cobbett. *The Times*, according to its opponents, "ruled this country" in virtue of its vast circulation, size, and its popular audience. But after five years of competent provincial journalism, brilliant *Saturday* reviewing and metropolitan cheapness, the most sensitive forgot their fear of *The Times*. The paper's attitude towards the conduct of Britain's campaign in India after the Mutiny was held to balance what was considered its mischievous Crimean campaign. The most censorious critics found much to praise in *The Times* between 1855 and 1860. The *Saturday Review*, taking the opportunity offered by the appearance in the pages of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of an article by M. Prevost Paradol on the English Press, affirmed (January 16, 1858) that its own view and estimate "of that remarkable publication," *The Times*, did not differ from his. "In criticizing *The Times*, we are actuated by no hostility to a journal which we agree with M. Paradol in considering one of the marvels of modern civilization," wrote the *Reviewer*. To read the journal was an absolute necessity.

In undertaking the task of reviewing the events of the week, we cannot omit to criticize writings which are themselves events, and which, as each breakfast hour returns, exercise so enormous an influence on English opinion and English character. There may be telegrams, or speeches, or resolutions, or elections, or fifty other occasional occurrences; but the events which never fail are the leading articles of *The Times*.

For these reasons to criticize the journal was equally necessary. To the great English paper there must be added a safeguard. *The Times* should be subjected to the same unfettered discussion which it claimed as its own right.

M. Paradol may admire the wide stretch of the information, and the universality of the discussions in the great English paper, but it well becomes us at home—to whom its influence is not a theoretical study, but a practical fact—to reflect that the information may be often inaccurate, and the judgments, by their very universality, rash and inconsiderate. A powerful newspaper, like an absolute Government, is liable to all the inherent vices of despotism. It has a perpetual tendency to become violent, cruel, tyrannical, and unjust. The only

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check which can ever be safely brought to bear upon it is that which has been found the true safeguard against all other oppression—namely, opposing to it the barrier of an enlightened public opinion.

In thus attempting to place *The Times* and public opinion in opposition the writer was making the subtlest of all attacks upon the paper, and not without effect, even during Delane's period of Editorship

Thanks to the newly founded daily papers like the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Morning Star*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *Standard*, and the vigorous expression of opinion which they expressed and encouraged, the "despotism" for which *The Times* had been notorious since 1820 was scarcely noticed in 1860. Printing House Square had not altered, though the trade had undergone a complete transformation. The notion of "journalism" had also changed. There were plenty of new journalists as well as new journals; both were now respectable. "The young man," wrote Morley, "who towards 1860 found himself transported from Oxford in pursuit of a literary calling, had little choice but journalism." And, like Morley, who was editor of the *Morning Star* in 1869, many of the new recruits differed from the style as well as from the politics of *The Times*. The new men were less "Churchy." The title "Agnostic" was not conferred by Huxley until 1869, but the sect counted numerous members much earlier. Thus the opinions of *The Times* came to be more widely dissented from, if not by politicians, by intellectuals, of whom the agnostic Leslie Stephen is an outstanding example.¹ His carefully compiled pamphlet on *The Times* and the American Civil War was damaging to the paper's prestige among the rising generation of Liberals.

The keen excitement naturally caused by the Franco-German War made an excellent opportunity for *The Times* to conciliate critics, perhaps to repeat its Crimean successes; and with W. H. Russell at the front it showed full journalistic enterprise. Yet, as Morris admitted in a letter to Walter written during the first half of the campaign, he could not "help feeling that the *Daily News* has beaten us on several important occasions, both in speed & in quality. Altogether I fear we have not done well in this war."² Morris spurred on his team, and later *The Times* did fairly well.

¹ For Leslie Stephen's criticisms of the attitude of *The Times* towards the American Civil War see Chapter XVIII.

² Morris to Walter, September 24, 1870. (P.H.S. Papers, IV)

THE EFFECT OF COMPETITION

The sales had, indeed, climbed from 1862 to 1867 to an average of over 63,000 a day, but reverses were suffered from 1868 until the outbreak of war in the summer of 1870. *The Times* for September 5 of that year sold no fewer than 70,405, but, as Morris was aware, other journals had done better. The Franco-German War accelerated certain tendencies in the news trade, hardly obvious hitherto, by which *The Times*, despite increased sales and sustained reputation, lost rather than gained in comparative circulation. *The Telegraph* did well. *The Times* was first with the news of the capitulation of Paris, the investment of Mont Valérien, the terms of peace. The *Daily News*, which reduced its price from 3d. to 1d. on June 8, 1868, was making very rapid progress. With Archibald Forbes as its "own" correspondent at the front, and Henry Labouchere in besieged Paris, the paper that *The Times* had earlier called the "little Benjamin" soared to 150,000 a day. It was generally agreed that the honours rested with the *Daily News*.

To retain for *The Times* the dominating position in point of circulation which it had held so long was now seen to be not merely difficult but next to impossible, unless some new invention comparable to that of steam printing could halve the costs of production of the paper. For a solid fifty years *The Times* had increased its circulation day by day until in 1855, as has been seen in the chapter on "The Second 'War with *The Times*,'" it accounted for four or five times as many as all the other London newspapers added together. The *Morning Chronicle* (founded 1770), long under Perry the first journal of England, and for a generation a determined rival of *The Times*, ceased publication in 1862, being bought by the *Daily Telegraph*, and a few years later the *Morning Herald* (f. 1780) published its final issue. The remission of the paper-tax made all the difference to the exchequer of the *Telegraph*. Penny journalism had proved that its public was increasing with unexampled rapidity, and that the new papers with new names suited not only the pocket but the taste of the new public. The independence of the Press from hidden political influence and the increase in healthy competition brought into the service of the penny journals able writers whose ambition it was to be read. Edmund Yates and Justin M'Carthy, who wrote leaders and articles for the *Morning Star*, could not save this ultra-doctrinaire from extinction by its superior in enterprise. George Augustus Sala's amusing pen was at the regular call of the *Daily Telegraph*; Edwin Arnold wrote leaders for it from 1861; J. M. Le Sage

THE NEW JOURNALISM

joined the paper at about the same time Nor was the "new journalism," with its programme of dispensing entertainment as well as information and opinion, limited to the cheap Press A new afternoon paper came out on February 7, 1865—the *Pall Mall Gazette*, price 2d. It counted Trollope, Charles Kingsley, Matthew Arnold as regular literary contributors, with Leslie Stephen, J. A. Froude, and George Henry Lewes as political writers, all united to realize the wish once expressed by Thackeray for a journal "written by gentlemen for gentlemen"—he did not ask for agnosticism, though that was supplied by Professor Tyndall The success of the new evening paper quickened the taste for the "new journalism" among those who disliked the vulgarity, as they considered it, of the *Daily Telegraph* and the stiffness of the *Standard*. The discriminating reader of the class to which *The Times* looked for support had in the *Pall Mall* a journal conducted with great political and literary ability and written throughout in a light, easy-going modern style. During the Franco-German War its prestige increased. The writer of its "Notes on the War," signed "Z," was Friedrich Engels, introduced to the editor of the *Pall Mall* by Marx, who sent the first of the series on July 28 asking him to "return it at once in case he should not want it I shall no doubt get it then accepted by *The Times* or *Daily News*." Greenwood, the editor of the *Pall Mall*, pleased with the articles, was not sorry to have an opportunity to reprove *The Times* for plagiarizing "Z's" articles¹ After the peace had reduced the circulations of all the journals to normal the *Pall Mall* stood high.

After the war only *The Times* and the *Morning Post* remained in the original high-priced group which had confidently faced the abolition of the stamp in 1855 The *Post* had certain difficulties. Even before 1855 it had been short of money, and, as the *Daily Telegraph* was bought by its printer, so the *Morning Post* was bought by its paper-maker. Thomas B Crompton appointed Peter Borthwick as his editorial manager in 1850 when the paper was losing money regularly, selling on the average 2,500 copies per day. Algernon, Borthwick's son, who joined the paper as Paris correspondent in 1850 at the age of 19, acquired control on his father's death in 1852. The paper, always weak financially,

¹ But during the Franco-Austrian War Marx had to instruct Engels, then writing for a German newspaper: "Du musst Deine war-articles colour a little more, da Du fur a general newspaper schreibst, nicht fur eine wissenschaftlicher Militarzeitung Etwas mehr Descriptives und Individuelles ist ja leicht aus dem Times Korrespondent hereinzuwerfen" (Marx to Engels, 27.8.1859; Riazanow's edition, III², 394)

AN INTIMATE TRUST

was pleased to serve the interests of Lord Palmerston, and, side by side with Palmerston, the French connexions which Algernon Borthwick had made years before as Paris correspondent. The Palmerston connexion was well known, and the paper was not infrequently referred to as the representative of the French Embassy.¹ The *Morning Post* set out to capture the aristocratic interest with a strong anti-democratic tone.

Added to these new, keenly competitive conditions in the metropolis, the management of *The Times* was faced with the fruits of successful daily journalism in the provinces. Between 1855 and 1860 the electric telegraph had made it possible for all the country journals to receive through their new cooperative enterprise, the Press Association, telegraphed summaries of Continental news. In these circumstances the Chief Proprietor was forced to consider with the utmost care the character of the paper for whose future he was responsible. His father, John Walter II, always regarded *The Times* as a business undertaking, not as a literary man might, as an institution; not as his successors did, as a "tradition." Thomas Barnes identified himself with *The Times*, but he does not seem to have looked upon it otherwise than as a daily newspaper which he edited. Egoist as Barnes was, he assured Le Marchant that he had never been impressed with the idea of its "enormous power." Certainly John Walter II and Thomas Barnes could not but have taken an intense interest in what was so largely their creation, yet to neither was it a strictly personal interest. John Walter II had seen *The Times* develop under his hand and eye from a struggling sheet of small size and no reputation into the potent, vast and ubiquitous "Thunderer." And John Walter II viewed Printing House Square with considerable pride when he devised it to his son. But what was to John Walter II a business and to Thomas Barnes a professional charge was to John Walter III at first a heavy responsibility suddenly conferred, as the reader has seen in Chapter III, and within a few years an intimate trust—a supremely intimate trust. This was his attitude after as well as before the stamp-repeal changed the face of journalism.

Thus, eight or ten years after his appointment, John Walter III, still a young man with a rigid sense of private and professional duty, regarded the paper as a tremendous power, mighty for good, essential to the welfare of England. The third Walter's idea

¹ See Chapter VIII, "Journalism Defined."

THE NEW JOURNALISM

of *The Times* has been described in Chapter III. His idea of journalism was clearly set forth more than once in the paper itself. In 1847 a leading article said that the "staff and material" of a newspaper ought to be the "very best of their kind," and the writer claimed that "with a certain reserve common to all earthly employments" the service of such a paper as *The Times* required "absolute devotion." It was Walter's conscientious belief that to conduct his paper in this evangelical manner would merit a blessing. Notwithstanding, he did entertain towards it feelings of human pride, but there was yet to appear in his attitude anything corresponding to a "tradition." In the year of his succession to the sole management, in fact, within a week of his appointment, there was expressed in a leading article a sentiment towards the paper without parallel for self-consciousness during the period of Walter II or of Barnes: "We belong to the public," the paper printed in a leader on July 6, 1847, "we are proud to think that England is proud of its *Times* . . ." Eight years later *The Times* printed another leading article, bearing obvious marks of the Proprietor's authorization, which describes the paper as "the most signal example of useful enterprise in the Empire." The writer championed its "unexampled devotion and unsurpassed independence." Echoing a phrase of Barnes's, and thus witnessing to a sense of continuity if not of tradition, he reminded the country of the value to it of an organ that at any risk "thunders duty" into the ears of Ministers. More than one leading article during the 1855 stamp agitation urged that it was the wish of Englishmen to have the "best possible newspaper." Walter presumed that their wish and his wish were one and the same. A newspaper should contain as much news in as full, as correct and as expeditious a manner as possible; ample and exact Parliamentary and other reports with the leading articles, theatrical notices, and other original parts of the paper done, as a leading article put it, "with as much life, spirit, classical taste as could be got for love or money." This may or may not have been "journalism," but it was Walter's idea of *The Times*. The definition was original; it became traditional in the office of *The Times* later by his own insistence.

Characteristically John Walter III reminded the public that the honest and independent carrying out of this task cost money, and a great deal else. He saw it, as an earnest Victorian Christian would, as a good work requiring a high degree of personal

WALTER'S PRINCIPLES

consecration The paper's own words were that "It costs a devotion, an absorption of interest and an application of strength and time which very few are found to give to any object whatever." Again, "the unseen labour of those concerned in the chief conduct and production of a leading journal" was compared favourably with that of heroes, saints and martyrs Walter was here thinking of Delane and other members of the editorial company But this "absorption" was also the quality of the Chief Proprietor's own service to *The Times* Such a Proprietor, determined to retain the leading position by the exercise of the strictest virtue and the maintenance of the highest standards, would inevitably decline competition with the penny Press as he first heard of it in the form of the *Daily Telegraph* in 1855, secondly in the *Standard* and *Daily News* in 1858, or with the twopenny *Pall Mall Gazette*. Never, during the later tenure of his stewardship, did Walter modify his view that, costs being what they were, to change the price of *The Times* must compel a change in its character and a consequent permanent lowering of its aims It was his duty, he believed, to keep the character of *The Times*, rather than to seek the "Largest Circulation in the World" clamoured for and at length justly claimed by the *Daily Telegraph*. It was better to be overtaken by a very different paper than to win the race by divesting *The Times* of all that made it *The Times*. It was important, too, that *The Times*, in the new circumstances, was not doing badly between 1855 and 1865. For these reasons, therefore, John Walter III had to inquire what it was that gave the paper significance, what, in fact, there was about *The Times* that ought to be preserved The establishment of the "tradition of *The Times*" as received and respected by Printing House Square in the next generation began when Walter slowly but surely made up his mind to disregard the new journalism and the new price. It took him some fifteen years to come to the conviction, later maintained as the "tradition," that a copy of *The Times* not worth threepence in 1861 was not worth producing; at least by himself or by his staff—men giving their "absolute devotion" in the effort to make a newspaper fit to be read by a serious, intelligent and discriminating English gentleman.

Hence, as Walter saw it, *The Times* could make no sort of compromise with the new journalism or the new price. Although the newspapers published in London at the price of one penny were daily delivered to Bear Wood, they were

THE NEW JOURNALISM

never read by the Chief Proprietor, and not always by his family. It is believed in Printing House Square that at no time during his life did the Chief Proprietor of *The Times* ever open a copy of the *Daily Telegraph* or the *Daily News*.

Thus John Walter preserved the inclusive character of *The Times* and the consequent vastness of its broadsheet. The paper's character was fixed by John Walter's conception of what, in the way of a newspaper, was due to an educated Englishman and its price was regulated by the cost of production. But to sell *The Times* at threepence was a problem which taxed all the resources of newspaper management. Not until this was done and all thought set aside of selling it at twopence was the "tradition" within measure of consolidation. In the meantime the news trade as a whole benefited by the increased public demand stimulated by striking events.

XV

THE INDIAN MUTINY

ON May 10, 1857, the sepoys at Meerut mutinied against their English officers. The Bengal Army had for some months shown a restless spirit, which had given anxiety to the authorities, and *The Times* was early aware that all was not well, for during the winter of 1856-57 its correspondent in Calcutta was Cecil Beadon, Home Secretary to the Government of India. Beadon acted in this capacity as a temporary arrangement during the leave of the regular correspondent.¹ His doing so was a closely guarded secret, since servants of the East India Company were forbidden to contribute to the Press.

In the meantime Lord Palmerston had involved Great Britain in a war in China. On January 8, 1857, the Calcutta correspondent protested against the withdrawal of European troops from India for service farther East. Nevertheless, neither he nor *The Times* then took a serious view of the situation; indeed, Beadon became the most optimistic of the complacent authorities at Calcutta, and has been severely blamed by historians for tardiness in recognizing the gravity of the situation. But Delane felt some qualms, if not amounting to anxiety, about the growing restlessness of the Indian troops. On April 14 he wrote from Bear Wood to Dasent: "Of course, you will make Woodham write about the Indian news. It *looks* nasty but I can't believe there is anything to be frightened about." Next day a leading article urged the need for maintaining a sufficient force of European troops on the India establishments, but the general tone of the paper was deliberately reassuring. On the 28th came news from the Calcutta correspondent that the 19th Infantry Regiment was to be disbanded; but, he added,

¹ Normally *The Times* maintained two correspondents in India: James Standen at Bombay and Meredith Townsend at Calcutta. The latter, editor of the *Friend of India* since 1852 and correspondent to *The Times* since 1854, returned to England in 1856 to pass the winter at home. In 1860 he became owner and editor of the *Spectator*, taking R. H. Hutton into partnership in 1861.

THE INDIAN MUTINY

"the empire is in no danger. There is, so far as we know, no real disaffection among the great body of the army."

On June 27 there arrived news of the massacre at Delhi. *The Times* now recognized that "this" mutiny has assumed a serious character," and demanded the dispatch to India of "the most competent officer who can be found, and an entire revision of our English military system." On July 11 Palmerston, immediately after a Cabinet meeting, informed Delane of the decision to send Sir Colin Campbell as Commander-in-Chief; two days later the paper expressed approval of the appointment, but leading articles of the succeeding days continued to show grave concern for the secretiveness of the Government and for the apparent slowness with which reinforcements were being transported to India. However, dispatches from Beadon dissipated fears that the military rising might lead to an insurrection of the civil population and *The Times* felt less anxious. The mutiny was a military affair and "nothing more", reinforcements were pouring in, the Government at home acting "with an energy equal to the occasion." (August 3, 1857)

In marked contrast, therefore, with its elaborate arrangements for correspondence from the Crimea, *The Times* did not attempt to secure an official representative with the Indian Army. The paper did not lack news on this account, as the national habit of "writing to *The Times*" was so widespread that innumerable officers indulged it even under the most arduous conditions of active service. Observers at home also overwhelmed the paper with opinion and comment upon every aspect of the campaign.¹ Sir Charles Trevelyan, the famous Civil servant, wrote a series of very long letters under the pseudonym "Indophilus."² By the autumn of 1857 Englishmen recognized that the Mutiny was a terrible threat to the Empire. In July *The Times* held that operations in India would have to be on the scale of a major war, although even then the paper felt that a display of force would be sufficiently impressive and the mutineers would offer no really serious resistance. But at the beginning of September Delane informed Dasent that he would not go on his holiday until Indian affairs improved. On the 30th, following the receipt of a dispatch from the Government of India acknowledging that

¹ The public, wrote Delane to Dasent, was "better pleased at telling its own Indian tales in innumerable letters than in reading anything we can supply"

² Granville recommended them to the attention of Lord Canning, the Governor-General.

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LATEST INTELLIGENCE.

(BY SUBMARINE AND BRITISH TELEGRAPH.)

INDIA AND CHINA.

The steamer *America* arrived at noon on the 26th of June at Trieste, in 121 hours from Alexandria.

ALEXANDRIA, JUNE 21.

The *Vectis*, with the Marseilles mail, left yesterday evening.

The dates from India are—Bombay, May 27; Calcutta, May 18; Madras, May 25.

The mutiny in the Bengal army had spread in a most alarming manner from Meerut.

The 11th and 20th Native Infantry had united with the 3d Light Cavalry in open revolt; after some bloodshed they had been dispersed by European troops, but they fled to Delhi, where they were joined by the 38th, 54th, and 74th Native Infantry.

Delhi was in possession of the mutineers, who had massacred almost all the Europeans without regard to age or sex, plundered the bank, and proclaimed the son of the late Mogul Emperor as king.

Disturbances had also broken out at Ferozepore, but had been suppressed.

The Rajah of Gwalior had placed his troops at the disposal of the British Government.

Government was taking active measures to suppress the revolt, and was concentrating troops around Delhi.

The 34th Native Infantry was disbanded on the 7th.

The Nizam of the Deccan died on the 19th.

At Bombay the money-market was much higher, and the banks had raised their rates of interest.

The transactions in the import market were very limited. Exchange, 2s. 1½d.

At Calcutta there was no particular change in either exports or imports. Government securities had advanced. Exchange, 2s. 0½d. to 2s. 0¾d.

FIRST NEWS OF THE INDIAN MUTINY

From *The Times* of June 27, 1857.

CROMWELLIAN THEORISTS

the situation was menacing, the paper solemnly warned readers to make up their minds to the "probability of fresh disasters."

Despite his forebodings, Delane did not postpone his holiday beyond October 3, when he left London for a month. During his absence Dasent was confronted with a crisis beyond his abilities. The "fresh disasters" predicted by *The Times* came in swift succession. Massacres at Meerut, Cawnpore and Delhi aroused feelings of mingled fear and horror among Europeans in India, and their cry for vengeance was echoed by the British public. In these circumstances Lord Canning, the Governor-General, made his proclamation promising clemency to mutineers who submitted, and was met by a howl of rage from the advocates of revenge in India and at home. Thereupon a situation arose in Printing House Square which illustrates what sometimes could happen there when the masterful hand of Delane was not in full control. The last leading article edited by him before his departure had been in defence of Canning (who owed his appointment to Palmerston) against Anglo-Indian criticism. Delane, though by no means immune from the prevailing emotions, was kept from indiscriminate revengefulness by his contact with the Government. Morris, whose opinions were of importance since he was the immediate authority over the correspondents, preserved a judicial calm throughout the crisis. Both he and Delane had exerted themselves to restrain their correspondents, who were typical Anglo-Indians.¹ Writing to Wylie, who had succeeded Beadon as Townsend's substitute, Morris had remonstrated:

Your views, . . . you must allow me to say, are extreme. . . . Perhaps I do you injustice, and do not make sufficient allowance for the feelings of an almost spectator, we at home being so far off as hardly to come within the range of enthusiasm. I try to make allowances for all this—and still you appear to me a little ultra. That the mutineers should be signally punished, blown from guns, bayonet, hung—anything you please—all this is of course—but afterwards—that is the real difficulty.²

But Dasent, in charge of *The Times* when Canning's proclamation was made, seems to have conceived that the condi-

¹ W. H. Russell described Townsend as "the mad little Cromwellian theorist."

² Morris to M. Wylie, September 10, 1857. (P.H.S. Papers, M.8/4.) Wylie later complained to Layard (April 22, 1858). "I write to you because I have reason to believe that *The Times* has suppressed and will go on suppressing important truth." (Layard Papers, B.M., MSS Addl 38986/75)

THE INDIAN MUTINY

tions had changed. He had neither the intuition nor the tutoring of his Chief in diplomacy, nor did he share the numerous and intimate connexions with responsible public men enjoyed by Delane. He fell promptly into line with popular feeling. In August the paper had been satisfied to demand "ample vengeance", in October, under Dasent, it asserted that "Every tree and gable-end in the place should have its burden in the shape of a mutineer's carcase. . . . But between justice and these wretches steps in a prim philanthropist from Calcutta" (October 29, 1857.) "The prim philanthropist" was J P. Grant, who had been sent to Cawnpore to insist upon the observance of Canning's proclamation. Nor did *The Times* refrain from attacking the Governor-General himself: "We do not go along with the Calcutta Government in its absurd attempts to hamper the military commanders in the execution of justice upon the mutineer." (October 24.)

The attacks upon Canning perturbed the Government and gave particular anxiety to Granville, the Governor-General's most intimate friend. The Minister remonstrated in a letter to Delane against the "extreme folly and nonsense of the attack" upon Canning.¹ Delane, on holiday, perhaps never received this letter, at any rate he did not reply. At his return he found *The Times* still in full cry after Canning with both Granville and Clarendon waiting to correct the Editor. The intention of Granville is clear. "I am doing now with Delane and *The Times*," he later informed Canning, "what I have always been unjustly accused of doing, but if it is in the slightest degree useful, I shall not mind."² His immediate object was to secure an adequate report of a Mansion House dinner speech, in which he intended to reply to some of the charges against Canning. On November 3 he wrote to Delane

I hope you understand that I never thought of suggesting to you to take any course which you did not think was right, and in accordance with public opinion. I am much obliged to you for the friendly and judicious manner in which you have generally supported Canning.

It is rather a singular co-incidence that I annually think *The Times* goes a little out of its mind, and then find that you are on a lark away from home.

¹ Fitzmaurice, I, p 361.

² Granville to Canning, November 16, 1857. (P R O , G and D. 29/21)

DELANE'S BROTHER IN INDIA

I dine with the Lord Mayor tomorrow If I have to speak I shall take an opportunity of stating some facts which have not been rightly understood about Canning. I should be glad to be correctly reported.

I shall not mind your pitching into me, if you think I require it¹

Delane, for his part, saw himself in a difficult position, for Clarendon was associated with Granville in defending Canning. *The Times* was at that time enjoying an absolute priority in Foreign Office communications over all other papers. Clarendon, encouraged by Granville, had a "serious conversation" with him on the subject immediately upon the Editor's return to town.² On November 5, *The Times* accepted, though with qualification, Granville's defence of Canning, although "it is evident that Lord Granville has hardly more information on the subject than ourselves, and as plain that his own feelings lead him to censure the acts which have moved the indignation of the public."

Granville told Delane that the attacks upon Canning were due to his absence; but both he and Clarendon made suspicious guesses that there was a personal reason. It was well known that Delane had a brother in the Governor-General's Bodyguard. Captain George Delane shared the opinions current in the Anglo-Indian society of Calcutta. In letters to his brother at Printing House Square, however, he regularly praised Canning before passing on to remark that he had nothing to thank him for. Some of these letters were shown by the Editor to Granville, who retailed them to Canning. As early as September, Granville advised his friend to do something for George Delane, who, he understood, wanted the command of the Bodyguard. "It may seem shabby but I have no doubt, if you can conscientiously do it, it is as well to have *The Times* on your side."³

In fact, Canning did nothing for Captain Delane, and the ignored request and subsequent attacks in *The Times* were interpreted by Granville as cause and effect. He therefore urged Canning to be less squeamish: "I trust you have not been so stupid as to neglect my advice about D's brother."⁴ Fresh from his interview with Delane, Clarendon took the same line:

¹ Granville to Delane, November 3, 1857. (P.H.S. Papers, D. 8/62)

² Fitzmaurice, I, p. 264.

³ Granville to Canning, September 9, 1857 (P.R.O., G and D. 29/21.)

⁴ Granville to Canning, November 9, 1857. (P.R.O., G. and D. 29/21.)

THE INDIAN MUTINY

Downing Street,
Nov. 9/57

My Dear G,

If you write to Canning tomorrow do tell him to promote or to provide for Delane's Brother—it is very unwise of him if he has not done so already—

If the man is at all fit for it C. shd take him more or less into his confidence as his reports must have weight with *The Times*

Yrs s'ly.

C.1

This official view of cause and effect was purely speculative. That the attacks on Canning by *The Times* during the acting editorship of Dasent and that the blunting of criticism on Delane's return to the office followed a promise to change the fortunes of his brother in India might seem to Clarendon a permissible guess. But history is destructive of that notion.

In spite of Granville's second urgent request to the Governor-General, Canning did nothing immediately. His evidently reluctant statement that he would promote Captain Delane was not written until December 11. *The Times* came round to the support of the Governor-General within a week of the Mansion House speech and the Clarendon interview. The dates are important; so also is the absolving of Delane by Granville in a letter written to Canning on November 10, in which the blame is put upon Dasent's political inconstancy: "You see how dexterously and how self-complacently Delane is extricating *The Times* from the false position as regards you into which Dasent had put it."² After balancing praise and blame, the paper came out on that day with a straightforward tribute to Canning, who "at least, has the confidence of the Government, and those who are responsible for the event may be fairly left to deal with the agent." *The Times*, in fact, found a scapegoat in Grant, who became the object of severe stricture.³

Clarendon, writing to Palmerston on November 4, attributed the attacks on Canning in England to resentment at his censor-

¹ Enclosed in Granville to Canning, November 10, 1857 (*Ibid*)

² Fitzmaurice, I, pp 264-5

³ In transmitting to Lord Granville some descriptions of atrocities at Cawnpore, Delane wrote: "Such scenes would inflame the fury of any man except Mr J P Grant, who would attribute all he saw to the licentiousness of the English women and only lament that the Sepoys should have been unable to resist such temptation" (November 9, 1857, P.R.O., G and D 29/23.)

A CORRESPONDENT DISOWNED

ship of the Indian Press. Such an explanation seems hardly necessary, but a contributory cause may be that during the absence of Delane there had been no news giving the Indian Government's point of view. The mail arriving on July 8 had brought no message from Beadon, whose communications apparently ceased altogether at that date. Morris heard in July from Townsend that he was about to return to India, and replied expressing great pleasure at the intimation, but during the crucial period of the proclamation no letters at all were coming from Calcutta, and the narrative of the progress of the Mutiny depended upon Standen at Bombay, remote from Government influence. The correspondence from Calcutta was at last resumed on November 16 with a letter from Meredith Townsend, very hostile in tone to Canning's Administration. By this time, however, *The Times* had returned to its friendly attitude to Canning, and a leading article of November 17 practically disowned the Calcutta correspondent. Drawing attention to the difference in tone between the dispatches from Calcutta and Bombay, it attributed the gloom of the former to the dissatisfaction of Calcutta Europeans with the censorship of the Press.¹ "Under these circumstances the public at home will receive with considerable hesitation the uncompromising denunciations of the Indian Government arriving from Calcutta."

These reservations on the subject of the Calcutta letter were directly due to Granville. Delane submitted it to him before publication, and received a detailed criticism of it. Granville wrote on November 15, 1857 :

The ability and moderation of your correspondent's letter make it ten times more dangerous for Canning than the violent and lying tirades of the *Daily News*. I do not wish to influence you in a matter of great importance, but pray remember that you wield an immense power, and that the difference of a few words in your remarks will make the whole difference not only to Canning's reputation but to his authority in a most critical moment.²

An effective campaign in favour of Canning and moderation was impossible without some addition to the staff of corre-

¹ "Why do you find fault with *The Times* for not opposing your Press Act with greater force? The news of the act came here whilst you were in England, and you told me in this room you thought our remarks were just and reasonable. . . . If you have changed your mind, you ought not to blame us for not changing ours. Our consistency is not so very remarkable that we can afford to bear reproach for it." Morris to Townsend, January 9, 1858 (P.H.S. Papers)

² P.H.S. Papers, D. 8/64

THE INDIAN MUTINY

spondents in India. In the middle of November, therefore, it was decided to send W. H. Russell. His commission in the first place was to inquire into the reports of atrocities, and as a newcomer untainted by Anglo-Indian opinion to describe the situation; there was also the possibility that he might be called upon to exercise his skill as a war correspondent. The latter object, however, was quite secondary; Delane even then had hardly realized that further military operations of importance were to be expected, and *The Times* of November 12, commenting on the first¹ relief of Lucknow, announced that "it may now, indeed, be said that the Indian mutiny is at an end." The status of Russell in official estimation was very different from what it had been in 1854, for he was now recognized as a power to be propitiated. Lord Granville eagerly seized another opportunity to secure a spokesman for Canning on the staff of *The Times*. On November 16 Delane informed him of the decision to send Russell, and added: "I shall be very glad if you would see him before he goes and especially if you would accredit him to Lord Canning so that he might take his first impressions from a friendly instead of from hostile sources."² Forwarding this letter to the Governor-General, Granville declared: "I have told Delane that R. will find you ready to give him all the information you can . . . you would be a born idiot not to be tolerably open, and decently civil to R."

Granville took the step of inviting Russell to dinner prior to his departure, and was even prepared to honour him with a complimentary send-off. Other Ministers had misgivings. Clarendon, for example, wrote to Cowley on November 20, 1857³:

I dine with Granville to meet Delane and Russell, for the latter is going out to India as *The Times* correspondent, and G. thinks it useful for him to start with good impressions and a good *entrée* in his mouth. But imagine all the mischief in store for us from that fellow, who of course will want a second crop of Crimean laurels grown upon the ruins of everybody's reputation.

At the last minute Russell was prevented by the illness of his wife from attending the dinner. But Granville saw him on December 8, when he begged him not to be offended by Canning's stiff and cold manner. Delayed by various causes, Russell finally

¹ I.e., the relief by Havelock and Outram, who were themselves besieged in the city until the final relief by Sir Colin Campbell on November 23, 1857

² Delane to Granville, November 16, 1857. (P R O , G and D. 29/21)

³ Maxwell, *Life of Clarendon*, II, p. 158

RUSSELL IN LUCKNOW

set off on December 26. Shortly after his departure Morris instructed him that

As Delane prepared you for certain disagreeable peculiarities in Canning's manner, you will have made allowance for them. My own opinion of the Governor is that he is not a man of sufficient originality or force of character to reorganise India after so severe a shock, and in spite of the support of *The Times*, he will I believe be forced to give way to a better man¹

On reaching Calcutta, Russell was duly received by the Governor-General, who sent him with an introduction to the Commander-in-Chief at Cawnpore. Sir Colin Campbell cordially welcomed him, saying : "Now, Mr. Russell, I'll be candid with you. We shall make a compact. You shall know everything that is going on. You shall know all my reports and get every information that I have myself, on the condition that you do not mention it in camp or let it be known in any way, except in your letters to England "² The conditions were radically different from those of the Crimea. Publication in England of every detail could do no harm, for the mutineers were not in telegraphic communication with Europe. Russell lived on cordial terms with Campbell, and his relations with Outram were especially warm. He also had gratifying evidence that the rank and file of the Army had not forgotten their debt to him.

With much greater advantages than he had enjoyed in the Crimea, Russell fully maintained his reputation as chronicler of the military operations. He accompanied Campbell on the famous night march for the final capture of Lucknow, and sent home a greatly admired account. Delane, writing on May 8, 1858, was enthusiastic over his achievements :

I have nothing but to congratulate you on the perfect success with which you have sustained your fame. I feel myself, and hear everybody saying, that we are at last beginning to learn something about India, which was always before a mystery—as far removed from our sight and which it was as impossible to comprehend as the fixed stars. The public feeling has righted itself more promptly than was to be expected, and we had before the recess a debate in which the most humane instead of the most bloodthirsty sentiments were uttered. The key to the savage spirit was the "atrocities," and these seem to have resolved themselves into simple massacre.

¹ Morris to Russell, January 9, 1858. (P.H.S., M. 8/366.)

² Atkins, I, p. 286.

THE INDIAN MUTINY

Praise which now almost seems extravagant came from usually hostile sources. The *Saturday Review*, from its foundation a severe critic of *The Times*, thus described its correspondent's quality : "Mr. Russell's Indian letters display the vivid genius of Froissart, without the gossipping credulity which naturally belong to the fourteenth century."¹ Indeed, to expose the credulity of others was one of the objects of Russell's expedition, and his success was striking. Excellent though the literary quality of his communications may have been, he aimed at and, as Delane's letter indicates, secured a change in public opinion. Horrible tales of rape and mutilation were current and, being believed, aroused frenzied demands for indiscriminate slaughter.² Indisputable evidence for massacres there was, of course, but Russell could find nothing to substantiate the more gruesome details. His correspondence therefore had a powerful influence in bringing the British public to sanity. Its force was felt even in India, and he wrote to Delane on January 20, 1859 :

My letters have produced a most material effect on the tone of the Indian Press, and as to Society, though I undergo a good deal of quizzing, it is more than compensated when I hear one man threaten to break every bone in his bearer's skin held in check by the half serious, half-joking remonstrance, "You had better not, or you will have *The Times* down on you."³

On October 9, 1858, the *Saturday Review* took "Mr. Russell's Letters on India" as the title of an article upon necessary reforms :

It would be difficult to set too high a value on Mr. Russell's letters to *The Times* from India. They have been the means of preserving English public opinion from dangerous and disgraceful error. When Mr. Russell went out to the East, the correspondence from India was in the point of falling entirely into the hands of persons connected with the Calcutta press, whose bloody theories and calumnious misrepresentations were fast becoming part of the current coin of conversation.⁴ His letters soon did justice to this monstrous view of India. Thanks to him we know the truth as to Lord Canning and Lord Clyde, and, what is of infinitely greater importance, we are thoroughly on our guard against Anglo-Indian terrorism.

¹ The *Saturday Review*, September 18, 1858.

² Even a former President of the Board of Control (Lord Broughton) could write to Lane that to the "maudlin mercies of some folks" he vastly preferred "a discourse livered by our Archdeacon here who reminded his audience, that the God of the Jews commanded the indiscriminate slaughter of the Amalekites etc" (Letter of February 5 58, P H S Papers, D. 9/21)

³ Atkins, I, p. 360

⁴ It will be remembered that Meredith Townsend was editor of the *Friend of India*.

REFOUNDING AN EMPIRE

Russell's correspondence, naturally given a due position and space in the paper, played a greater part in moulding the opinion of the public than contemporary leading articles written either to praise or blame the Government of India. A significant journalistic change was in course of development. While in the forties even special foreign correspondence was regarded from the editorial point of view as optional material for the leader-writer, the function of the leading article in late Mutiny times seemed to be to support Russell and his recommendations rather than to use him. Thus Delane marshalled his leader-writers in support, and told the special correspondent on July 8, 1858 : " You will have seen, I hope, how I have backed every one of your suggestions by leading articles "¹ Enemies of *The Times* nevertheless asserted that the Editor garbled or suppressed the communications of its correspondent, but the charge was never substantiated ; indeed, one distinguished critic, John Bright, apologized for having made the accusation in a letter, which John Walter advised Delane to preserve in his archives.²

The settlement of the Indian troubles without recourse to reprisals, which would rankle for ever, was a high Imperial purpose and one which Russell and *The Times* served with eminent success. The interior of India might have held the secret of many harsh tyrannies if Russell had not exposed, and thereby prevented, the deeds of subordinate officials whose " acts " (in Russell's published words) " resemble the manifestations of vindictiveness and fright rather than those of justice and punishment." By giving the names of such officials to the world, *The Times* used its power to refound the Indian Empire upon a new and humarer basis. Delane had not failed to benefit from the new connexion with Palmerston.

¹ Atkins, I, p. 335.

² Bright wrote that he regretted " very much if anything I said in conversation on the subject . . . has given you any annoyance. It is but candid to say that many persons knowing the regularity of your correspondence, and observing the remarkable tenacity with which *The Times* clings to the fortunes of Lord Palmerston, have come to a suspicion, if not to a conclusion upon this matter the reverse of that which you or I would wish to prevail in connexion with it " (Letter of May 27, 1858 ; P.H.S. Papers, D. 9/46)

XVI

FOR PALMERSTON

LORD PALMERSTON was approaching his seventy-second birthday when, in the autumn of 1855, he was reconciled with *The Times*. Few could then have foreseen that he still had years of active political life before him; indeed, even in 1852 *The Times* had believed his career virtually over. Nevertheless, when Delane met Palmerston at Sir William Molesworth's dinner table, the Prime Minister was on the threshold of ten years' almost continuous government. This was the circumstance which rendered the negotiations of 1855 so much more important than Delane, or anybody else, could have predicted. In the event, the reconciliation effected by these negotiations produced an alliance with *The Times* which lasted for a decade.

Palmerston was a popular statesman throughout the greater part of his last ten years. The *Telegraph*, making no headway as a pacific Cobdenite organ, changed its tune and became explicitly a supporter of the Prime Minister. Palmerston, vigorous in his foreign policy, hostile in questions of Parliamentary reform and a bulwark against change, was especially popular with the salaried classes. During the Crimean War, Delane also championed the claims of the middle classes—and to such an extent that London clubmen accused him of working for “revolution.” Nevertheless, “middle class” had for him a narrow meaning, and, against the social movement which meant politically an extended suffrage and journalistically the penny Press, the Editor stood shoulder to shoulder with Lord Palmerston.

A small incident which occurred in 1856 indicated that Delane was nearer than Palmerston to the commercial classes of England. When Sir William Temple, the Prime Minister's brother, died, *The Times* published an article on the Diplomatic Service, accusing it of ignorance of mercantile affairs and detachment from the

MEETINGS WITH DELANE

interests of the British public. Replying to a complaint of Palmerston's, the Editor wrote (September 6, 1856) :

I know the diplomatic body has the advantage of your earnest support, and how presumptuous it is in me to hold a contrary opinion, but if left to the results of my observation I should desire to see an end of the *profession* of diplomacy, and men taken indifferently from either House advanced to the principal missions, and returning to fill other employments at home.

Between 1855 and 1865 Delane's relations with Palmerston, while much like those he had had with Aberdeen at an earlier date, were different in character, particularly in Palmerston's method of influencing and counselling Delane. Although Aberdeen had been in frequent and intimate contact with the Editor, their intercourse had been rather more strictly professional than personal. Aberdeen, whom Delane was wont to describe as "the old gentleman," was somewhat stiff in manner, though genuinely cordial even when *The Times* did not follow his lead. It had been Aberdeen's custom to outline policy, to convey information and give Delane guidance in long and detailed letters which could be adapted for use in leading articles. Palmerston occasionally also wrote at length, but the majority of his communications were brief statements of the general line of his policy ; he preferred to discuss details with Delane in personal interviews. He never attempted to insert leading articles in *The Times*, as in earlier days he had written for the *Globe* and the *Morning Chronicle*. Examples of words and sentences echoed from his letters, such as are to be found when Aberdeen was Delane's mentor, do not occur.

The degree of importance Palmerston attached to the support of *The Times* was high. Other statesmen when Delane was away might ignore the necessity of keeping in touch with Dasent. Palmerston made no such mistake ; though he did not maintain intimacy with the Assistant Editor, he communicated with him and saw him when necessary. Moreover, in November, 1856, Walter advised Dasent to be guided "by what you can gather from P—n's conversation and manner." Again, when the statesman outlined the policy proposed for the Peace Conference of 1856, Walter enthusiastically declared that his letter was "as good a text as we could require, and represents the true policy of this country."

FOR PALMERSTON

In Palmerston's first Ministry (1855-58) Clarendon was Foreign Secretary. Though not privy to Delane's negotiations with his chief and, indeed, offended by the paper's Crimean policy, he knew too well the power Delane wielded to remain unfriendly.¹ During the Peace Conference, both directly and through Reeve, he kept Delane informed of events; when he returned to England they remained in frequent correspondence. He seems to have felt a need almost to excuse himself when other papers shared any advantage. In 1857 he wrote to Delane:

The newspapers have been ungrateful and unreasonable and I found I shd have no peace unless each had a copy of the telegrams, so a *manifold writer* must be employed for those that arrive after office hours, but whether they come by night or by day, I have ordered that they shall always go *first to The Times*.²

This promise does not quite agree with a statement made a week earlier to the editor of the *Morning Post* by Spencer Ponsonby, Clarendon's private secretary: "There never was the slightest intention of giving advantage to *The Times* or any other paper."³ Delane, however, rarely had cause to complain while Clarendon was at the Foreign Office. Nevertheless, no paper had a complete monopoly of information, and Delane sometimes took exception when rivals were less scrupulous than himself in their use of communications:

I, as usual [he wrote to Clarendon], obeyed your instructions as to the Note from Walewski you were good enough to send me last night and had the pleasure of reading it and a leading article upon it in the *Morning Post* today.⁴

I need not tell you how easy it would have been for me to write an article upon it last night or to use, as the *Post* has done, some of the topic of your letter, which, however, you thought it better to reserve for Lord Palmerston's explanation.

I really don't care a straw's price for the supposed advantage this afforded to the *Post*; but I should be glad to have the despatch which Lord Granville, in reply to Lord Lyndhurst, announced tonight.

It will certainly be in the *Morning Post* tomorrow and probably the public service would not suffer if it also appeared in *The Times*.⁵

¹ In November, 1855, he wrote that "Delane was here (at the Foreign Office) for an immense time—rather *meu* and humble. I did not spare his infernal paper." Clarendon to Lady Clarendon, November 15, 1855 (Maxwell, *Clarendon*, II, p. 103).

² Clarendon to Delane, September 28, 1857. (P H S. Papers, D 8/52)

³ R. Lucas, *Lord Glenesk and the "Morning Post,"* p. 176.

⁴ The *Morning Post* no doubt got some information from a French source.

⁵ Delane to Clarendon, February 8, 1858. (Clarendon Papers.)

FRUITS OF CONVERSION

The Times claimed at the time of its conversion that, not itself, but Palmerston was the convert ; and certainly the tone of the paper was at first so little modified that few observers noticed the change. Nevertheless, there was soon a striking instance that the new connexion meant an alteration of view. In 1850 Palmerston's advocacy of the cause of Don Pacifico had aroused the opposition of *The Times*. In the early months of 1857 the Prime Minister was again defending the British flag from insult, and this time the "Cives Romani" in question were even more remarkable than the cosmopolitan Don Pacifico. The Chinese authorities had arrested a number of alleged pirates on board a ship called the Arrow, and the ship proceeded to hoist the Union Jack, crying out at the same time for vengeance to Sir John Bowring, who represented Great Britain in the Far East with the status of Chief Superintendent of Trade. Before long Bowring had involved the Fleet on the China Station in unmistakable acts of war, and the Government had to take the responsibility. They had a weak case, for, as Lord Derby said in the House of Lords, the Chinese Governor Yeh had shown himself "forbearing, courteous, and gentlemanlike," while Bowring was "menacing, disrespectful and arrogant." Palmerston, however, supported the British representative. The House of Lords approved his policy, but in the Commons Conservatives, Peelites and the Manchester School made common cause, and the Government was defeated on March 3 by a majority of sixteen. After a Cabinet meeting next day, both Palmerston and Clarendon wrote to inform Delane that a dissolution had been decided upon. The Prime Minister wrote :

My dear Sir,

It is due to you considering the handsome and powerful support which you have given to the Government, that you should have the earliest intimation of the course which we mean to pursue. We do not resign, but intend to propose to Parliament to make such temporary arrangements by a vote of men for three months from the 5th April, and a mutiny act for three months, as will enable us to take the opinion of the country on the State of Parties in Parliament by an early dissolution.

Yours sincerely,
PALMERSTON.¹

¹ This letter (P H.S., D. 8/7, Dasey, I, 249) is dated February 4, 1857, but was no doubt written on March 4, the date of Clarendon's letter to Delane, which stated that the Cabinet had just met and that Palmerston "promised me he would write to you."

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The Prime Minister's good will was not unmerited. In striking contrast with its attitude seven years previously, *The Times* resolutely defended the high-handed action of Bowring and Admiral Seymour.

Clarendon remarked in his letter¹ to Delane that "the dishonest coalitions and the dishonest speeches of our public men are doing infinite mischief on the Continent to our national character and Representative form of Gvt and I shall be much surprised if our friend Yeh, who is a clever fellow, does not turn the vote of last night to work against us in China." Delane took this hint. After the defeat of the Government, *The Times* (March 5) printed a warning that the new coalition would not gain confidence by "throwing everything into confusion." The General Election which followed resulted in a great victory for the Government.

Palmerston's triumph, however, was short-lived. Accretion of power produced in him an arrogance and a carelessness which quickly proved his undoing. When Lord Harrowby resigned the Privy Seal, the Prime Minister shocked public opinion by appointing Lord Clanricarde, a seasoned Whig nobleman of unsavoury reputation. He informed Delane of the appointment, commanding it without a detailed defence—though he must have been conscious that it would be distasteful to *The Times* not least among the British public. When Palmerston first became Prime Minister the paper had disliked his preference for "the old gang." Delane at once greeted the new appointment with a hostile leading article on the vitality of old Whigs, warning Palmerston that "a generation has arisen which requires something more solid in intellect and character than is promised by the previous reputation of the accomplished marquis." Delane was conscious by the end of 1857 that the Government was dying; Greville believed that the Editor was already preparing the way for a new régime; but in the question of Lord Clanricarde, at least, *The Times* advocated a cause which it had made its own.

Ultimately Palmerston's fall was due to his "errors in demeanour."² The immediate cause was sudden and unforeseen. On January 14, 1858, Felice Orsini, the Italian Carbonaro, threw four bombs at the Emperor of the French as he was driving with the Empress to the opera; the explosion killed and injured a

¹ March 4, 1857 (P H S Papers, D 8/9, Dasent, I, 258)

² A leading article of February 21, 1874, quoted by Cook, p 112, recalls that this was so. Cook attributes the article to Delane himself, but though the Editor may have supplied the facts it was written by Courtney.

ORSINI'S BOMBS

large number of people, but the assassin failed in his object for the Emperor was unscathed. There was an outburst of loyal feeling in France, and, in England, *The Times* gave thanks in a leading article that Napoleon's life had been spared.

Less than a fortnight before the outrage *The Times* had published several articles which angered Paris. Lord Cowley, the British Ambassador, wrote that one article

is considered very offensive, and some observations upon it are contemplated in the *Moniteur*. I have done my best to prevent this step being taken, I do not yet know with what success. I must say that I do not wonder at the Article having told upon French susceptibility. I saw Delane yesterday but did not then know that the article had created such an effect. I fear that he has now left Paris on his return.¹

After January 14, however, criticism of the Emperor and his régime was suspended, and Napoleon was praised faintly but distinctly for his policy. The discovery that Orsini's bombs had been made in Birmingham and that the whole conspiracy had been hatched in England created an uproar in France against the British harbouring of refugees. The violent language used by Frenchmen in high places roused British anger. On such a burning question of the refugees Delane had perforce to move warily. British public opinion demanded a firm front to Gallic presumption; the tradition of *The Times* was against any appearance of subservience to foreign autocracies, and Clarendon asked for an article denouncing the abuse of British hospitality, "to calm excitement abroad." *The Times*, while condemning the President of the French Senate for language calculated to make concession difficult, distinguished such ruffians as Orsini from moderate refugees and added: "The country would, we conceive, support the Government in any just interference for the suppression of such hideous plots as this." Next day, however, it warned the French that "nothing that has happened in France, or that is likely to happen, can affect the internal state, the genius, or the institutions of any neighbouring people, equally powerful, independent, and self-respecting." (January 19, 1858.)

Clarendon, fearing that the principal Powers of Europe would league together to protest against the protection which the enemies of all Governments enjoyed in this country, thus counselled the Editor: "It will be a very foolish act, on

¹ Cowley to Clarendon, Paris, January 4, 1858. (Clarendon Papers.)

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their part, because it wd simply render any change of system impossible "¹" French diplomatic action had this effect. On January 20, 1858, Walewski sent Peisigny, the French Ambassador in London, a dispatch in which he complained that England allowed murder to be plotted within the protection of the law. A foreign demand for the alteration of the laws of England quickly roused the British public to feelings as heated as the French. Lord Granville, indeed, feared that peace could not be maintained, but, as British military resources were already absorbed by the Indian Mutiny, Palmerston showed a willingness to meet the French demands. Not only did he seem to acquiesce in Walewski's criticism by leaving his dispatch unanswered, but he also prepared a Conspiracy to Murder Bill for strengthening the law against such crimes as Orsini's.

The principle of the Conspiracy to Murder Bill had been advocated in *The Times* on January 18. After Walewski's dispatch, however, it seemed to be an insupportable truckling to France. The country could not be expected to tolerate this, and Delane told Greville he thought the Government would not long remain in office. *The Times*, in fact, replied with a spirited counter-attack :

Some time before this metropolis was honoured with the presence of another refugee, who had actually invaded the French territory with bloodshed, and who had been allowed to seek the shelter of our shores . . . From these shores he conducted a second armed expedition to France, which accidentally failed; and on his escaping from a French prison, he returned to his old asylum, collected his friends, recruited his means, and, biding his time, entered a third time the country of which he is now the absolute SOVEREIGN (January 23, 1858.)

In response, however, to appeals from Clarendon (who wrote to Delane on January 27 that "the Emperor is always thinking about Engd. and as he recognizes no other Engd. than *The Times* he scans and weighs every word that is published in it"), the Editor published daily articles designed to allay French resentment by denouncing the abuse of English hospitality at the same time that it defended the right of asylum. Clarendon explained the conspiracy Bill at length to him :

The object in bringing it in at all at this time is of course to calm the excitement agst. us in France (which Cowley's letter of today states to be more bitter than ever) and my fear is that in allaying the

¹ Clarendon to Delane, January 16, 1858. (P.H.S. Papers, D. 9/15)

THE GOVERNMENT FALLS

excitement at home we shall prove too clearly to the French that we are in fact doing nothing at all for them as the mere conversion of a misdemeanour into a felony won't go far for the protection of the Emperor's life¹

Next day Delane took up some of the Foreign Secretary's arguments in a leading article "The proposals of a change in the Criminal Law immediately after the offensive demonstrations which have been made in France must necessarily be unpopular," but the irritation in England should be soothed by the discovery that the Government intended no concession to the unseemly French clamour. The British Government would do all in its power to frustrate conspirators, but "here, as elsewhere, it is difficult to anticipate the criminal intentions of would-be assassins who are wise enough to keep their own secret." (February 8, 1858.)

Such advocacy was, to say the least, half-hearted. Though Delane did his best to reconcile the British public to the Bill, he could not fail to see the hopelessness of the cause. On February 19 a wrecking amendment, which amounted to a vote of censure on the Government for not answering Walewski's dispatch, was carried. Palmerston resigned. A leading article on February 22 condemned the conduct of the Orsini affair; another next day was devoted to a panegyric of Lord Palmerston, whose resignation (at the age of 73) appeared to be a final retirement. *The Times* implicitly admitted that the Prime Minister had been in the wrong. One fault he had:

The Premier, we must repeat, has been very ill advised—advised to his own ruin in respect to many of his recent appointments. . . . These were gross faults—if not crimes, they were blunders—but we must in justice add that they cannot be weighed against the great services which Lord Palmerston has rendered to the country. He found it weak and has left it powerful; he found it carrying on a doubtful war with a great military State; he has left it triumphant over that State and over its enemies in three great countries of Asia. (February 23, 1858.)

The return of the Conservatives to office had implications very distasteful to Delane. He was informed by Disraeli that "the country is tired of cliques & vain & personal coteries; that principle of party wh. of late years has been so much derided has, by reverse experience, commenced again to influence opinion." But *The Times* was among the chief "deriders"; hostility to party politics was one of Delane's firmest principles,

¹ Clarendon to Delane, February 7, 1858. (P.H.S. Papers, D. 9/24.)

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and he had no wish to see *The Times* become the mere organ of a party. His attitude, therefore, was detached, when Disraeli made a bold bid for his support by writing him what he himself described as "about as imprudent a letter as was ever written, but it is written in our old spirit of camaraderie—I never forget your generous support of me in 1852."¹ Disraeli described in detail the interview in which Derby was asked by the Queen to form a Government, and, after showing what had so far been done to construct a Ministry, went on to claim for it the probability of some success. With great skill Delane incorporated some of this extremely confidential information in a leading article on February 23, 1858, but concluded by describing acceptance of Derby's Government as a "suicidal act" on the part of the nation.

The first list of Ministers did not mollify him ; it was described on February 24 as "a penitential sheet"—the view of *The Times* being that a Derby Administration was a self-inflicted punishment for the humiliation of the Orsini affair. Disraeli was not abashed. Next day he sent further details and added a promise of some exclusive news later. His perseverance had its reward, for on the 26th the full list of the new Government was reviewed cordially, if not enthusiastically, and Disraeli himself was singled out for especial praise.

Delane, indeed, was inclined to give the new Cabinet some measure of support. Hence on March 16 Lord Malmesbury, the new Foreign Secretary, could note that "*The Times* is most complimentary."² Good will, however, did not ripen into alliance. Delane was in touch with Lord Stanley (who was paid the compliment, in the columns of *The Times*, of being told that he was on the wrong side of the House) and received occasional communications from Malmesbury. But his principal guidance continued to come from Palmerston and Clarendon ; the latter, in fact, sometimes acted as intermediary between Delane and Malmesbury. An exchange of letters after the fall of the Conservatives suggests that Malmesbury might have won a better understanding with Delane had he used his opportunities. Shortly after his resignation he wrote to the Editor : "I must thank you for the posthumous praise *The Times* has bestowed on my Dispatches. It is the agreeable verdict of *immediate posterity*."³

¹ Disraeli to Delane, February 22, 1858. (P.H.S. Papers, IV.)

² Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an ex-Minister*, II, p. 107.

³ Malmesbury to Delane, June 21, 1859. (P.H.S. Papers, D. 9/114.)

the Queen! The Queen
when she heard this
intervis was impudent,
? "First see him".

I suppose this is about
as un prudent a letter
as was ever written, but
it is written in an old
spirit of casuaderie - I
never forget of generous
support of one in 1852. My
Opponents

PORTION OF DISRAELI'S LETTER
"As imprudent a letter as was ever written."

ADDRESSED TO DELANE

PAM RETURNS

Delane remained a Palmerston man, though uncertain how long the old statesman would remain a force in practical politics. The Editor continued to find in his incisive letters a most valuable help. A signal example of Palmerston's influence came in December of the year 1858, when he urged the Editor "to slacken *The Times* fire against the Emperor of the French. . . . Of course I do not mean to suggest the cessation of criticism, but might not just criticism be equally effectual with less personal asperity of tone?"¹

The visit of Palmerston and Clarendon to Napoleon III at Compiègne in October, 1858, shook him, although they both sent him reasoned letters of excuse. Delane took no editorial notice; he gave his private opinion to Bernal Osborne on November 25, 1858: "I think you may safely recant your allegiance to both these luminaries. No star shines very brightly above the horizon, but these two seem to have hopelessly set." Napoleon, indeed, continued to be a real cause of disagreement between Editor and statesman. Palmerston wrote on March 2, 1859, that the Emperor should be conciliated: "Until French means of aggression and English means of Defence are more nearly equalized . . . no national advantage is to be gained by needlessly irritating and provoking the man upon whose single Passions and will the Relations of France with England so essentially depend."² Delane with more of Palmerstonian boldness than his mentor thought that Napoleon should not be encouraged by any sign of British weakness. John Walter, moreover, based his aversion from the Napolconic system upon firm conviction. Thus Palmerston's attempts to persuade Delane to alter his tone had little effect until the Editor's journalistic insight convinced him in September, 1859, that "that vein is exhausted." Even then Walter was unconvinced and the correspondent O'Meagher was difficult to bring round.

But Palmerston's star neither set nor ceased to influence Delane. In Opposition Palmerston settled his differences with Lord John Russell, and their cooperation promised a short life for the Tory Government, which resigned in June, 1859. On the 13th it was possible to announce that Palmerston would return to Downing Street. When the full composition of the Cabinet was announced, *The Times* expected that the Ministry would govern

¹ Palmerston to Delane, December 5, 1858. (P.H.S. Papers, D. 9/80, Dasent, II, p. 306.)

² Palmerston to Delane P.H.S. Papers, D. 9/93; Dasent, I, p. 317. Two months later, however, Delane informed a correspondent that the Palmerston and Derby Governments would have been well-advised to have adopted the much criticized tone of *The Times*. (P.H.S. Papers, D. 9/101; Dasent, I, 310.) For O'Meagher's attitude see p. 281, *ante*.

FOR PALMERSTON

the country "at least as well as it has been governed any time these twenty years." But it was frigid in its greetings to Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and, hardly a week after he had entered office, the paper attacked him vigorously for his intention to economize in naval expenditure. This article was based on private advice from Malmesbury, but was, no doubt, little distasteful to Palmerston. Gladstone, not entirely at one with the Prime Minister, was also suspect in Printing House Square.¹

When Palmerston returned to office the international situation hardly justified idleness in the dockyards, for in April the Italian War had broken out and might, it seemed, involve the whole of Europe. *The Times* stood firmly for neutrality and, if it appeared to lean towards the Austrian side, this was rather from distrust of France than from love of Austria. Delane, taking a short holiday at the beginning of 1859, wrote to Dasent: "Pray make everybody who writes on the Italian subject keep in view the necessity of our taking no share in the mess. We shall certainly be involved in it before the war has lasted 12 months but we shall then have a better chance of taking our proper side than if we rushed into it now." That the Editor thus early thought England's proper side to be that of liberation may be inferred, since at the date of his letter any intervention must have been in defence of the Treaty of Vienna.

Nevertheless, *The Times* was prepared to give the Austrian case a fair hearing, and in this Delane was assisted by an introduction, by Clarendon at the Ambassador's eager request, to Count Apponyi, the Austrian Ambassador. British public opinion was favourable to the Italian cause, but it must not be supposed that this was entirely due to the inherent merits of the Sardinian case. Cavour and d'Azeglio (the Sardinian Minister in London) had worked hard for more than five years to secure a friendly attitude. D'Azeglio watched the British Press with constant vigilance; having access to the columns of the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Daily News* and the *Morning Advertiser*, he endeavoured, with the assistance of Shaftesbury and Panizzi, to insert Italophil articles in *The Times*. In 1853 Cavour told d'Azeglio that *The Times* was Austrian; "I doubt whether you will succeed in disinfecting it" D'Azeglio, however, made the attempt, and was rewarded a few

¹ When Frederick Peel was appointed to the Treasury, Delane wrote: "I am glad of it because I think he will not be a tool of Gladstone's." Delane to Dasent, October 22, 1860. (P.H.S. Papers, D. 10/37.)

ITALIAN MASTERS

years later with the following letter, which Delane wrote to Panizzi (February 28, 1857) "I shall be very glad to publish the two documents you mention. My sympathies are all with Sardinia. But I fear she has of late shown a good deal of the *Crokiness* to which little men and little states are prone" Correspondents in Italy were instructed by Morris to uphold the Sardinian cause :

We are glad to find you steadily upholding the cause of constitutional government and national liberty. United Italy, I fear is a dream—at any rate the only way to accomplish the idea is, to strengthen Sardinia, so that she may extend her influence, if not her territory, and afford a steady example of progress and independence to the neighbouring states¹

When the war broke out Cavour did not warm to Delane's attitude of deprecating French intervention nor to his policy of keeping in touch with Austrian officials.² At a dinner at the Palmers'ons', to which Delane, d'Azeglio, Poerio, Marliani, Panizzi and the Shaftesburys had been invited, d'Azeglio arranged matters so that Marliani³ was given the opportunity to lay the Italian case before Delane. "Le grand Delane se reconnaît vaincu et terrassé," and formally promised the support of *The Times*, within the limits of legality and of faith to treaties.⁴ Powerful though Marliani's apologetic may have been, Palmerston's advocacy was perhaps more powerful. At any rate, when he returned to office, Lord John Russell's acceptance of the Foreign Office was cordially welcomed by *The Times*, because it made clear "the policy of England on the Italian question."

The effect of Marliani's conversation was to convince Delane of Piedmont's moderation and thus to persuade him to advocate

¹ Morris to Blackall, January 10, 1856. (P H S Papers, M 5/699)

² Delane wrote to Shaftesbury "I wish we could do enough for (the Italians) to prove that though we depurate a war between France and Austria on very ill defined grounds we can still sympathise cordially with Italian patriotism" (D'Azeglio to Cavour, March 10, 1859, *Cavour e l'Inghilterra*, Vol. II (i), letter 907.) Delane's connexion with Austria seems to be indicated by the following dispatch from d'Azeglio to Cavour, January 31, 1859 "Le Times publie en extenso votre dépêche au Comte Buol Je ne sais qui la lui a communiquée" (*Ibid.*, letter 883.)

³ Marliani was a Spanish Liberal and friend of Cavour; in 1849 Clarendon recommended him to Reeve for employment by *The Times* as correspondent. On April 5, 1859, Clarendon wrote to Reeve. "The Art in *The Times* yesterday was the result of Marliani's conversation with Delane on Saty. and I think it wd be useful if your article (in the *Edinburgh Review*) concluded in something of the same spirit because Austria does require some pressure" (Clarendon Papers)

⁴ D'Azeglio to Cavour, April 5, 1859. (*Cavour e l'Inghilterra*, Vol. II (i), letter 943.)

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her cause. After the dinner at the Palmerstons', Delane wrote to Panizzi :

I have only opened ground as yet on the Italian question and hope to renew the tillage of the public mind tomorrow and to continue it until a good crop of sympathy is reaped. Even now, I can scarcely realise that your objects are so moderate and within such easy reach as you describe.

I grieve to add that I am engaged on Thursday or I should have been delighted to take a second lesson from such accomplished teachers.

Pray write to me whenever you have anything to suggest¹

The tone of *The Times* during the next few days was such that Cavour could write to congratulate d'Azeglio on having secured its conversion. Its good will towards Italy, however, was tempered by its doubts about her ally. Fear of a general war and suspicion of Napoleon's motives restrained the paper from giving whole-hearted support to Sardinia,² and it was not until after the truce of Villafranca that the second of these restraints was removed. In July, 1859, Cavour still described *The Times* as "mon plus cruel ennemi,"³ but in the later stages of the war the paper became one of his warmest supporters. Delane instructed Dasent : "Pray back up the Sardinians heartily ; their success is the only hope of Italy now that Garibaldi has fallen into bad hands. I rather rejoice at the Neapolitan success, since it compels Garibaldi to wait for Sardinia."⁴ This advocacy of Cavour at Garibaldi's expense outraged some of the more ardent partisans of unity, and Delane wrote in exasperation : "It is disheartening to endeavour to serve your Italian friends for one gets nothing but ingratitude and abuse."⁵

Delane was thus assisted through the complexities of the Italian war primarily by Palmerston and Shaftesbury, his son-in-law. He also secured hints from the Austrian Ambassador on the one hand and the Italian enthusiasts on the other. This diversity of inspiration was characteristic of the Editor and his methods. Delane, lacking profound political convictions, was

¹ Delane to Panizzi, April 4, 1859. (B.M., MSS. Addl. 36719/182)

² An anonymous pamphlet, published in 1860, complained of the hostility of *The Times* to Napoleon. Hatred of France had become the moving principle of its foreign policy : "Against Italy (I appeal to last year) when France was for her, but with Italy, when there appeared for the moment symptoms of discord between them" (*A Word for Truth*, by an English Seaman)

³ Cavour to the Contessa di Circourt, July 22, 1859. (*Cavour e l'Inghilterra. Carteggio-Cavour—Circourt*, Letter No. 37)

⁴ Delane to Dasent, October 4, 1860 (P.H.S. Papers, D. 10/31)

⁵ Delane to Layard, January 24, 1861 (B.M., MSS. Addl. 38986/307.) Cf. also Delane to Panizzi, January 30, 1861. (B.M., MSS. Addl. 36721/206)

Jan 24, 1862

My dear Deacon

I should be very glad if in mentioning at any time the intended marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Danish Princess you would avoid giving the connection a political character, as an alliance that is to last

upon the marriage question
question, - but that you
would rather treat it as
an arrangement which will
give the Prince of Wales
a charming wife, and
will secure his domestic
happiness, as well as be
a comfort to the Queen

The fact is that although
the newspapers have
announced the marriage
^{is} a thing settled, the

young Gentleman has
not yet actually made
his proposal to the young
Lady, but is to do so at
Brussels

The intended marriage
has been very much
arranged by the Prince
Royal who has considered
only her Brother's happiness
and the feelings of her
adoptive Country. But
the Germans are angry
at the marriage, thinking

it will affect the Danish
Question which is very likely
now, & this makes it more
strange for the Princep
Royal, and it is desirable
for her sake that the
marriage should at in this
Country be invested with a
political character

Yrs sincerely
Palmerston

ROTHSCHILD INTERVENES

hardly interested in affairs until public attention gave them journalistic importance. In a crisis the basis for the editorial judgment was provided by acquaintances in every camp, and upon such material Delane would work intuitively. An example is provided by the Polish insurrection of 1863. Barnes in the similar crisis of 1831 had acted upon convictions long formed and tried; Delane looked to Palmerston and also to Brunnow, the Russian Ambassador. Brunnow's and Delane's friend, Lionel Rothschild, had large financial interests in Russia, and Brunnow easily persuaded the banker to discuss matters with the Editor, the Russians naturally desiring Britain to pursue a pacifist, or at least a neutral policy. This line, despite its origin, became effective with Delane. While Palmerston's personal organ, the *Morning Post*, adopted a menacing tone against the Tsar, the liberal *Daily News* demanded protests in the name of international justice, although without seriously contemplating war. The representations of Lord Russell,¹ the Foreign Secretary, were rebuffed by Russia.

The Times was spared such humiliations. It gave Polish misfortunes sympathy, and condemned Russian brutality, but, the paper owned, British intervention was impracticable. "We trust," a leading article observed in retrospect, "for the future we shall learn that the pleasure of interposing can hardly be indulged in with dignity by those who are not prepared for something more than verbal mediation, and that those who are determined to do nothing will act wisely if they say nothing." (November 2, 1863.) Thus firmly was Lord Russell admonished. Delane could not be unaware of Rothschild's material interests in Russia, but this did not invalidate his friend's advice. On the contrary, years later Rothschild again intervened. Towards the end of 1872, when the British public grew nervous about Russian advances in Central Asia, *The Times* almost alone among newspapers saw the realities of the situation and the absurdity of making war for the sake of Turkestan.²

These episodes illustrate the varying nature of the influences brought to bear upon Delane even during his Palmerston period. Without a diversity of sources, the method, for a mind essentially

¹ Lord John Russell was created Earl Russell of Kingston Russell and Viscount Amberley in 1861.

² Cf. W. F. F. Grace, "Russia and *The Times*," in *The Cambridge Historical Journal*, I, 1, 95. Mr Grace prints two documents from the Russian Embassy, in which Brunnow describes how he persuaded Lionel Rothschild to take advantage of his friendship with Delane to put the Russian point of view to him.

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lacking in premeditated principles, was dangerous. Delane came to admire Palmerston sincerely, but even Palmerston did not secure a complete victory over him

Nevertheless, Palmerston was Delane's principal mentor. The Editor gave him firm support in matters both great and small. Palmerston could think and do no wrong, almost His taste, even in architecture, was grounded in the verities, like his politics. It was probably the Prime Minister's encouragement that led *The Times* to enter the battle against Sir Gilbert Scott in the great war of styles waged by Palmerston on his return to office In Tom Mozley's best manner *The Times* condemned Scott's design for the new Foreign Office and all other Gothic imitations as

dark, and close, and inconvenient . . . Gothic indeed is a wonderful promiser Its favourite material is that which paves a certain road But trust its syren strains, engage your Gothic architect, who is to build you a house as light, and airy, and convenient, and cheap as the best Belgravian Italian, and you will soon find that you are in the hands of an enthusiast No matter what he *can* do, he *will* do what he pleases. He will go where fancy takes him The demon of the picturesque will fret your ceilings, panel your walls, recess your windows, twist your passages, stilt up your roofs, and play every imaginable trick with a plan which might have been excellent to begin with (July 9, 1861)

The *Saturday Review* derided this species of attack but did not hint at any inspiration from Palmerston, and there is evidence of none ; but what could have suited better his attack upon Scott, who wished to twist his Palladian building into a picturesque Gothic structure, than this leading article ?

In one political matter it was Palmerston who took exception. A leader in support of the Suez Canal made him write nearly seven quarto pages on December 16, 1859, to prove to Delane, first, that the Canal was an impossibility, and, secondly, that its construction was a French scheme to gain ascendancy over England in Egypt.

In May, 1861, Delane received a striking proof of Palmerston's regard for him. He was for a time disabled by an affliction of the eyes, threatening blindness, and attributed to long working by artificial light. Palmerston, learning of this trouble, offered him the succession to a high post in the Civil Service, that of Permanent Under-Secretary for War, then about to fall vacant

“ GILDED SALOONS ”

by the retirement of Sir Benjamin Hawes. In communicating his refusal to Walter, Delane wrote.

It is all daylight work, and it was suggested that it might save my eyes I said at once that it would be most base of me to injure, as I should do, the paper by which alone I had risen to undeserved eminence. . . My whole life is bound up with the paper—I must either work for it or not at all. My eye is better, and I hope I have before me many years of usefulness—but I can take no fresh service which, however kindly offered and however faithfully rendered, would have the look of a job for me and a bribe for the Press.

Such an appointment would certainly have aroused an outcry, for observers were jealously watching the relations between Delane and Palmerston. In 1858 Disraeli informed an audience at Slough, in a phrase which became famous, “that leading journals now are place-hunters of the Court, and that the once stern guardians of popular rights simper in the enervating atmosphere of gilded saloons” The *Saturday Review* was not less severe in its condemnation of “the drawing-room organ of Whiggism—we do not mean the *Morning Post*,” but *The Times*, enthralled by “carpet influences” (May 22, 1858) Again, in 1860, stung by a taunt in a leading article, Edward Horsman entered into a controversy with his fellow-M P , John Walter, and commented upon “the personal influences by which *The Times* is supposed to be affected—on the peculiar influences that draw Mr. Delane to Lord Palmerston, and on the anomalous position and proceedings of Mr. Lowe on the Treasury Bench.”

In 1863 Richard Cobden, one of the paper’s most determined enemies, launched an attack upon *The Times* owing to an alleged misrepresentation of a statement by John Bright. Robert Lowe, writing a leading article on the Danish question on December 3, 1863, had gratuitously slipped in a comment upon Bright’s “proposition of a division among [the poor] of the lands of the rich.” This taunt, not in itself an extraordinary example of the kind of missile habitually flung about in party controversy, was taken up by Cobden, and then defended by Delane, as a formal indictment, to be proved or disproved by evidence. Both made themselves more than a little ridiculous. Although the facts were with Cobden, he spoilt his case by seizing the opportunity to make an intemperate attack upon anonymous journalism and patronage. After stating that “No gentleman would dream of saying, under the responsibility of his signature, what your writer said of Mr.

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Bright," he informed Delane that *The Times*, "while still maintaining a strict *incognito* towards the public, drops the mask with very sufficient reasons in the presence of those powerful classes who are at once the dispensers of social distinction, and . . . of the patronage of the Government."

The paucity of his evidence for this irrelevant diatribe may be judged by reference to a pamphlet written by Cobden's friend, Hargreaves. This writer could find only eight examples of "patronage" and made a farcical case by including among them such appointments as those of Delane's father, who, after he had quitted *The Times*, became Treasurer of the County Court of Kent (some £800 a year), G W. Dasent, Editor of the *Chronicles* in the Public Record Office (£260 8s.), and Knox, who left the paper to become a Police Magistrate at £1,200 a year.¹ The great majority of the London papers were firmly against Cobden, and after the controversy had rumbled on for a fortnight, *The Times* summed it up in a leading article :

Of the tone and manner of Mr. Cobden's letters it is quite unnecessary for us to speak. They have received from the press of all shades of opinion a condemnation more unanimous than we ever remember to have seen on any subject bordering so closely on the domain of party politics.² (December 22, 1863.)

At the time of Cobden's death Joseph Parkes (writing on April 3, 1865) delivered a final judgment in a letter to Delane :

The Times articles on poor Cobden are excellent. They do him full justice, & without drawback, & in your journal they are generous, not that I expected any allusion to his absurd indefensible little war with *The Times*. You may not know that his mind certainly had been off its balance ever since he went to Algiers. I can shew you written proof of that fact. His temperament was naturally vehement & irascible, & he contracted the most vehement & silly personal dislikes. . . .³

¹ *Revelations from Printing House Square, Is the Anonymous System a Security for the Purity and Independence of the Press? A Question for The Times Newspaper.* By W Hargreaves (London, 1865)

² Cobden's case is stated at length by Morley, *Life of Cobden*, II, Chapter XVII, while Dasent, II, pp. 81-93, gives the other side. The reader is referred to these authorities for the details of the affair. In two points Mr. Dasent's account may be supplemented. Delane originally intended to publish Cobden's first letter (under the heading "To Correspondents" in the paper on Monday, December 7, he stated "Mr. Cobden's letter shall appear to-morrow") In the Editor's absence John Walter, with the concurrence of Woodham and others, decided against this, and on reflection Delane agreed. Secondly, Mr. Dasent is in error in supposing that Delane replied to Cobden's second letter (addressed to him in person) over his own name, at the "earnest solicitation of the chief proprietor." In fact Walter wrote. "I don't think you should allow yourself to be entrapped . . . into any acknowledgment of your personal responsibility. I would let that remain, where the Law has left it, with the Printer alone, & either not reply to Cobden's letter at all, or send him merely a formal acknowledgment of it!"

³ P.H.S. Papers, IV.

DELANE AND LAYARD

In foreign affairs, Delane's position was not so comfortable under Palmerston's second administration as it had been under his first. Then the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary were equally his friends; they cooperated to keep him well informed. Now Lord Russell was at the Foreign Office and it was natural that Palmerston did not discuss his communications to *The Times* with his new colleague, natural also that Russell should not maintain with the Editor those relations he had condemned in Clarendon five years before. For himself personally he disdained connexion with any newspaper editor.

It was fortunate for both parties that Lord John's elevation to the House of Lords in 1861 brought Delane's old friend Layard into the Foreign Office. The new Under-Secretary, who notified Delane of his acceptance within an hour or two of seeing Palmerston, made it his business to supply the deficiencies of his chief in questions of newspaper management. He secured the columns of the *Daily Telegraph* and was careful to cultivate his acquaintance with Delane. Russell, despite the past, recognized the value of this connexion, writing, for example, on one occasion: "I wish you would see Delane and tell him privately that Lyons is about to replace Baker."² Delane also valued Layard as a canal of communication with the Foreign Office.³

Layard seems to have made some attempt to prevent *The Times* from attacking Russell, but he could not always defend him. The paper had long been the declared enemy of nepotism, and it recognized in Russell the scion of an old Whig house. In 1860 news of some jobbery reached Printing House Square. The British Minister in Turin was to be transferred to St. Petersburg to make way for an Elliot, a relative of Russell. *The Times* struck at once with a leading article attributing British success in Italy to Sir James Hudson and added that "the only ground we can imagine for removing Sir James Hudson from Italy is, that he has rendered services to the common cause which would invest him with an enormous influence, and has acquired a reputation which might make it difficult to overrule his opinion or resist his advice."

¹ Layard wrote to Clarendon after the latter's return to the Foreign Office: "There is a very good leading article in this *Daily Telegraph*—worth looking at if you have not seen it. It is the result of a little talk I had with Thornton Hunt." January 1, 1866. (B.M., MSS Addl. 38992/162.)

² Lord Russell to Layard, August 1, 1865. (B.M., MSS Addl. 38991/321.)

³ Learning that Layard thought of resigning when Clarendon succeeded Russell at the Foreign Office, Delane wrote to express the hope ("Pray reassure") that this was not so. Delane to Layard, January 18, 1866. (B.M., MSS. Addl. 38992/172.) Layard remained in office till the Liberals resigned in 1866.

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(November 13, 1860).¹ After reading this article, Lord Shaftesbury congratulated Delane. "Very many thanks. . . . These jobs must be nipped very early."²

In the result, Hudson remained at Tui in, but in 1863 he resigned in rather mysterious circumstances. *The Times* again suspected jobbery, for his successor was to be Henry Elliot "The *Times* broke out in a furious art against Ld. Russell—The *Morning Post* has been more savage still."³ Other papers followed, even the *Daily News*. Of this paper, however, Thomas Walker was editor, and he was in correspondence with Gilbert Elliot, Dean of Bristol, Russell's kinsman and Press agent, his paper's attacks were the result of mischance—the editor being on holiday, and it was soon brought to heel. But the recantation of the *Daily News* did not compensate for the hostility of *The Times*, and Henry Elliot saw Palmerston about the matter. Palmerston told Delane that Hudson's resignation had been entirely voluntary, but Elliot did "not expect much from this."⁴ The only thing which would put the matter right would be a letter in *The Times* from Hudson himself, and Hudson had gone off fishing somewhere in Italy. When he heard of the attacks, his only comment was: "I don't think it will do any good to answer these newspapers, about which you all seem very thin skinned."⁵ So Russell and the Ellots had to wait until the uproar died down.

Yet on more than one occasion Layard was able to do Russell a service with Delane. In July, 1864, the Editor sent him the proof of a letter from a foreign correspondent with the comment:

Although I am not so unkind to Lord Russell as to publish the marked passage in the enclosed letter from Hardman, you may as well, I think, see what they think of him in Jutland.

I have done a good many such friendly services to him lately which ought in fairness to compensate for an occasional snub.⁶

The excised passage was a statement that the people of Jutland execrated Russell for encouraging the Danish Government to resist the Austro-Prussian demands without giving any material assistance. Russell made the same accusation against *The Times*

¹ This and the other leading articles on the Hudson question were carefully transcribed and are preserved among the Russell Papers.

² Shaftesbury to Delane, November 13, 1860. (P H S Papers, D 10/50)

³ Extract from Henry Elliot's journal, September 9, 1863 (Russell Papers, P.R.O., G. and D. 22/14)

⁴ H. Elliot to G. Elliot, September 9, 1863 (P.R.O., G. and D. 22/14)

⁵ Sir James Hudson to H. Elliot, September 7, 1863. (P.R.O., G. and D. 22/14)

⁶ Delane to Layard, July 28, 1864. (B.M., MSS. Addl. 39111/160.)

FLATTERING THE PRUSSIANS

correspondent, denouncing "two self constituted envoys, said to have been gentlemen of the British press,"¹ for inducing the Danish people to think they would be defended by British arms.

The Schleswig-Holstein question had been precipitated by the death of Frederick VII, King of Denmark and Duke of Schleswig and Holstein, on November 15, 1863. *The Times* was not then moved by any special good will towards Prussia, for whose obsolete Government it professed the harshest contempt. In the 'forties Reeve's friendship with Bunsen had won Prussia some support, but in 1855 the projected marriage of the Princess Royal into the Prussian Royal Family aroused the invective of *The Times*. From that date Prussia became the object of scorn. In October, 1861, Clarendon went to the Coronation of the new King of Prussia, because Palmerston and Russell hoped that he would be able to improve Anglo-Prussian relations, the mission was distasteful to Clarendon, who did not share their expectations that he would "be able to do a good stroke of political business" in Prussia.² He wrote to Delane: "You have of late been flagellating the Prussians so justly for their insolence and their ignorance that you cannot make much change in your tune, but you wd. do them a good turn by politely inviting their sovereign to let his coronation oath be a starting point in honest Gov. and reforms."³ Delane complied with this request, and, in thanking him for the article, Clarendon added: "I am sure it will satisfy and gratify every liberal minded Prussian and find an echo thro'out Germany."⁴

The King's oath, however, proved to be little to the taste of *The Times*, and renewed attacks⁵ led the Queen, at Clarendon's request,⁶ to ask Palmerston "to point out to the managers of *The Times* (which derives some of its power from the belief abroad that it represents more or less the feeling of Government) how great the injury is which it inflicts upon the best interests of this

¹ Spencer Walpole, *Life of Russell*, II, p. 384

² Clarendon to Delane, October 2, 1861. (P.H.S. Papers, D. 10/119)

³ Clarendon to Delane, September 15, 1861. (P.H.S. Papers, D. 10/115)

⁴ Clarendon to Delane, September 18, 1861. (P.H.S. Papers, D. 10/116)

⁵ From Berlin Clarendon wrote to Russell: "The *Times* articles drive them all mad & everybody is asking what motive a journal supposed to represent the public opinion of England can have in insulting Germany 3 times a week." October 24, 1861 (Russell Papers, P.R.O., G. and D. 22/29)

⁶ Clarendon informed the Queen on October 21, 1861, that he had spoken to Hardman, *The Times* correspondent, without effect—for Hardman himself had protested in vain "It is so serious that Lord Clarendon ventures to suggest that Your Majesty should ask Lord Palmerston to speak to Mr. Delane for no one else has any influence with him." (Royal Archives, Windsor.)

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country "¹ Palmerston wrote immediately to Delane, but with hardly the wholeheartedness of his defence of Napoleon III. " You have given the Prussians from time to time no more than they deserve, and they are writhing under your lash. It may be worth while to give them a Respite and to see whether they can profit by lessons read to them, or whether they remain incorrigible."² Delane's reply was in the same tone .

I shall be very glad to give the Prussians a respite from that most cruel of all inflictions—good advice. Indeed, I would not have intruded anything so unwelcome during the splendid solemnities of the Coronation had not the King uttered those surprising anachronisms upon Divine Right.

In forwarding this letter to the Queen (October 30), Palmerston felt the need to point out that *The Times* was a commercial enterprise, independent of political influences, and, owing its revenue to advertisements and therefore to circulation, secured its public by criticizing foreign events and persons, " because such strictures are less likely to make enemies at home than violent attacks upon parties and persons in this country "

British sentiment was enthusiastic for Denmark, the customary national preference for the weaker side being powerfully reinforced by the great popularity of the young Princess of Wales. In September, 1862, shortly before the announcement of her engagement, Palmerston had written to ask Delane not to give it a political significance :

The intended marriage has been arranged by the Princess Royal [Crown Princess of Prussia] who has considered only her Brother's Happiness & not the Feelings of her adopted Country. But the Germans are angry at the marriage, thinking it will affect the Danish Question which it very likely may, & this makes it nice steerage for the Princess Royal, and it is desirable for her sake that the marriage should not in this Country be invested with a political Character.

On September 4 a leading article (incorporating a hint from Palmerston that the engagement would probably take place in Brussels) stated :

Most of our readers will be anxious to learn . . . that the alliance will add no further complication to the Sleswig-Holstein question, or compel the British public to understand that mystery. On this point

¹ The Queen to Palmerston, October 25, 1861. *Queen Victoria's Letters*, First Series, III, p. 588

² Palmerston to Delane, October 28, 1861. (P H. S. Papers, D 10/124)

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

we can assure them The lady will become a British Princess and no more; and if that unfathomable controversy should ever more vex the world, she will, in sacred phrase, forget her own people and her father's house (September 4, 1862)

When the controversy was about to be precipitated, *The Times* expressed some doubt whether the Danes would attempt to resist an invasion of Schleswig by the overwhelming force already occupying Holstein. The Danish Minister thereupon wrote to Delane on January 4, 1864, to say that "the first German soldier that crosses the frontier of the Eider opens the war between Denmark and Germany—of that there is not the slightest doubt."¹ Making this assurance the basis of an article on January 6, Delane gave steady encouragement to the Danes, publishing daily leading articles in their support for the rest of the month. He had reason to believe that the Prime Minister at least was prepared for vigorous action :

We can't afford to retract and talk of "moral force" this time and I expect to hear in a day or two that the Channell (*sic*) Fleet is gone to Kiel. It is just one of Palmerston's moves and very probably may be the best means of keeping the peace²

But Palmerston was no longer the dictator of English policy, and Delane soon became aware that there were Ministers whose influence would be used against vigorous intervention. Next day he was staying at Straifieldsaye with the Duke of Wellington, and wrote to Dasent :

I met the Chancellor [Lord Westbury] here today and he expressed a good deal of apprehension as to Palmerston's health. He said he was much missed at the Cabinet of Saturday, that "timid counsels" prevailed and it was more than ever demonstrated how impossible it is that the Cabinet should go on even a week without him. . . . It seems to me quite impossible that we can let the Treaty of 1852 be abrogated without making our signature to any future Treaty entirely valueless and sinking materially in the scale of Powers, and I should like to have had the fleet sent to Kiel at once. Such a step would have saved the other Powers from committing themselves prematurely and will I believe have to be adopted eventually.³

The Times favoured the Danes, but there is no foundation

¹ P.H.S. Papers, D. 13/13.

² Delane to Dasent, January 6, 1864. (P.H.S. Papers, D. 13/15.)

³ P.H.S. Papers, D. 13/16.

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for Russell's story that its correspondent raised false hopes in the hearts of that nation. The paper had no correspondent there before the end of 1863. Early in January, 1864, Gallenga was sent to Kiel, whence he passed on to Flensburg and made an expedition into Schleswig, but for some time he moved among the German party in Holstein, and his view took on so strong a German colour that Morris had to remonstrate.¹ On January 23 he received a telegram ordering him to Copenhagen to hear the Danish point of view. From this time the letters of the correspondent of *The Times* in Denmark took on a tone much more favourable to the Danish cause. On the outbreak of hostilities Gallenga was well received at Danish headquarters, and sent regular reports to *The Times* for the short duration of the war. On the other side, however, Hardman, who had come from Berlin to attach himself to the Prussian Army, was resolutely refused access to General Wrangel's headquarters, and could do very little. Henry Hozier, who was sent to try to pass through the Prussian lines under a flag of truce, apparently never reached the Danish Army.

Meanwhile Delane's old adviser, Clarendon had returned to office, following the resignation of the Duke of Newcastle for reasons of health. Delane, puzzled that he should have accepted the sinecure post of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, seems to have attributed it to an ignoble craving for office. To Dasent he wrote on April 4, 1864.

Fancy Clarendon gone back to the Duchy of Lancaster! I can scarcely believe it. The whole affair was managed very suddenly and with very unnecessary secrecy. I don't believe half the Cabinet know it as I write.²

In the paper this surprise took an acid tone, to which Clarendon fiercely objected :

I told Palmerston that in a few lines there was a concentration of everything that was offensive and annoying to me; moreover I said this so sharply that he was annoyed, and owned that the article had surprised him very much, as he had himself written to Delane to announce the changes, which makes it clear that he either said something disparaging

¹ P.H.S. Papers, M. 12/591. Subsequently in his book, *The Invasion of Denmark in 1864*, Gallenga made out that he had been the friend of Denmark from the first, but the contemporary documents make the contention completely untenable.

² P.H.S. Papers, D. 13/37; Dasent, II, p 101.

THE EFFECTS OF GOUT

of me himself, or left me to be dealt with by the malignity of Delane and Lowe¹

Clarendon, however, could not risk the loss of *The Times*, and soon resumed his old habit of sending long letters full of confidential information to the Editor. The first of the series that has survived is dated May 2, 1864,² when he returned from a visit to Paris which enabled him to warn Delane that no effective help would come from Napoleon. The leading article of May 9, clearly based on this letter, remonstrated with those "who desire to see this country plunge at once into war in order to vindicate herself from the reproach of deserting Denmark in her hour of need." Denmark being now "reduced to two small islands in the Baltic," intervention was too late, and would, besides, be playing the game of France, who wished to remain "at peace herself while the rest of the Continent was involved in war, and thus to become the arbiter and supreme head of Europe."

This article went too far in the direction of acquiescence to please Palmerston, who, disabled at the time by gout, wrote to Delane on May 9, 1864 :

I was sorry for the German tone of your leading article today—we all of us want Peace but the views of the different Parties as to the Terms of Peace are I fear widely divergent.

The Prussians are excessively unreasonable. The only check we can have upon them is the indefinite notion that public opinion here is getting irritated against them, but the more they are led to think that they may have everything their own way, the more difficult will it be to bring them within the Bounds of Reason.³

To this Delane immediately and frankly replied :

My temporary Germanism like many other inconveniences was the direct consequence of your Lordship's gout which has shut me out from communication with yourself.

Your note of today has effected a perfect cure and I hope to hear that the armistice and the Danish victory have produced as beneficial an effect upon the source of the malady. There is no danger of a relapse in my case.⁴

¹ Clarendon to his wife, April 5, 1864. Maxwell, II, 289-90. All Palmerston had actually said to Delane was : "Our present arrangement is that Cardwell takes the Colonial Office, and Lord Clarendon will bring back to the Cabinet his skill and experience by taking the Duchy of Lancaster which he has very handsomely accepted. We are led to hope that this arrangement will be satisfactory to the public, as well as good for the service" (P.H.S. Papers, D. 13/36; Dasent, II, p. 100.) Clarendon's implication that Lowe wrote the article is correct.

² P.H.S. Papers, D. 13/42; Dasent, II, p. 102.

³ P.H.S. Papers, D. 13/45; Dasent, II, p. 105.

⁴ Copy of a letter in the Broadlands Papers, preserved in P.H.S. Papers, D. 13/44.

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The Danes had in fact won a victory over the Austrian Fleet off Heligoland, and an armistice was concluded. The leading article of May 10 took an optimistic view of the prospects of peace, and at the same time reasserted the justice of the Danish cause. Delane well knew that a conflict was going on in the Cabinet between Russell and Palmerston, both urging action, and a peace party backed by the pro-Prussian Queen. Granville, the Queen's special agent in the Cabinet, had written to Delane on May 3 :

It would be an excellent thing, if we could frighten the Germans a little, but it is not easy to do so. Bismarck is absolutely without fear or caution. He knows that we should shrink from exciting a great European War—and he must attribute sufficient good sense to us, not to wish to go singlehanded into a war, when we can do little but injure our own commerce, leaving France, Russia, & the Federals masters of the situation.

The *great* majority of the Cabinet is determined not to drift into the final step of war—and I believe will succeed in avoiding it.¹

With almost daily intelligence from Torrington² of the Queen's views, Delane was no doubt also kept informed of the deliberations of the Cabinet, although he has left no correspondence dated during the critical days. On the morning of the day on which Palmerston was to state his policy to Parliament, he was able to publish an accurate forecast of the Government's decision to abstain from war.

His information, however, could not have been complete, for, after sending this article to press on Sunday night, June 26, 1864, he recorded in his diary that he "could not sleep for anxiety as to the ministerial explanation which I had anticipated." He went to the House of Commons next day and heard Palmerston in his last great speech in his own defence confirm his forecast in every particular. The effect of the speech was to show that the conflict of forces in the Cabinet (of course, no conflict was publicly admitted) had produced a policy whose variations had run parallel with those in the views of *The Times*. The Government survived the Opposition attack, and Delane had the satisfaction of helping to keep the peace that Palmerston left to himself might have broken, and yet maintaining the alliance, which the steadily increasing competition in the news trade rendered correspondingly important to *The Times* as a high-priced journal.

¹ P H S. Papers, D. 13/43

² Lord-in-Waiting to Queen Victoria, 1837-1841, 1859-1884; called himself Delane's "Windsor Special" and for many years kept the Editor informed upon Court affairs

XVII

PRICE THREEPENCE

THE most important act of the long rule of John Walter III was, without the slightest doubt, the stabilization of *The Times* at the price of threepence. By it he fixed the character of the journal not only for the duration of his proprietorship but, since the effect and example of the decision were accepted by his successors, until our own time. When, two generations after John Walter III had settled the price question, *The Times* was again faced by another crisis not dissimilar in some respects, the paper's self-consciousness had so hardened into a "tradition" that in the years between 1908 and 1913 the enforcement of innovations considered necessary by exponents of "modern" journalism proved extremely difficult. But in the late 'fifties, when John Walter had to tackle the price and related problems, the tradition was nothing like so strong as it had become by the year 1908, when Lord Northcliffe became its Controller. Walter's sense of personal responsibility for the "tone" of *The Times* and his deliberate acceptance of the duty of maintaining it as the best newspaper of its kind has been recorded. *The Times*, considered in terms of national influence, did not date much further back than Peterloo. Mightily as Barnes had wrought, *The Times*, ten years after his death, was still in the making. In 1855, when the abolition of the newspaper stamp brought *The Times* and other papers down to 4d, the personality of the paper rested in the hands of Walter III. Between 1855 and 1866 he fixed its character and thus became responsible for the handing down to the present generation of a journal which is a national register, a critical chronicle of religion, politics, scholarship, and the arts, as well as a newspaper. His decision was one of the most significant in the history of the paper.

It has been seen that the attitude of the Chief Proprietor towards the "New Journalism," with its "Penny Press" in the

mornings and the *Pall Mall* in the evenings, was inevitably hostile. He chose to maintain *The Times* as it was ; to disregard entirely the changes in the practice of journalism by others. This was his determination. But although he could disregard the changes in writing and presenting news which followed upon the abolition of the " taxes upon knowledge," the years immediately following the repeal threw upon proprietors, new and old, responsibilities and problems with which all were totally unfamiliar. John Walter and *The Times* were no exceptions to the laws of supply and demand. Many of the new hands—Sleigh, founder of the *Daily Telegraph*, for one—lost all their money ; several of the older generation not only lost their money but ruined their properties beyond revival—as Baldwin ruined the *Herald*, and Glover the *Chronicle*. A mistaken policy on the part of John Walter during these anxious years might equally have brought irretrievable disaster upon *The Times*. He, as Chief Proprietor under the terms of the will of John Walter I, was bound to take the entire responsibility of deciding between the policy of publishing *The Times* at the new democratic price in order to retain for it the dominating numerical advantage it had so long enjoyed over the combined London Press ; and that of maintaining it at a higher price, thus accepting the consequence of a relatively small but aristocratic circulation. Over this dilemma John Walter took time. The matter was too grave to be decided once and for all in the autumn of 1855, or even during the next year or two. Certain changes in the printing department were felt to be due. By 1861 the Chief Proprietor had been enabled to view the new figures in the light of six years of new experience. The verdict of the figures removed from Walter's mind any disposition to lower the price of the journal for a purely competitive reason ; at the same time the abolition of the paper duty decided him to fix the price at 3d. that year.

The problem, as complex as it was vital, comprised an economic, a manufacturing, a journalistic, and a political question. Also, with John Walter a personal question was involved. In the light of experience the problem gradually resolved itself into the simple inquiry : How could *The Times*, supposing it could be made to pay, exercise in the future its old unique national influence without its old unique national circulation ?

John Walter first made up his mind to be constant to the existing inclusiveness of the paper. Notwithstanding the great changes in

CATCHING THE TRAIN

the public Press and the public taste, *The Times* must be carried on consistently with the independence and authority it had enjoyed and exercised for at least a generation. Secondly, he concluded that this policy could only be made effective if the commercial position of *The Times* were rendered thoroughly sound. The paper, too, must be produced more rapidly in order to get to the country at a time comparable with that of the delivery of the new provincial morning journals. Finally, he satisfied himself that financial stability was impossible if the price of the paper were reduced to the level of the cheap Press. Responsibility for the basic decisions was John Walter's, but he was supported by the informed members of the staff.

The situation cannot properly be understood without an explanation of the printing and publishing arrangements as they existed at this time. The maintenance of the printing office in an up-to-date condition was Walter's particular responsibility, and was perhaps the least exacting of all the difficult decisions of this period. It was, in any event, the first to be tackled. *The Times* must be on sale earlier; it must be made punctual. Regularity of publication had always been a source of friction between Delane and Morris and the printer. John Joseph Lawson, printer to *The Times* since 1830, died in 1852, and Walter thereupon appointed his assistant, Wetherall, to the position. In addition, he took into the office John Cameron MacDonald, a Gallery reporter with much mechanical knowledge, to whom he confided control of the printing machines and their development. The mechanical department had, even by 1850, become of fundamental and pressing importance. A continual source of complaint from subscribers and their agents in the 'fifties concerned the late delivery of *The Times*. It was, for example, impossible for Printing House Square to guarantee the delivery time of the paper to any subscriber on the Great Western Railway. It was not always the fault of Printing House Square. For one thing, that railway, like the other companies, habitually delayed newspaper trains to suit its own convenience; but a second and more frequent cause of delay in the early 'fifties was the failure of the publishing department to catch even punctually dispatched trains. In 1853 Morris was unable to assure his Oxford agent that *The Times* could regularly catch the 6 a.m. train from Paddington. His excuse was that "whatever can be done by money, by labour and by system is, we think, accomplished, but," he warned him, "one only thing we have not done and that is—

sent to press an imperfect paper." The agents were not told what the office knew well enough, that nothing irritated the Chief so much as a misspelling and that he had all proofs systematically read four or five times to prevent so much as one from appearing and, when it did, fined the printer's reader.¹ For Walter's sake *The Times* was read by proof-correctors as if it were a text of the Holy Bible. Morris therefore returned the correct answer to complaints that so long as *The Times* had to be a perfect paper there would be complaints about delivery. A different sort of paper would be a different affair. "That no doubt would very shortly settle our difficulty. You would get all the papers you require at your own time; but how long you would continue to require them is a question that needs no great sagacity to answer" But, at the time of this letter, 1853, however serious a nuisance the late arrival of *The Times* might be, its circulation was still expanding. After 1855, however, the position was reversed. Mechanical changes became urgent at the very time sales, and, therefore, profits, were seen to be endangered by competition. The Chief Proprietor, determined not to allow office pride to stand in the way of efficiency, was prepared to buy machines from outside. Acting promptly, Printing House Square ordered two of the latest rotary and horizontal cylinder machines of the type originated in 1846 for the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* by William Hoe. The machines were ten-feeders and capable of 20,000 impressions an hour. These new presses were built in Manchester by Whitworth and delivered in 1857. The responsibility of installing and working these machines fell upon the shoulders of MacDonald, who had proved himself an excellent engineer. They superseded the Applegath vertical machines introduced in 1848. By means of the Hoe presses the delivery of *The Times* was sufficiently expedited; publication became regularly punctual. In 1861 the Hoe machines were adapted for taking curved stereos, which still further decreased the time of production, enabling copies of the paper to be dispatched still farther into the country for delivery on the day of publication. But, costly as this apparatus was, the printing staff did not rest. In 1863 MacDonald, with the assistance of Calverley, invented another type of rotary. Still the engineers were urged to persevere. In 1866 John Walter himself visited the United States, investigating methods of newspaper production. By this time the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily News*, and the *Standard* had followed Printing House Square in the use of Hoe's fast ten-feeder. This

¹ This custom of fining continued until 1906.

THE WALTER PRESS

machine, rapid as it was, depended upon feeding by hand. The principle of mechanically unwinding the paper from a continuous roll or web and thus feeding the machine automatically was invented and made practicable in the office of *The Times* in 1868. MacDonald and Calverley, responding to John Walter's pressure, submitted in that year the first complete rotary press of the modern type, the reel-fed perfecter, printing both sides of the sheet. It was named the "Walter" Press.

Thus a considerable amount of time and money was expended during some fifteen years in making trials, experiments, and inventions with the object of accelerating production and at the same time cutting down the costs. The inventions in Printing House Square, above all the "Walter" Press of 1868, effected substantial economies in the time taken to print the paper. But these successful efforts to secure punctual delivery of the paper did not at the same time economize costs of production. On the contrary, the printing costs soared with the cost of the new machines, as they did for every London morning journal. Without a lower printing bill, a lower price for *The Times* could only be considered if economics were possible in other departments. The main saving was in newsprint. For its paper *The Times* paid 55s. a ton in 1845, 54s. in 1848, 42s. in 1850, 40s. in 1855, and 38s. in 1861, when the published price was lowered from 4d. to 3d. That reduction, allowing for the abolition of the duty, was estimated to cost the proprietors £70,000. The lowering of the quality and cost of the newsprint in 1861 to 38s. saved £34,500 only. Some way of making up the difference had to be found.

The one other department in which a gain might be found was the advertising. Could the same spaces be made to yield larger revenue? Not to any great extent, for this department, flourishing as it was in the 'sixties, tended to yield less revenue with the increase in the relative circulation of competing journals. The rate charged by the trade before 1853 for what are still known as "small" advertisements was 3s. 6d. each in the country weeklies and 5s. in the London morning journals. This figure included the tax of 1s. 6d., a sum that constrained proprietors to keep their own charges and profits low in order to induce numbers of advertisers to buy space. *The Times* did not increase its rate between 1820 and 1850, although its circulation had quadrupled in that generation. The slightest increase in the rate of any paper would have depressed the number of advertisements. Moreover,

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as the circulation of *The Times* was, and ever had been, directly connected with the number and range of advertisements, it was deemed advisable in the middle of the nineteenth, as in the eighteenth, century to give the circulation the assistance of the low publicity rate. There have always been readers in the habit of buying newspapers for the sake of the advertisements, and newspaper proprietors have always appreciated the significance of news in advertising. Increased revenue from an increased space rate may act as a deterrent upon circulation. Hence proprietors were satisfied, as Walter was for a long period, that they should secure an equilibrium between the advertising and the circulation. In the first half of the nineteenth century the charge for advertisements was the same in all newspapers irrespective of circulation, and this economic fact had been of immense value to the circulation of *The Times* down to 1855. But after the rapid rise of the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Standard*, both at 1d., conditions were altogether changed. Some journals, first the *Telegraph* and then the *Daily News*, accepted advertisements at the very low rate of 1s. for two lines, and those of a character that would have scandalized John Walter had he seen them. Even at two lines for 1s. 6d. the charge for the large circulation claimed by the *Telegraph* was smaller than *The Times* charged for its lower circulation. The new circumstances, therefore, were gradually inducing *The Times* to reverse its earlier and somewhat distant attitude towards advertising. The rate could not be raised without risk. To reduce the risk it was necessary to carry further the principle of regarding advertisers as persons, as customers. But up to 1860 Printing House Square had not been forced by trade conditions to make up its mind that advertising was a more important single factor of profit than circulation. Even at this time the paper did not need to ask for advertising. However, while for more than a generation it had been able to refuse pledges of punctuality in appearance or of regularity in position, *The Times* is to be found from 1857 giving consideration to such demands from advertisers. With reason, therefore, Walter turned to this source in 1861 to reduce the fall in revenue of £35,000 or so which followed the reduction of the price to 3d. The advertising rates were raised so as to yield another £1 per column, estimated to produce £15,500 annual revenue. Murmuring by small advertisers was ignored. The shriller dissatisfaction of the auctioneers and estate agents, however, had to be met by a compromise. A new discount was given to these

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classes Finally, as the remaining deficit, nearly £20,000, could not be offset, it was accepted as a concomitant of the establishment of the penny Press ; and a lower profit was taken and a lower dividend to the proprietors (and a lower bonus to the editor and others) foreseen.

When during the later 'sixties the Proprietor, faced with still keener competition, again looked into the figures for the strict purpose of ascertaining whether there was a possible basis for further price reduction, he could compare the earnings and costs of several years' working at 3d. There was only one possible conclusion from such an inquiry . *The Times*, edited and manufactured as it had been during Barnes's time and after, could only maintain profits on anything like the customary scale if sold at the price of 3d. Little increase in revenue from advertising could be anticipated during the coming decade because competition had resulted in widespread reduction of rates, and the new low rates of the "popular" Press promised to be permanent In any event, a big increase in the number of advertisements would have to be accommodated either by an extra sheet, which would add to costs, or by suppressing editorial matter to provide space for them, which would alter the character of the journal. To lower the price meant a loss in revenue or a change in character. There is no doubt whatever that if Walter was anxious to maintain profits he was more than equally determined to admit no material change in *The Times*. And though for years the profits had been, to use his own words, "in flood," Walter rightly anticipated diminution. He considered it imprudent to make unnecessary sacrifices. Indeed, from the point of view of profit, the risks were of a very serious order. It was estimated in 1868 that a reduction of the price of *The Times* from 3d. to 2d. would raise the circulation of the paper by some 20 per cent. to 72,000 ; and, even allowing for an increase of 15 per cent. in the advertising rates on the normal volume and a further cut in the quality of the newsprint, the probable adverse balance on such an alteration would cost the proprietors £40,000 or more a year. This sum would have had to be found by cutting down the dividends. Nevertheless, there was one thing to be said for such a course : Walter was the printer and would reap an increased profit from the increased print-order. Should not the price have been reduced to 2d. if the proprietors' profits on *The Times* at 3d. were confessedly "in flood"? And when from his own personal point of view as printer he would have gained the

advantage of a much larger volume of work and proportionately increased profit?

The Chief Proprietor and the other owners were all equally interested to maintain profits—though not necessarily for identical reasons. None of the great capital expense involved in reconditioning the printing plant (*e.g.*, the cost of the Hoe machines) was paid by *The Times*. During these years the only assistance John Walter received from the funds of the paper was the payment of his dividend in advance. At Barnes's death the total yearly dividend amounted to some £18,000. The circulation of *The Times* was then about 20,000 a day; the dividends were much lower at the beginning of Delane's editorship. At the time of Walter II's death the finances of the paper were so far upset by the very high costs of the competitive news services into which *The Times* was forced by the aggressive rivalry of the Whig *Chronicle* that resignations, as chronicled in Chapter II, resulted. In 1850 *The Times* was again making dividends on the old scale. The normal distribution between 1850 and 1870 had returned to the Barnes level of £1,000 for every 1,000 of circulation. The dividend on one-sixteenth share of *The Times* normally fluctuated in accordance with circulation from £3,125 (50,000) in 1854 to £3,750 in 1868 (60,000). In years when advertising revenue was abnormally high the annual dividend on a share was as much as £5,000 and in one or two exceptional years nearly £6,000. Formidable objection to change of any sort was only to be expected from persons benefiting to this extent from *The Times* as it was, in its character and in its price. The one plain business fact that the Proprietary saw during the 'sixties was that in spite of the penny Press and the new journalism their profits were being maintained and even increased. Whether *The Times* was maintaining the vast political and social influence it had earlier exercised was another—and to the Proprietors, as such, an immaterial—question. They could then have no motive—and they never at any time had the right—to press upon the Manager any plan, spiritual or material, of any kind. Sir Robert Carden acted as a trustee for the Reserve Fund, but neither he nor any other "Proprietor" enjoyed the right to urge John Walter III to follow his father's example and to re-fashion *The Times* in accordance with what they might regard as "contemporary" developments. Nor were the circumstances the same, for when John Walter II took charge in 1804 and re-created the paper it was in low water and

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almost sinking. If, after sixty years, *The Times* had again had to fight an emergency, John Walter II's son and successor would certainly have met it with his best intelligence and resourcefulness. As circumstances were, and whatever his immediate gains as printer from cheapening *The Times* and increasing its circulation, he considered it essential to maintain the paper's profits as a guarantee of the paper's character and the guarantee also of his own independence of the rest of the Proprietary.

Fortunately, as the reader has now seen, so far from there being an internal crisis, *The Times*, published at 3d., was making handsome profits, in spite of the fall in revenue. Secondly, John Walter as printer, sparing nothing to modernize the machine room, now produced the paper with exemplary speed and punctuality. Any element that could be called disquieting lay outside the typographical or the advertising departments of Printing House Square. On the other hand, from the strictly editorial point of view, a change in relative circulation could hardly be overlooked. It was not a mere matter of "pride," for *The Times* did not then, or for many years, regard the penny journals as newspapers in the serious sense of the word. Changes in the relative numerical positions of political journals, even of penny journals, might be followed by political consequences, and no editor relishes the knowledge that the number of his readers is decreasing, whether absolutely or relatively. The office therefore saw with regret that, despite its comfortable financial situation, the paper was, contrary to prophecy, being forced out of the numerical supremacy it had enjoyed for more than forty years. The trade believed that this position had been won by virtue of its unique editorial skill, the volume of its advertising, and the resources gained from its unequalled profits. Nobody, whether Cobbett, Place, or the *Saturday Reviewers*, knew how much of the immense power and prestige of the leading articles of the "bloody, black-guard, and despotic old *Times*" was due to their circulation throughout the entire country, among the poor as well as the rich and the middle-classes. The question was asked often enough: Did the immense power of *The Times* arise principally from its national circulation? Recently, from the journalistic standpoint, the paper had done well, materially as well as spiritually. The 70,500 reached in October, 1854, was destined to be surpassed at the death of the Prince Consort in 1861 and at the marriage of the Prince of Wales in 1863. The normal figure in

1865 was 65,000, while the issue of October 19, 1865, which contained the paper's obituary of Lord Palmerston, was 76,065 copies.

The political initiative gained by *The Times* through alliance with Palmerston¹ had its effect on the politics of the *Daily Telegraph*, which discovered in 1858 that it was no longer "neutral, bound to no party" as it had been previously advertised; it had advanced to a championship of the statesman with whom Delane had earlier concluded his understanding. It was now advertised that "The *Daily Telegraph* . . . espouses the principles and measures of Lord Palmerston."² While Mowbray Morris could feel complacent about one aspect of the rival newspaper's activities—"it has," he said, "an immense circulation, but no influence in any direction at home or abroad"³—there can be no doubt that the editorial department experienced feelings of chagrin when the *Daily Telegraph*, after years of regular progress, was able to make a just claim to the "Largest Circulation in the World"⁴ with a daily average issue of 200,000 copies. At last, and less than a score of years after its foundation, the new penny paper had threefold the circulation of the threepenny *Times* founded fourscore years before. As has been made clear, it was not serious from the Proprietors' point of view, since the financial returns from the "Largest Circulation in the World" were not to be compared with the sums earned by *The Times*. Examination of the situation, therefore, discloses neither a financial nor a political motive sufficiently strong to justify making the sacrifice of £20,000–£30,000 a year necessitated by reduction of the price of *The Times* to 2d. There was no justification whatever for risking a much larger sum, not to mention the character of *The Times*. That character, according to the thesis of John Walter, was strictly related to his own personal convictions on the one hand and to its financial independence on the other. The gravest consequences to both would be involved by the acceptance of a policy of direct active competition with, as a first step, the reduction of the price of *The Times* to the penny of the *Daily Telegraph*.

It remained to take one step which Walter hoped, at this period, would tend to stabilize the circulation at 60,000. To a

¹ In the circumstances described in Chapter XII, "Delane Meets Palmerston"

² Mitchell's *Press Directory*, January, 1860. Thornton (son of Leigh) Hunt, editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, regularly saw Palmerston.

³ Morris to A. Michie, September 8, 1871

⁴ "In the World," i.e., because the *Daily Telegraph* had outdone *The Times* and the *New York Herald*.

"SET MORRIS AT SMITH"

modern reader it will seem strange that in 1860 *The Times*, which could be purchased from a London newsagent for the then marked price of 4d., should cost more when purchased from a railway bookstall. The distribution of *The Times* before the paper-tax repeal in 1861 was very simply conducted. Practically the whole of the country issue was bought by W H Smith and Son. For many years they had paid *The Times* an extra sum for the privilege of securing the earliest copies of the paper. By paying some £4,000 a year, they were able to serve their customers hours before other newsagents could receive supplies. Naturally, therefore, they sold their papers at a premium of at least one penny each, and in distant places even more. But the repeal compelled a change. In March, 1860, *The Times* declined to sanction the continuance of the old arrangement. The paper offered to waive the £4,000 premium if Smith would sell it at the price printed on the paper. It seemed simple to ask them to sell the paper at the marked price of 4d. in return for a saving of £4,000. The plan turned out to be difficult of execution. Smith's premium may have been reasonable in the circumstances, a few other agents attempted to make readers pay 5d. or 6d., and Bright was once charged 1s. at Crewe. In order to secure the public against extortion, *The Times* in August, 1860, was compelled not only to waive the £4,000 a year from Smith but to revise all its wholesale rates. In exchange for an undertaking to sell *The Times* for 4d. to railway travellers, Messrs. Smith and Son and all the other agents were given a new discount, of a qualified character, in addition to the standard 1½d. a copy. This new cut in the wholesale price was a substantial one, equal almost to another halfpenny per copy sold. With the waiving of Messrs. Smith's £4,000 a year, the new discount entailed a very considerable sacrifice on the part of the proprietors of *The Times*.

That revision of terms resulted in a slight increase in circulation and a great decrease in the number of complaints by travellers who were provoked by demands above the marked price. John Walter was one of them, "Set Morris at Smith," he would urge Delane. The new discount seemed on the whole a reasonable sacrifice to make, for it affected only a comparatively small, though vital, part of the circulation. But a new difficulty was experienced. It was found that regular readers who subscribed through Smith's chief office in London paid 5d. a copy and could not be served for less on account of the cost of the carriage.

PRICE THREEPENCE

of their copy and because the new discount was given only in respect of bookstall sales to travellers, or at least to persons who could secure access to the platforms. Thus there were two prices for the same paper in the same place. Clearly, therefore, it could only be a matter of time before regular subscribers went to the railway bookstalls in order to secure their *Times* for 4d. This occurred to such an extent that, rather than give the discount to the whole of the country subscribers, *The Times* discontinued it altogether. Consequently, on January 1, 1861, *The Times* again permitted itself to be sold at 5d. at all railway stations. At the same time the management announced its determination to avail itself of every opportunity to have *The Times* sold at the marked price all over the country. But the only possible means by which this desirable state of affairs could be brought about would be to persuade the agents to forgo a portion of their profit or, in the event of failure, for *The Times* to do so. Smith's influence was not decreasing. The changes introduced by the 1855 legislation had established them in a virtual monopoly of the news-distribution trade, for most of the other country firms, even though they maintained their own shops and bookstalls, habitually secured their small-bulk supplies through Smith. The firm's organization was so perfect and their connexions so extensive that it became convenient for *The Times* to maintain them as their sole agents. This eased many problems for Printing House Square, and there was, to some extent, a common interest; for the wholesale agents were hardly uncritical champions of the cheap Press. They reckoned it to be as much trouble to book and handle a penny paper as a fourpenny one, and the profit much less. In the early part of 1861 *The Times* and Smith's compromised and made a new agreement stabilizing the sale price of *The Times* at 4d. to all persons, whether travellers or not, applying at any railway station, whether there was a stall there or not. The vitally important clause gave a subscriber the right to have his copy of *The Times* delivered for 4d. at any station whether or not it paid Smith to maintain a bookstall there, provided a minimum period of one month was contracted for.

Then, as has been seen, the abolition of the paper duty from October 1, 1861, was followed by the reduction in the marked price of *The Times* from 4d. to 3d. Although the making of a fresh agreement with Smith on the same lines followed, not-

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LONDON JULY SIXTY-ONE OCTOBER 1 1861

PRICE 3d.

SALE OR RETURN

withstanding this reduction and the agreement with the wholesale agents, it was found that in many districts the charge for *The Times* was not 3d. but 3½d. It was believed in Printing House Square that the agents were covering their losses in handling the penny papers by overcharging for the dearer *Times*. There can be no doubt, however, that the bulk of the single issues of *The Times* as compared with that of the penny papers did require, as a general rule, a high rate of carriage, and that the lowering of net profit made their business less rather than more profitable. The expenses of Smith's business remained the same, the percentage of profit was as before, but the new price of *The Times* was 25 per cent below the old. The loss in turnover was as great for *The Times* as for Smith. Yet the paper was on all hands asked to lower its wholesale terms. In the circumstances it refused, and travellers once again found themselves asked to pay a premium over the marked price. As it came to be felt at Printing House Square that a quarrel with Smith would not pay, *The Times* for a considerable period acquiesced in their charging 3½d. However, in 1866, Walter determined, once more, and by an agreed revision of terms (which burdened *The Times* with the cost of carriage), secured that the paper should be sold to all railway travellers, without regard to distance from London, at the paper's marked figure of Threepence. The decline in the normal sales of the threepenny paper which continued, notwithstanding this latest arrangement with Smith, forced Walter to consider a system of distribution, now taken for granted as normal, but then untried. "I propose," he wrote to Morris on June 8, 1871, "that we should take back all copies unsold by Smith at the Railway Stations—such copies not to exceed a certain proportion (to be agreed upon between Messrs. Smith & yourself) of the papers supplied to the Station for sale to Railway travellers." This initial trial of the now familiar Sale or Return system at once benefited the circulation, already increased by the public interest in the Franco-Prussian War. The paper had risen to 66,398 on July 25, 1870, the day of the publication of the *Projet de Traité*. The overthrow of the French Empire on September 4, 1870, sent the following day's paper to a sale of 70,405. Nevertheless, the Sale or Return system, while of undeniable benefit to the circulation from 1871, did not succeed in arresting the decline in normal sales. The Paris Commune brought the sales of the issue for March 22, 1871, up to a total of 67,806, but during the succeeding four years the figure remained at a steady average of

PRICE THREEPENCE

64—63,000. The figure for November 9, 1877, the last issue edited by Delane, was only 60,886.

HIGHEST CIRCULATION REACHED BY THE TIMES 1854-1865		
DATE	NO OF COPIES SOLD	EVENT
Oct 2, 1854	67,000	Reported Fall of Sebastopol
," 9, 1854	70,500	Battle of the Alma
Sept. 11, 1855	69,000	Taking of Sebastopol
Dec. 16, 1861	90,000	Death of the Prince Consort
," 24, 1861	83,000	Funeral of the Prince Consort
May 2, 1862	77,000	Opening of the International Exhibition
Mar. 9, 1863	98,000	Reception of Princess Alexandra
," 11, 1863	108,000	Wedding of the Prince of Wales
Dec. 11, 1863	68,000	Fight between Heenan and King
Oct. 19, 1865	76,000	Death of Lord Palmerston

Unlike the circulation, the dividend, now depending to an increased extent upon advertising, had been maintained. The character of *The Times*, too, had now been consistently maintained for so many years that, like its appearance and its style, its price fixed in 1861 became part of the "tradition" of Printing House Square, and *The Times* remained Price Threepence until 1913.

XVIII

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

ENGLISHMEN in the mid-nineteenth century were neither close nor sympathetic students of American history. Leslie Stephen wrote in 1865: "The name of America five years ago, called up to the ordinary English mind nothing but a vague cluster of associations, compounded of Mrs Trollope, *Martin Chuzzlewit*, and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*." The British public was at once without knowledge and without understanding of the problems and situation of the United States.

The Times shared the prejudices of its readers even while it tried to enlighten their ignorance. Delane's middle-class faith did not extend to universal manhood suffrage. Robert Lowe's experience in democratic Australia gave him little insight into American conditions; Mowbray Morris was of West Indian origin, besides being a convinced Conservative. English reformers for their part admired and appealed to American institutions. The prosperity of the United States was an effective reply to the argument that democracy was in the long run incompatible with stable government. The pro-Americans were such men as John Bright and Richard Cobden, advocates of democracy and consistent enemies of *The Times*.

Thus, unfortunately for Anglo-American relations, opinion in England was determined not only by the memory of bitter diplomatic strife but by the feeling of the English governing class that the United States stood for a social movement it was resisting at home. The division of sympathy in England was echoed in the Press. The penny *Daily Telegraph* began its career by attacking the animosity shown by the high-priced papers to America. Nevertheless, despite the *Telegraph's* accusations of "mingled ignorance and misrepresentation," *The Times* made an honest attempt to acquaint itself and its readers with the actual state of affairs in the Republic.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

Correspondents in America can be traced back to an early date. Moreover, besides the regular correspondents at New York and San Francisco, special and occasional correspondents informed the paper of events in Utah and Kansas, while in 1856 Filmore, an experienced servant of the paper, made an extended tour of the majority of the States and wrote descriptions of the life of the people which were a great success¹ In the same year Thomas Gladstone, visiting Kansas during the height of the border struggles there, contributed a series of articles to *The Times* in which he wholeheartedly praised the free institutions of the Northern States as contrasted with the servile society of the South² In 1854 an important step towards the understanding of America was taken by the appointment of J. C. Bancroft Davis, who was, wrote Morris, "a remarkably good specimen of an American." Davis, a young New York lawyer, aged 31 at the time of his appointment, had served for three years in the American Legation in London. On May 26, 1854, Morris dismissed the then correspondent in New York, C. Edwards Lester, who had the habit of anticipating his salary and also of charging *The Times* heavily for the "expenses" of obtaining intelligence. Davis, appointed in his place, was a man of wholehearted Northern sympathies, and was destined to a considerable career in the political and diplomatic service of the United States.

In 1856 Delane visited America, and was accompanied on a tour of the United States by Oliphant, Robert Lowe, and Thomas Gladstone. Unhappily his diary of the tour is that of a mediocre English tourist, making little or no reference to the importance of the journey for *The Times*, showing no sign that the writer had made any study of the great question then approaching its climax.

Delane's lack of interest in the political and economical situation of an unfamiliar country was unfortunate for *The Times*. The causes of the coming struggle were complex and difficult for a foreigner to comprehend; yet it was inevitable for Englishmen—accustomed to meddle with abuses everywhere—to take sides in an American dispute, especially when the fate of slavery seemed involved. "Abolition" was a cause which Englishmen had made their own—and *The Times*

¹ "I am glad to tell you that your letters are highly approved by our dear public. Davis says he did not know the everyday life of his countrymen could be made so picturesque." Morris to Filmore, February 6, 1857 (P.H.S. Papers, M. 6/471.)

² Reprinted as *The Englishman in Kansas, 1857*.

THE BRITISH PUBLIC CONFUSED

yielded to none in its hatred of slavery. It had supported Pitt's Bill for the suppression of the trade, and since 1788 it had consistently proffered its aid to the Abolitionists in the long campaign to eradicate first the trade and then slavery itself. But, much as *The Times* disliked slavery, it was discriminating in the use of arguments against it. At a time when *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, having enjoyed a prodigious success in the United States, was creating an almost equal sensation in England, *The Times* was the first English journal to give the book an unfavourable review, and that not as bad literature but as bad propaganda. The academic fastidiousness of W H Stowe, to whom the task of criticism was entrusted, revolted from the crudity of his namesake's writing. Nevertheless, there was no compromise of principle, even if the paper showed, as the crisis approached, an increasing consciousness of the difficulties in the way of emancipation.

The slavery question was brought to a head by Lincoln's election to the Presidency in 1860. *The Times* spoke of his "good character" and refused to take the threat of secession seriously. However, the situation developed alarmingly, and by the end of the year *The Times* was insisting rather on the folly of secession than on its impossibility. On January 7, 1861, the secession of South Carolina, which had taken place on December 19, 1860, was announced, with a leading article on slavery, which laid the principal blame on the aggressive policy of the South.

The language of *The Times* was so strong on the crucial question of slavery that, had the President proclaimed the emancipation of the slaves as a necessary consequence of Federal victory, the paper could not possibly have withheld its support. This, however, the President would not do; to him, as to most Northern statesmen, abolition was desirable, but the Union was the first consideration, and they strove to preserve the Union and to win over the wavering middle States at the expense of mystifying foreign observers. The occasion of disruption was slavery; it was perhaps the only question which could cause an irreconcilable division and lead to war, but it was not the principle for which the parties fought. The South fought for State rights; the Federal Government fought to preserve the Union. The British public had not followed at all closely the legalist arguments of Jefferson Davis and could not be expected to appreciate the delicate questions involved in federation. They believed, however, that the South was serving the North the same turn that the thirteen States served George III., despite J. L. Motley's destruction of this

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

argument in a series of letters to *The Times*. A leading article in the paper on July 5, 1861, pointed out that the South, unlike the North, were able to celebrate Independence Day with unmixed feelings.

Another question began to agitate English minds. The North had long been known to advocate Protection, while the South favoured Free Trade. With civil war imminent, *The Times* was horrified by the prospect of total paralysis of the Lancashire cotton industry, then entirely dependent on American supplies; and very soon after the secession of South Carolina the impression that slavery was the main issue began to be qualified. The tariff issue came to the fore. The Morrill Tariff Bill was denounced in terms that seemed to imply some veering towards the Southern side; on March 12 *The Times* found that "Protection was quite as much a cause of the disruption of the Union as Slavery."

By the spring of 1861 the initial attitude of *The Times* was thus modified. Its judgment that the fate of slavery was not in question received what seemed clear confirmation in the inaugural address of Lincoln himself, which had been delivered in Washington on March 4, but was not reported in England until March 18.¹ The President said in plain words :

I have no purpose, directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of Slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.

The belief among Englishmen generally that the Civil War would be no crusade against slavery led men of all parties to counsel compromise. Even Cobden at first favoured the peaceful acceptance of separation. Mowbray Morris, whose point of view will have to be considered in detail later, took the same view, yet more strongly :

To allow full scope to a revolution until it is thoroughly organized, & then to oppose it, seems to be nothing short of madness. To attempt to collect the revenue from the seceded states is to begin a civil war. Are the President & his Cabinet blind to this consequence, or do they act under an imperative sense of duty which repudiates responsibility & leaves the issue in the hands of Providence. In either case they are not statesmen but executioners—unreasoning instruments of so-called law. I cannot understand & have hardly patience to inquire into the motives of such conduct.²

¹ A telegraphed summary from Ireland. The full text arrived next day. The cable was interrupted throughout the war period.

² Morris to Bancroft Davis, April 19, 1861. (P.H.S. Papers, M 11/63)

RUSSELL AGAIN TO THE FRONT

The Times, while admitting the strength of the legal case of the Government, asserted that an appeal to arms was unjustifiable

The leading article of March 19, 1861, may be taken as defining the attitude of *The Times* to the belligerents in the war that was about to be waged Slavery, it argued, was not an issue. The origins of the quarrel were in a conflict of economic interest, particularly manifested in fiscal policy. The formal *casus belli* concerned the claim to a right of secession, and on that question the North was legally in the right. But as a matter of practical politics it was not possible for so large and powerful a section of the nation as formed the Confederate States to be kept in the Union against their will or to be brought back into it by force of arms, and therefore Lincoln was wrong to expose his country to the horrors of civil war in vindication of a legal right that could not be enforced.

Hostilities had not yet begun, but it had been apparent for some time that one of the great wars of the century was impending, and the best available war correspondent must be enlisted. As early as the middle of February, W. H. Russell had been invited by Deane to go to America; he left England on the service of *The Times* on March 1.¹ His attitude of mind on approaching his task is defined by himself:

I had no theories to uphold, no prejudices to subserve, no interests to advance, no instructions to fulfil, I was a free agent, bound to communicate to the powerful organ of public opinion I represented, my own daily impressions of the men, scenes, and actions around me, without fear, favour, or affection of or for anything but that which seemed to me to be the truth. As to the questions which were distracting the South, my mind was a *tabula rasa*, or, rather, *tabula non scripta*.²

The fame of Russell was well known in New York, and he was immediately overwhelmed with invitations. The first was to dine, on St. Patrick's Day, being the morrow of his arrival, with the

¹ Professor E. D. Adams (*Great Britain and the American Civil War*, I, 56) implies that Russell was sent to supersede Davis on account of the latter's Federal sympathies. This is not correct. Morris more than once assured Davis that there was to be no supersession. Davis being necessarily stationary at New York, Russell was sent because a mobile correspondent was required, and also to give a foreigner's point of view. But his opinions were very much those of Davis, and Davis continued to correspond with the paper until the end of 1861, when he resigned because he was leaving the country for the sake of his health.

² W. H. Russell, *My Diary North and South*, I, pp. 7-8.

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Friendly Society of St Patrick. There, notwithstanding the declaration of impartiality just quoted, he allowed himself to make a speech, in which he professed devout faith in the cause of the Union. It was a serious indiscretion, and Morris, when he heard of it, wrote "*I am very sorry* you attended that St Patrick dinner & made that speech." But Russell was invested with immediate popularity in Republican circles. On his arrival in Washington he was introduced to Seward, who invited him to dinner and presented him to Lincoln. The President "put out his hand in a very friendly manner, and said, 'Mr Russell, I am very glad to make your acquaintance, and to see you in this country. The London *Times* is one of the greatest powers in the world,—in fact, I don't know anything which has much more power,—except perhaps the Mississippi. I am glad to know you as its minister.'"¹ Russell went on to a tour of the Southern States, where a first-hand study of the slave market filled him with loathing of the "peculiar institution." Thus, before the first shot was fired, he was in sentiment deeply attached to the cause of the North. This did not prevent him from thinking, as a student of war and from his observation of the temper of the South, that there was no possibility of restoring the Union by force of arms.

Russell's letters showed a remarkable political acumen. His judgments, had Delane and Morris taken heed of them, might have saved the paper from serious errors, but both were blinded by an understandable though none the less regrettable prejudice. Russell, for example, warned the English people that "a Northern man will endure anything but the idea of the Union being broken up." (July 16, 1861.) Moreover, he pointed out that, though the aim of the North might not be abolition, yet a victory for the South would be a victory for slavery: "A slave State cannot long exist without a slave trade. The poor whites who will have won the fight will demand their share of the spoils. The land is abundant, and all that is wanted to give them fortune is a supply of slaves. They will have that in spite of their masters, unless a stronger power prevents the accomplishment of their wishes." (July 15.)

Russell also formed a high opinion of Lincoln's motives, and communicated it to his colleagues at home. *The Times*, and English sentiment generally, have often been reproached with their inability to appreciate Lincoln's lofty character in the early

¹ Russell, *My Diary North and South*, I, p. 57.

DISTRUST OF DEMOCRACY

stages of the war. The explanation is that it was taken for granted that the uneducated "rail-splitter" could never be more than a figurehead, and that the real control of the Government would be vested in Seward, the Secretary of State. Seward was an exceedingly able statesman and diplomatist, but his appearance was sour and his manner forbidding, and he had that morbid distrust of Europe that has played so prominent a part in the history of the United States. Seward's thoughts constantly ran on the idea of closing the ranks in America by forcing a war against some European Power—preferably England or France. He had taken this line during the Presidential campaign; he had made the famous, jocose, statement to the Prince of Wales that, when he became Secretary of State, it would be his duty to insult England; on a visit to London shortly before he had created an unfavourable impression. Early in April he wrote a strong dispatch for Adams, the new Minister to London, to take with him and read to Lord John Russell. Before sending it he read it to W. H. Russell, who remarked "an undercurrent of menace."

This attitude was not confined to the Secretary of State, nor was its expression limited to dispatches addressed to British statesmen. A letter to *The Times* by C. M. Clay, United States Minister to St Petersburg, brought down upon him a measured rebuke: "Let Mr Clay and his countrymen look well to the present, and they will find enough to occupy their attention without troubling themselves with long visions of retribution, which no man now alive will ever see accomplished." (May 20, 1861.) Delane himself was much affected by such an outburst.

The Northern public, for its part, aware of the consistent British hatred for slavery—apparent equally in the policy of Lord Palmerston and the *American Notes* of Charles Dickens—could not understand the lack of sympathy for a cause which, if not directed explicitly against slavery, was at least directed against slave States. The worst motives were in consequence attributed to the British attitude. Though an Englishman could not be expected to appreciate the North's determination to preserve the Union, his actual hostility, it must be admitted, was not entirely aroused by the highest motives. Without doubt, one reason why Delane (and Palmerston) viewed the possible disruption of the Federation without regret was because democracy was distrusted. Walter saw the matter in the same light: "The whole affair is looked upon in this country as a breakdown of democracy; that is one of the main causes of the absence of sympathy."

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

On another occasion Walter asked "Why should we be so very anxious to see the Union preserved? What has it done to command our sympathy?" The language of Clay and of the *New York Herald*, together with the known intentions of Seward, led *The Times* to admit frankly that it had no anxiety to preserve the Union, of whose rapid growth it had already expressed apprehension. While Delane, therefore, feared the menacing attitude of the Federal Government, his prejudices were fostered by his intercourse with Palmerston. Mowbray Morris was in sympathy with the South for its own sake. He was born in the West Indies and had the background of a not dissimilar society. On the abolition question itself he nourished no strong convictions. At the end of 1856 he recalled his West Indian experience in writing to Filmore, who was about to visit the slave States.

You will find much to interest you, but probably little ocular proof of the evils charged against their peculiar institution. As a rule the slave is well fed and housed, carefully attended in sickness & often cherished in old age: the exception is when the animal is not worth his hire.

It was inevitable that Morris should share the Southerner's dislike for the "Yankee." He did, indeed, attempt to fight his prejudices, but even when advising Charles Mackay to see the Federalists' good points he could not help adding: "I assure you it goes very much against my grain to write this. The Northern Government & its policy are an abomination to me, & I greatly enjoy to hear them abused."¹

In the first months of the war English opinion was occupied with certain practical consequences of the status of a neutral. The intentions of the Government were made clear by Lord John Russell in the House of Commons on May 2, and a formal proclamation of neutrality was made on May 13, thereby rousing the resentment of the North, who contended that there was no war, but only the repression of an insurrection, and therefore no occasion for foreign Powers to declare any attitude at all. But the North had proclaimed a blockade of the Southern ports, a singular action if no war was in progress, and the South had retaliated by commissioning privateers with letters of marque. The blockade struck at English as well as Confederate commerce, and caused a movement of feeling towards the Southern side; consequently it

¹ Morris to Mackay, September 4, 1862. (P.H.S. Papers, M 11/668.) For Mackay see p. 377, *infra*.

BATTLE OF BULL RUN

became a matter of some importance to determine the rights of a British subject who might take service on a Southern privateer and then fall into the enemy's hands. *The Times* argued forcibly¹ that such persons were entitled to no protection from their own country should their captors choose to treat them as pirates. This was already an unpopular line of argument, but it was the official attitude of the Government, and Professor Adams regards *The Times* as "presumably reflecting governmental decision." There is no evidence at Printing House Square that Delane had any communication with the Cabinet on this point. On the other hand, the article, like many others written during the war, was the work of a member of the Government, for Lowe, who wrote it, was now Vice-President of the Board of Education.² Moreover, if John Russell was as unfriendly as ever, Delane was in the closest sympathy and communication with Palmerston.

By the beginning of August, 1861, relations between *The Times* and its American critics had reached a point of acute irritation. Summarizing the Session on August 6, Venables wrote of "the burst of splenetic folly which was provoked in the Northern States by the English declaration of neutrality." Before this species of misunderstanding had time to evaporate, resentment was increased by the manner in which the first news of large-scale fighting was received in England. Delane's disposition to believe in the bellicosity of the North was stimulated by the arrival of a New York paper, from which *The Times* was able to print a long extract containing threats to Europe when the Civil War should end. By the same mail came the description of the battle of Bull Run from Russell, who had watched it from the midst of a group of ladies and members of Congress with opera glasses assembled at a convenient vantage point. The untried Federal troops, breaking before the Confederate attack, had fled in panic back to Washington, and Russell's detailed account revealed the contempt of the veteran campaigner for some of the disgraceful episodes he had seen. His dispatch occupied seven columns on August 6, and the following day a leading article contained scathing comments on the euphemistic accounts of the battle that had appeared in the American Press.

Russell's descriptions of the battle were "anxiously waited for, and printed in extenso in all the leading [American] journals," while

¹ May 15, 1861.

² The previous year he had been allowed to write a series of leading articles in support of the Education Code that he was himself advocating in the House of Commons—an advantage that few Ministers in the nineteenth century can have enjoyed.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

"extracts from them were to be found in every paper in the land."¹ Reaching the American public when the first shock of the disaster had been softened, and the necessary reorganization of the Army had been put in hand, they moved Northern society to fury. Russell was angrily denounced in the Press, with the exception of the *New York Times*, which said :

The terrible epistle has been read with quite as much avidity as an average President's message. We scarcely exaggerate the fact when we say the first and foremost thought in the minds of a very large portion of our people after the repulse of Bull's Run was, What will Russell say? . . . He gives a clear, fair, and perfectly just and accurate, as it is spirited and graphic, account. . . . Discreditable as those scenes were to our Army, we have nothing in connexion with them whereof to accuse the reporter.²

Apart from this one detached journal the sentiment of the country was so violently hostile to Russell that fears were entertained for his personal safety, and he was even advised from Printing House Square to seek protection within the walls of the British Embassy. The adverse reception of his report had been foreseen; Mowbray Morris had written to him on August 14, 1861:

When your description of the Bull's Run affair appeared in *The Times*, everyone said "Russell will be Lynched"—and there was very serious apprehension for your safety entertained even by men not usually given to idle fears. That anxiety however seems to be subsiding since people have seen the subject treated by the Americans themselves. What a press! Is it the result of cheapness or of an utterly brutal state of morals? Are we to come down to that sort of thing here in England? Under the guidance of Bright and Gladstone I suppose some such result would overtake us—but thank God—Bright and Gladstone are not yet our masters.³

A little later Delane wrote in a similar sense. His letter shows that, as will become more apparent shortly, his personal feeling was distinctly more hostile to the North than he at present allowed to appear in *The Times*. Undoubtedly Russell's dispatch—entirely outweighing the pro-Northern letters from Bancroft

¹ C. F. Adams, Junior, "The Trent Affair" (*Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1912, Vol. 45, p. 38). The historian adds that, although Russell's account was "photographic and strictly correct," it created "a degree of irritation difficult to describe or overstate."

² Quoted in Atkins, II, p. 69. Rather strangely, Professor E. D. Adams (*op. cit.*, I, p. 178n) cites this as an attack on Russell. Russell himself (*My Diary North and South*, II, p. 298) takes it as a high compliment. Professor Adams attributes the nickname "Bull-Run Russell" to the *New York Times*.

³ P.H.S. Papers, M. 11/187.

"CHILDISH IRRITABILITY"

Davis, which were still appearing—contributed largely to form the uneasy atmosphere in which the Anglo-American crisis of the end of the year came to an issue. A memorial was presented to Seward for the expulsion of Russell,¹ and although the reply, in which *The Times* detected "an undercurrent of spite," was that nothing could be done, occasion was taken for a severe lecture to the Federal States.

The Americans have been conspicuous from the beginning of their troubles for an almost childish irritability. Bred up to hear the trumpet of praise for ever sounding, and to march onward to illimitable greatness under its exhilarating sounds, [they] seem totally unable to bear the check in their career with anything like manly fortitude. (October 8, 1861.)

But though nothing could more justly excuse "the childish irritability" than articles in this vein, and though the antipathy of the paper to the Northerners could now scarcely be denied,² *The Times* remained resolute against any attempt to translate unfriendly feelings into hostile acts. Neutrality remained its watchword. The Lancashire cotton industry was already beginning to feel the effects of the war, and its hotheads were clamouring for the blockade to be broken. But *The Times* was uncompromising. To break the blockade would be an act of war against the United States; the South as much as the North was responsible for the cutting off of cotton supplies; the Confederate Government aimed at forcing European nations to take sides in the quarrel; "it would ill become England to make herself the tool of such machinations." (October 21, 1861.)

¹ A more sophisticated school of thought considered it prudent to conciliate him. C. F. Adams, Junior, wrote to his father, the Ambassador

"Boston, Sept 3, 1861

"I persuaded Hale to insert a leading article about Russell in the *Advertiser*, which I send to Henry. The folly of our press in assaulting so savagely an agency so formidable as Russell has troubled me, and I'm glad to see that McLellan is wiser and spares a few civil words where they can be so useful. In fact I think McLellan is showing a tact and power of managing men which reminds me of Seward. For already, even at this distance, I see that he has moulded Russell, Wilson and Sumner like wax in his fingers. This is very important and I expect before this reaches you McLellan's finger will have been seen and wondered at in the columns of *The Times*." (Ford, *A Cycle of Adams Letters*, I, p. 38.)

² The American Minister from this time and throughout the war regarded *The Times* with contemptuous aversion. He treated the paper's constant argument that the retention of the South by force was impossible as a mere pretext, concealing an unconfessed hope for the disruption of the Union. "The London *Times* at last frankly admits that if split up we shall no longer be a terror to Europe so that there is no need of going any further for a reason to explain its crooked policy." (C. F. Adams to his son, September 20, 1861. Ford, *op. cit.*, I, p. 48.) Writing to Everett, he declared that "it is idle to hope for any fair dealing (from *The Times*). Its policy in the present instance is in humble imitation of that of Count de Vergennes, to secure the division of the Union as an essential security to the peace of Europe and the preponderance of Great Britain." (Letter of January 24, 1862, *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol 45, pp. 135-137.)

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

Such was the attitude of *The Times* when, at the end of November, the great commotion over the "Trent affair" broke out. The Confederate Government proposed to send two diplomatic envoys to present their case to the principal European Powers. James Mason was destined for London, and John Slidell for Paris. They successfully ran the blockade in a Confederate ship, and at Havana transferred to the British mail-packet Trent. The circumstances of their mission, and their presence on the Trent, were known to the Federal authorities, and certain naval officers had determined to intercept them. An American ship, the James Adger, arrived in British waters, and it was generally suspected that her intention was to await the approach of the Trent. Anxious consultations were held in Whitehall, and the Prime Minister immediately reported the result to the Editor of *The Times*. "Much to his regret," the legal opinion was that the American cruiser had the right to search the West India Packet and even carry her back to New York for trial, if the Confederate envoys were on board.

Such being the opinion of our men learned in the Law we have determined to do no more than to order the Phaeton Frigate to drop down to Yarmouth Roads & watch the Proceedings of the American within our Three Mile Limit of Territorial Jurisdiction & to prevent her from exercising within that Limit those Rights which we cannot dispute as belonging to her beyond that Limit.

In the mean while the American Captain having got very drunk this morning at Southampton with some excellent Brandy, & finding it blow heavily at sea has come to an anchor for the night within Calshot Castle at the entrance of the Southampton River.

I mention all these things for your private Information.¹

The closing sentence of this letter was evidently taken as a request to avoid the dangerous topic, and the right of search was not discussed in *The Times* during the following fortnight. After consulting Adams, the American Ambassador, Palmerston was reassured to the extent of writing to Delane on November 12 that the Trent was not the James Adger's quarry. But on November 8 the United States steam-sloop, San Jacinto, Captain Wilkes, stopped and boarded the Trent in the Bahama Channel, and in defiance of protest by the naval officer acting as Admiralty agent in charge of mails removed the two envoys and their

¹ Palmerston to Delane, November 11, 1861 (P H S. Papers, D 10/126; Dasent, II, 36.)

MORRIS PREPARES FOR WAR

secretaries. They refused to go until technical force had been applied by the laying of hands on their coat collars.

The Times on November 28, 1861, described the outrage and took up a position somewhat in advance of that defined by the Law Officers of the Crown. Evidently following the lines of Palmerston's letter, it admitted that "the testimony of International Law writers is all one way, that a belligerent war cruiser has the right to stop and visit and search any merchant ship upon the high seas." But stopping short at the admission of a right of search, it questioned, what Palmerston had thought must be conceded, the right of removing the envoys. They were on a diplomatic mission, travelling in a neutral ship between two neutral ports, and it was very doubtful whether they could be treated as contraband of war. The article, however, concluded with an appeal to the English people, on the one hand, "not to meet provocation with an outburst of passion," and to reasonable men in the Federal States, on the other hand, "not to provoke war by such acts as these."

On November 30 *The Times* announced that "the Cabinet has come to the conclusion that the act of the Captain of the San Jacinto, in seizing passengers on board a British vessel and carrying them forcibly away, is a clear violation of the Law of Nations, and one for which reparation must be at once demanded"; and the leading article of December 2 reported that a messenger was on the way to Washington with a dispatch to the British Minister, Lord Lyons, "instructing him to demand the disavowal of the act, and the surrender of Messrs Mason and Slidell." Passions in England rose rapidly higher, and the Cabinet prepared for the eventuality of war. So, also, did the Manager of *The Times*. On December 5 he wrote to Russell:

If there is war between England and America, the scene of your operation will, I presume, be Canada. Your first step of course will be to place yourself in safety on board a British ship, & I take it for granted that Lord Lyons will allow you to attach yourself *pro tem.* to his embassy. He, I should think, will go to Halifax unless his orders are to come home at once; and I know of no better or safer place than Halifax for you in the first instance. Upon this point of station however you must act upon your own judgment applied to the actual circumstances of the case which I cannot foresee. If we seize Portland, as no doubt we shall as an indispensable means of communication with Canada, you will have access to that country, & can take up a position

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wherever your presence may be most advantageous. Meanwhile Delane has written to his friend Rose at Montreal to arrange for an immediate correspondence from that place, & if you go to Montreal you must call upon Rose to learn what he has done for us¹

On the same day there appeared in the paper a column-length letter signed "Historicus," arguing learnedly from precedents in international law against the American claim to arrest persons in the position of Mason and Slidell. "Historicus" was the *nom de guerre* of William Vernon Harcourt. The letter was the first of a long series, which continued throughout the war, and dealt successively with the various intricate juridical questions that arose from time to time out of England's neutral status. Collectively they amounted to a weighty treatise on international law, and although on the Trent question "Historicus" took the English side, on most subsequent occasions he was found, as a lawyer, to take up an attitude considerably more favourable to the Federal Government than did the Editor of *The Times*. His letters were very widely studied, and were a principal agency in keeping the American legal case before public opinion in England. He was also known to be in close touch with Lord Russell, and it was supposed in the United States that his letters represented the views of the Foreign Office.² They were the foundation of Harcourt's repute as an international lawyer, and helped to gain him the appointment of Whewell Professor of International Law at Cambridge.

While firmly asserting the English case against the seizure of the envoys, *The Times* used its powers of persuasion to allay rising war fever. Resolutely pacific, its attitude may be assumed to have been concerted with the Government. The dispatch to Lyons had been altered at the last moment, at the personal instance of the Prince Consort, in order to give the United States a loophole of escape by disowning Wilkes, and, whether its exact terms were known or not in Printing House Square, the leading articles of the critical days were in consonance with its tone. Delane's personal feelings, like Palmerston's, were more violent. He accordingly wrote to Russell on December 11, 1861 :

Please remember that I write when I have time and frequently for no better reason. As you can't have your *Punch* at Washington I send the enclosed which "just about expresses our sentiments" on the Trent affair. You will have heard all about it when this reaches you—if it

¹ P.H S Papers, M. 11/340

² A. G. Gardiner, *Life of Sir William Harcourt*, I, p. 129.

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prolonged, that Lord Palmerston has found, and has used, the opportunity to curb the arrogance of the only people which has in this generation entered systematically upon a course of offence towards England. (January 9, 1862.)

The Times closed the episode with a warning to the people of England not to take Mason and Slidell as persons of importance in themselves, apart from the accidental notoriety they had achieved through the outrage on the Trent. The envoys were "the most worthless booty it would be possible to extract from the jaws of the American lion," and they could "come up quietly to town and have their say with anybody who may have time to listen to them." On January 30, 1862, *The Times* recorded that Mason and Slidell had landed at Southampton and not a cheer was raised. In calming the passions which this incident had raised, *The Times* played an important part: "The Northern people even forgot their resentment in laughing over *The Times'* warning to Mason and Slidell that they, personally, were nothing to the English people, who would have done just as much to rescue two of their own negroes."¹

Meanwhile the arrangements for obtaining news from America had been going awry. On December 23, 1861, Morris received a letter from Davis resigning his position on the ground of ill-health, and Delane a telegram from Russell to announce his departure for Mexico. Russell had been finding his position more and more difficult in America ever since Bull Run. Morris a little later described his treatment as "gross persecution." Russell did not carry out his intention of visiting Mexico; indeed, neither he nor his biographer mentions it, but after the release of Mason and Slidell he left the hostile atmosphere of Washington for New York. Here a curious attempt was made on his integrity, as he wrote to Delane on January 16, 1862:

Ward told me yesterday that a great speculator in the Funds and an enormous millionaire had come to him to ask whether Mr Russell could not be induced to write more favourable articles for the U S so as to influence *The Times* in its general tone, and in that case, said he, "we could afford to place some hundreds of thousands of dollars at the call of Mr Russell and his friends." I told Ward that he had better ask his friend to call upon me and make me the proposition directly, but he said that he would only convey the substance of the conversation to me, whereupon I said "the gentleman had better

¹ S. E. Morison, *History of the United States*, 1927, II, p. 203.

RUSSELL RETURNS

communicate directly with the Editor of *The Times*—the answer he will get from me if he comes will not suit him" Ward further said that "the gentleman" was anxious to know what it would cost to buy all *The Times* shares, as to which I referred him to the solicitor in London, and expressed an opinion that it might be done by Mr Chase when he had raised his £30,000,000.¹

Russell found himself no less unpopular in New York than in Washington, and although he was making arrangements to accompany any army that might move in the spring, the forebodings he expressed to Delane were very gloomy

If I am ever in another Bull's Run you may depend on it I never get out of it alive . . . It is a dead load round a man's neck to be feeling always that he is disliked & is liable to insult & outrage I'm the only English thing they can vent their anger on, & *The Times* is regarded as so dead against the North that everyone connected with it in the North is exposed to popular anger whilst I am especially obnoxious to it as I am supposed to be the cause of all the ill will of the paper to the Federal Govt. It's hard work playing a neutral game unless you're on neutral ground I can tell you.²

In these difficulties Russell seized the opportunity of the winter stagnation of the armies to leave the United States for a few weeks and pay a visit to Canada. The movement, however, did not win approval in Printing House Square, and MacDonald wrote him a letter of friendly remonstrance. "Delane doesn't like letters from Canada when he wants them from the Potomac."³ Before receiving this letter Russell had returned to the United States, reaching Washington on March 1. From General M'Clellan, who had been appointed to the chief command in the reorganization after Bull Run, he obtained a pass to accompany the Army in the forthcoming campaign, but Stanton, the Secretary for War, intervened to prevent his using it. Russell appealed to the President without success, and on April 4, without consulting his employers, set sail for England. His position had been still further complicated by an indiscretion, which had caused him to be wrongly suspected of using confidential information from the British Embassy for the purpose of speculating on Wall Street;

¹ Atkins, II, p. 91.

² Russell to Delane, January 27, 1862. (P.H.S. Papers, IV.)

³ Atkins, II, p. 96. Morris also wrote: "You must either go to the front or come home

. . . Up to the beginning of this year you did well; but since then you seem to have lost heart and to have thrown us overboard." (P.I.S. Papers, M. 11/449.)

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but he was in reality, as his friend John Bigelow wrote many years afterwards,

a victim of the Army for revealing its shortcomings to the world. You were thrown overboard to propitiate the War Department, but really not so much for what you wrote yourself but for what appeared in the columns of the print you represented¹

Recent American historians admit that the Federal Government were in error in driving Russell into withdrawal. They lost thereby an impartial and fair-minded observer, and at the same time convinced *The Times* of their illiberality. Official reports were thereafter suspect, and the way was open to pro-South observers to mislead Delane and Morris.² Professor Adams gives his Northern sympathies as the reason for Russell's recall³, this, however, is a mistake. Russell was certainly not recalled; on the contrary, letters from both Delane and Morris were on their way urging him not to think of leaving his post.⁴ He was greeted on his return with a reproachful note from Delane, which shows clearly that the cause of his return lay in his relations with the Northern Government and not with *The Times*:

I have safely received your packets but shall defer publishing that which states your case against the U.S. G'ment until I have had more time to consider it.

I wish I could think you had done right in coming home so precipitately in the very crisis of the war. It is lamentable that at such a time we should be practically unrepresented.

However, here you are & we must make the best of it

Russell was awarded a pension later in the year, but contributed no more to *The Times* on American affairs. In his own version,⁵ "as I from the first maintained the North must win, I was tabooed from dealing with American questions in *The Times* even after my return to England," but there is no indication in the surviving correspondence between him and Delane that there was any serious difference of opinion while he was in the United States,

¹ Atkins, II, p. 114.

² D. Jordan and E. J. Pratt, *Europe and the American Civil War*, 1931, p. 81. Cf. also J. F. Rhodes, *Lectures on the American Civil War*, 1913, p. 159: "And it was not Delane who called this sound and able writer home. We drove him away."

³ *Op. cit.*, I, p. 178. Professor Adams gives Russell himself as the authority for the statement, but without reference to a source.

⁴ Atkins, II, pp. 112-114.

⁵ Russell to Bigelow, March 8, 1865. (Bigelow, *Retrospections of an Active Life*, 1909, II, p. 362.)

CHARLES MACKAY'S BIAS

and afterwards he was by no means continuously confident of the restoration of the Union¹ On the other hand, it is quite true that, as editor of the *Army and Navy Gazette*, he maintained for the rest of the war an attitude more friendly to the North than that taken up by *The Times*

The almost simultaneous defection of Davis and Russell left *The Times* in considerable difficulty in filling their places. A short trial was given to Charles K. Tuckerman, an American citizen, but he was found unsatisfactory, and by February 11, 1862, Morris was writing to Russell.

We must have an Englishman, & I think we have found the right man—perhaps you knew him in England—Charles Mackay He will leave Liverpool on the 22nd & fix himself at N.Y. He is to preserve a strict incog if he can At any rate he will forbear to parade his connexion with us, & leave people to find it out So please keep silence on this head

Charles Mackay was a journalist and poet of some reputation, who had already visited America in 1857 as a contributor to the *Illustrated London News*. Morris offered the post to Filmore, who declined on grounds of health, and recommended Mackay instead. It was an ominous appointment, for *The Times* was now departing from a cherished principle, and choosing a correspondent for the bias of his opinions rather than for his capacity to be an impartial recorder of facts. Mackay wrote of his appointment

The communication [from Morris] was highly gratifying to me, inasmuch as my publicly-expressed opinions on the Civil War were precisely in accordance with those advocated in *The Times*, and that I had apparently been successful in my application because my sympathies in the struggle were in accordance with those of the conductors of that journal, and that I, as well as they, disapproved of the policy of the war, and disagreed with the logic of its Northern supporters. I thought, consequently, that no collisions of opinion were likely to occur between me and the powerful organ which I was about to represent²

Immediately on his arrival at Boston Mackay was interviewed by reporters, and both there and at New York he was denounced

¹ "That the South will ever again become a member of any Union consisting of the Middle and New England States is beyond my belief or comprehension, though I am unfortunately a believer in the results of physical force." Russell to Bigelow, April 15, 1863. (Bigelow, *op. cit.*, I, p. 631.)

² Mackay, *Through the Long Day*, II, p. 215 *et seq.*

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as a proved enemy of the Union. Shortly afterwards his connexion with *The Times* leaked out, together with the fact that he was a Civil List pensioner, several newspapers maintained that he had been hired by Palmerston to write against the Union and in defence of slavery. His correspondence, therefore, cannot be said to have begun under favourable auspices. In New York a person representing himself as an emissary of Seward approached him, offering "a liberal proportion of secret service money" if he would "zealously support the cause of the North in *The Times*," but Mackay declined the offer, and it is permissible to doubt its authenticity. His letters were in violent contrast with those of his predecessor, and Morris soon had to remonstrate with him, first for his failure to preserve his anonymity,¹ and later (September 9, 1862) for his extreme partisanship :

I admire your letters, but still more your courage in writing them. One only misgiving sometimes arises as I read, & I ask myself whether any Government or set of men can be so wholly bad that not a single good word can be said for them by an impartial observer. Perhaps if you inquire with a friendly spirit, you may discover a good deed here and there, a measure wiser than those you have justly condemned. If any such there be, let them be made known, if only to justify you in the eyes of the world, & redeem your correspondence from the charge of systematic vituperation.

The replacement of Russell proved for some time an impossibility and Mackay had to be made responsible for the whole of the American correspondence from the North, military as well as civil.

The blockade had hitherto prevented *The Times* from establishing any correspondent either at Richmond or with the Confederate Army. In the early autumn of 1862, however, Morris came to an arrangement with Francis Lawley to attempt the task. Lawley, formerly a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, had spent some years on the staff of the British Minister at Washington and had met Russell in America. Being in England in the summer of 1862, he was appointed correspondent of *The Times* with the Southern Armies, and returned to America. His first letter reached Printing House Square on September 15, his first from Richmond on November 3. How he got there does not

¹ "It is one thing for a man to disclose his affairs to a few intimates & to those who can serve him, & another to go about the street with his occupation on his back" Morris to Mackay, May 13, 1862. (P.H.S. Papers M. 11/559)

THE ALABAMA SAILS

appear. The letter was published the following day, and Morris wrote to its author :

No doubt you will like to know what is thought of it. People say that it is a great thing for a newspaper correspondent to have made his way through the blockade to the Southern capital, & they remark that the man who accomplished the feat must be bold & persevering ; but they add that, considering how much novelty there must have been in the situation & how much to tell, it is strange how little information the letter contains In this criticism I agree, but on the other side I make allowance for excitement & want of leisure for calm reflection & strict inquiry

Lawley remained in the South throughout the war, communicating with the paper through the French Consulate and the Paris office. In the summer of 1863 he informed Morris that his health would not allow him to continue, but he seems to have withdrawn this intimation, and was certainly sending letters, though rather intermittently, down to the spring of 1865. On him *The Times* relied almost entirely for news of Confederate affairs, and he enjoyed in Southern society a position denied to his colleagues in the North

The military operations of the summer of 1862 were not of great importance, but the international complications arising out of the war were becoming more acute. Lancashire was feeling the effects of the blockade ; its distress was the main topic of public interest, and did much to exacerbate English feeling against the North. In the outpouring of words on this subject *The Times* avoided drawing attention to an announcement that appeared in the " Ship News " of departures from Liverpool in the issue of July 29—"Sailed . . . the Alabama,¹ for Miramichi." The approaching completion of this famous vessel—hitherto known by her builder's number " 290 "—had been the subject of urgent correspondence between the American Minister Adams and the Foreign Office since June 23. It is scarcely to be doubted that *The Times* was aware, or at least suspected, that " No. 290 " was intended for the Confederate Navy. The secrecy surrounding the construction of the ship had caused much comment in Liverpool, where *The Times* had a very capable agent, Charles Bean, who was most unlikely to let the subject pass without inquiry. James Spence, a Liverpool merchant very active in the cause of the South, was writing frequent letters to *The Times* over

¹ This seems to disprove the common statement (e.g., *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, II, p 517) that she did not assume the name Alabama until after her escape.

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the signature "S," and these seem to have been commissioned¹ And yet not the remotest allusion either to the building of "No 290," to her sailing, or to her rendezvous on the high seas with another ship, the Bahama, sent out independently from Liverpool with her guns and Confederate crew, appeared in *The Times* before November, with the single exception of the five formal words quoted above. The first editorial reference to the Alabama appeared on November 3, when her career as a commerce-raider was in full swing, and the paper printed a remonstrance from the New York Chamber of Commerce. But *The Times* was in no mood to apologize for the offences of the Alabama, even though they might threaten to become a cause of war. Indeed, its policy during the summer months of 1862 must be considered as deliberately courting a bellicose issue. In offering to lead opinion to the verge of war, Delane was, as has been seen, gratifying his personal inclination, and he was also probably acting in concert, not exactly with the Government (for Russell at least was determinedly pacific) but with the Prime Minister.

On July 12 the *Spectator* observed that "*The Times* which is aware that its articles weigh in America more heavily than despatches, writes every now and then as if it wanted war." One principal subject of these provocative articles was the recognition of the South as an independent State. It was the time of the Confederate victories in front of Richmond, and the *de facto* independence of the Confederate States was regarded by most Englishmen and many Americans even in the North as unchallengeable. *The Times* was emphatic that, "should it appear that the army of M'Clellan has been so totally defeated as to be incapable of resuming offensive operations, then the propriety of treating the Confederates as an independent people may be justly discussed by the British Cabinet." (July 19, 1862.) Further Southern successes were checked in the autumn by M'Clellan's victory at Antietam.

On September 22, after this victory, Lincoln played "his last card." He proclaimed the emancipation of the slaves in any States that might remain in rebellion on the succeeding first of January. But nothing was said about freeing the slaves in the Border States fighting on the Federal side, and since Lincoln as

¹ Morris to Spence, August 22, 1862 (P.H.S. Papers, M 11/645) Spence refused payment for his letters, but accepted a specially bound copy of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* on their termination.

LOST TEMPERS

recently as August 22 had told Greely¹ " My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery," *The Times* had some excuse for not accepting the proclamation as evidence of high moral purpose. Mackay wrote that it was " promulgated as a sop to keep England and France quiet," and the leading article violently attacked Lincoln as " a sort of moral American Pope " whose decree was " to go into remote States where his temporal powers cannot be made manifest " And two weeks later, *The Times*, making an unfortunate venture into prophecy, saw the new policy as one which would make impossible the restoration of the Union, while it would earn for the President the title in history of " Lincoln the Last."

Though it did not appeal to *The Times*, Lincoln's proclamation at last provided a rallying point for the partisans of the North in England " Emancipation meetings " were held up and down the country in the winter of 1862-3, and created something like a class division of the English people. The people who thronged the meetings and hissed *The Times* were dismissed by the paper as " nobodies " ; Charles Adams retorted that just such nobodies had forced the abolition of the slave trade two generations before² When the second, and effective, proclamation followed the preliminary announcement, on January 1, 1863, *The Times* even went so far as to argue that the Bible justified slavery,³ and that it might be the duty of the negroes to refuse the liberty promised. In any case, the negro was " being only used as means to forward the ends of the North." (January 15, 1863) Emancipation was but one of Lincoln's stage-tricks, unsupported by the public—so Mackay stated in an intemperate dispatch which declared that " the one passion, next to the passion of gain, in the American heart is the passion for extended empire. They want to eclipse, overcome and bully England." (January 20.) Indeed, a leading article insisted, not the cause of the North, but " the cause of the South gallantly defending itself against the cruel and desolating invasion of the North is the cause of freedom." (January 19.) Henry Adams, summing up the general attitude of the paper to Lincoln's new policy, wrote to his brother on January 23 :

The London *Times* furious and scolds like a drunken drab. . . . But *The Times* is on its last legs and has lost its temper. They say it

¹ Editor of the *New York Tribune*.

² E. D. Adams, II, p. 108.

³ Answered by Goldwin Smith in the pamphlet *Does the Bible Sanction American Slavery?* (Oxford, 1863.)

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

always does lose its temper when it finds such a feeling too strong for it, and its next step will be to come round and try to guide it.¹

English opinion, in fact, was now clearly divided, pro-Northern sentiment gathered strength. The side which *The Times* supported, though the more romantic, was now the losing side and also that which, according to all traditions of British humanity, was the wrong side. Despite its bias, however, the paper continued to demand strict British neutrality, it recognized that the Confederates expected to extort British cooperation "by the agency of King Cotton." To intervention it was firmly opposed. *The Times* was also suspicious of the Confederate propaganda agencies. A pro-Southern newspaper, the *Index*, was started, which, purporting to be an independent English journal, was really financed by the Confederates. Henry Hotze, who controlled it, complained to the Confederate Secretary of State that he could get "no paid writer on *The Times*."² When, in the House of Commons, Roebuck proposed the formal recognition of the Confederate States, *The Times* expressed its disapproval. (July 1, 1863.)

In the summer of 1863 the Federals began to show their superiority on the battlefield. *The Times* was forced to admit the fact. Even Mackay could not explain away the fall of Vicksburg, and Gettysburg, followed by the retreat of Lee, still further depressed the spirits of Southern supporters. It was in this atmosphere that the issue first raised by the escape of the Alabama came up again in a still more dangerous form. Lairds, the builders of the great commerce destroyers, were now engaged on two unmistakable warships, generally known as the Laird Rams, and nobody doubted that they were intended for the Confederate navy. During August, Adams was urging Russell to stop the sailing of the rams; should they escape, he wrote on September 5, "it would be superfluous in me to point out to your Lordship that this is war." There was a considerable body of opinion in England that would have welcomed war on such grounds, for the power to arrest the rams was legally dubious, and the cotton famine was acute. *The Times*, however, did not take this view. It argued that, if the municipal law of England protected the building of the rams, then it was at variance with the spirit of international law, and might in some future war be quoted to

¹ Ford, *A Cycle of Adams Letters*, I, p. 243.

² E. D. Adams, II, p. 154.

SEIZING THE RAMS

the great embarrassment of England. It was not a question of sympathy, but of law, and also of British interests. (August 28, 1863.)

Another article on September 1 repeated the same argument, and a third on September 7 called on the Government to seize the rams. In fact, the decision to place them under official surveillance had already been taken, and E. D. Adams regards these articles in *The Times* as probably inspired by the Government, with a view to preparing English opinion for the arrest¹. There is no means of testing this surmise, for the correspondence of Delane surviving from those years is remarkably jejune, and there is no evidence that he was even in communication with any member of the Government. But there did appear on September 1 and 8 two letters, signed "Phocion," which were weighty legal disquisitions on the law of neutrality, somewhat in the manner of "Historicus." Their argument was strongly in favour of the legality of seizing the rams, and, since "Phocion" was the *nom de guerre* of Travers Twiss, recently appointed Advocate-General of the Admiralty, they must be taken as representing an official view. Although they are in form a reply to a previous letter from Nassau Senior, they appear in the editorial diary among the list of articles reported to the Manager for payment, and the presumption is, therefore, that they were either commissioned by, or written by arrangement with, Delane. This is the only evidence that *The Times* was privy to the plan of the Government to seize the rams, which was carried out in the middle of October and successfully defended at law.

During 1863 some attempts were made to reinforce the corps of correspondents in America. Eber was approached and asked to go to the South, but apparently he would not risk missing an outbreak of war nearer home, and while peace in Europe persisted preferred to suspend his service to *The Times*.

¹ Regarding the British Government's press activities, C F Adams wrote to Everett (December 27, 1861) "The article from the *Scotsman* to which you refer attracted my attention immediately on its publication. It is one of many instances which have come under my observation of the uses made of the press in Great Britain from certain points and high sources in order to affect public opinion. I presume that the Emperor of France set the example of this sort of manoeuvre. It has been so much improved upon here however that it almost takes the character of ubiquity. One effect of it is to render it rather hard for persons not in the secret to distinguish the genuine from the spurious article. I had reason to know in the case of the *Scotsman* that the information must have come from authority. Occasionally I can detect the same thing in other quarters. But my chances of knowing how often it happens are of course very small and hence the resort to conjecture must be very unsafe" (*Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. 45, pp. 112-113.)

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

A little later Gallenga was sent out to report on the condition of the Federal, and particularly the Western, States "We don't believe one single word that appears in the American journals," wrote Morris to him on July 30, "& in the present temper of the public mind in England no testimony save that of an Englishman (for the nonce you are invested with our nationality) would be regarded at the value of a whistle" This refusal to accept American evidence, coupled with the violent Southern prejudice of Mackay, may account for much unsound judgment by *The Times* in the later phases of the war Towards the end of the year, however, Mackay was given a holiday, and Gallenga, who had received a pressing admonition from Morris to report nothing but FACTS—trebly underlined—took his place. The change, coming at a time when the tide of war was running in the Federal direction, caused consternation to James Spence, the Confederate financial adviser in England, who wrote to Mason :

Public opinion has quite veered round to the belief that the South will be exhausted *The Times* correspondents' letters do great harm—more especially Gallenga's—who replaced Chas Mackay at New York. I have, however, taken a berth for Mackay by Saturday's boat, so he will soon be out again and he is dead for our side¹

To Morris's great annoyance Gallenga wrote at the beginning of December that he was returning home on the ground of ill-health, and *The Times* was thus left without any correspondent in the North until the return of Mackay at the end of the month. Bancroft Davis, a much more trustworthy writer than Mackay, was now home again, and sent two letters, but Morris declined to publish them both because "his views . . . are diametrically opposed to ours," and because they discussed "politics *en détail*" instead of "the shock of armies" or "the highest questions of state."²

In the closing months of 1863, perhaps under the influence of the Northern victories, there are signs of an effort by *The Times* to regain something like a non-committal position. It let the American war slip into the background for several months in order to devote its main attention to the affairs of Denmark.

When America once more resumed the forefront of the stage, Mackay was back at his post, and sending glowing and thoroughly misleading accounts of the prospects of the South. On his

¹ December 17, 1863 Quoted from Mason Papers by E. D. Adams II, p. 189.

² Morris to Gallenga, December 22, 1863. (P.H.S. Papers, M 12/541.)

THE TIDE TURNS

authority Delane passed on a rumour, at the beginning of April, 1864, to Slidell, to the effect that a great Southern victory was imminent¹ On May 24 such a victory was announced as having been won by Lee over Grant before Richmond, on the banks of the Rapidan. It was stated that the Federals had suffered 40,000 casualties. The real event underlying this report was the opening of the long struggle known as the Battles of the Wilderness, which ultimately led to the turning of the tide in favour of the North. But even when it became apparent that in the military sense the first reports had been too optimistic, *The Times* was more fixed than ever in its belief that the Union could not be restored by force. This was also the belief of Lord Russell,² who in March for the first time sought out Delane, through Lady Waldegrave, and invited him to his house.³ Possibly relying on the supposed success of the Confederate arms, and probably in deliberate concurrence with the Foreign Office, *The Times* opposed the movement initiated at this time by W. S Lindsay and the Southern Independence Association for European intervention and a peace by compromise. England had "no moral right to interfere," and the prospect of a rupture would "double Mr Lincoln's armies and fill the North with the same spirit of patriotism and defiance as animated the Confederates." (July 18, 1864.) The correspondent at Richmond described⁴ Grant's army as an ill-disciplined rabble. In the autumn, being obliged to admit that the success of Lee in holding Richmond was offset by the progress made by Sherman in the west, *The Times* began to see in the coming Presidential election campaign signs other than military of hope for the South. The Federals, unlike the Confederates, were declared to be divided in opinion, and the political events might be more important than the military. The formal pronouncement in September, 1864, of the Democratic convention at Chicago in favour of negotiation with the South was hailed by *The Times* as an admission that secession could not be stopped. However, the hopes it reposed in the Northern Democrats were disappointed. The convention proceeded to nominate General McClellan, who promptly declared for the restoration of the Union at all hazards. The practical effect was that the party

¹ Mason Papers, quoted by E. D. Adams, II, p. 204.

² Mason to Slidell, quoted in E. D. Adams, II, p. 212.

³ Lady Waldegrave to Delane, March 10, 1864. (P.H.S. Papers, D 13/29.)

⁴ Some of Lawley's letters were actually transmitted through Mackay at New York, but how they were conveyed through the lines remains a mystery. It is not possible to identify the writers of these dispatches with certainty. Besides Lawley there was another correspondent, named Alexander, at Richmond in 1864.

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was hopelessly split, and Lincoln's chances of re-election, already improved by the Federal victories at Atlanta and Mobile, still further enhanced.

The successful election campaign of Abraham Lincoln went hand in hand with the victories of the Federal armies in the field. The last weeks of the year saw Sherman's famous march to the sea and the last hope of the South extinguished by the fall of Savannah. Till the eleventh hour (December 3, 5, 7, 20, 26) *The Times* argued desperately that the great march could not succeed, that Savannah could not fall, and when the disaster could no longer be denied tried to minimize its importance "I am still sore vexed about Sherman," wrote Delane, "but Chenery did his best to attenuate the mischief."¹ But honour was given where it was due: "General Sherman's campaign in Georgia will undoubtedly rank hereafter with the most memorable operations of modern war." (January 5, 1865.)

The closing phases of the struggle revived once more in Printing House Square the fears of the embroilment of England. *The Times* had vacillated again and again in its estimates of the fortune of war, as, indeed, the fluctuations of victory and defeat justified it in doing. It had vacillated, with less justification, in its presentation of the rights and wrongs of the conflict. But in one thing at least it had been consistent, and that was its argument for British neutrality. It was therefore indignant when the *New York Times* said that "*The Times* demands negotiations for peace, and thinks that the British Government may now very wisely put forth efforts on that behalf"; and challenged the American Press to produce any evidence to support the assertion.² (January 10, 1865.)

However, the real fear of *The Times* was that a breach of the peace might come from the American side and not by an attempt at European mediation. A solid basis for its fears might have been found in the proceedings of the Hampton Roads Conference, where the South, as reported in *The Times* of February 24, proposed "a mutual direction of the efforts of the Government, as well as those of the insurgents, to some extrinsic policy or

¹ Delane to Dasent, December 29, 1864. (P H S Papers, D 13/103.)

² It is possible that the *New York Times* received its false impression from Mackay, to whom Morris wrote on January 9, 1865 "I cannot remember a single line in *The Times* which justifies your surmise that the S will shortly be recognized by England & France — & it is my conviction that nothing of the kind has ever appeared. If the paper has ever been consistent in anything, it has been so on this particular subject."

MISTAKES ADMITTED

scheme for a season." The leading article of the same day commented .

After this glimpse of American politics we may perhaps approach the votes of our own Estimates with greater resignation. . . . On its own showing, the North comes best out of this affair. . . . It has not entertained, or, at any rate, it has not been the first to propose, the expediency of a diversion in the direction of Canada or Mexico

It was open to the enemies of *The Times* to accuse it of having been the main instrument of alienating public opinion in America, on both sides of the Mason-and-Dixon Line, from England. But its error was less in having drawn upon itself and its country the enmity of both parties, as every persistent neutral does, than in having maintained the cause of political neutrality while showing at the same time an inclination of sentiment towards one, and that the losing, side. It had to be admitted behind the scenes that *The Times* had gone very far astray in its military and even its political estimates. Mackay and to some extent Lawley were blamed, but although there is no doubt that their pro-Southern sentiments had been misleading the paper for a long time, it is equally clear that the real responsibility lay upon those in Printing House Square who too readily accepted their judgment. There had never been any secret about the extreme partisanship of Mackay at least. Lawley was accused of no more than an error of judgment :

The worse feature in Southern affairs is the growing discontent. We augur ill from this. I observe that you never notice the Opposition & always represent the Southern people as being unanimous. Are you sure that you are right in this ?¹

Before the end, however, Morris was congratulating Lawley on having "presented the public here with a continuous narrative which has served to correct the errors and exaggerations of the Federal Press, & has indeed been the only authentic record of the Southern side of the civil war." To Mackay he was more severe :

The time is come which I have long anticipated when you can no longer retain the office with which we entrusted you three years ago, & it is my painful duty to inform you that a successor will shortly be despatched from England to take your place.

¹ Morris to Lawley, January 31, 1865 (P.H.S Papers, M. 13/316.)

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This result which I greatly deplore has been brought about by your blind & unreasonable condemnation of all public men & measures on the Federal side, & your disregard of the remonstrances which I have frequently addressed to you against such a course

It is our opinion that the paper has suffered in reputation through your partial representation of affairs in the Northern States, & that our readers have been misled by your statements to take an erroneous view of the current of events.

It is no slight charge against a public writer that his opinions have been proved to be wrong, but that might have been excused to him if he had given evidence of an honest desire to arrive at the truth. I regret to say that no such desire is observable in your case. On the contrary it seems to us that you have persistently & wilfully shut your eyes to all facts & signs which did not tend to the support of your foregone conclusion. By dwelling exclusively upon the absurdities of the demagogues & fanatics who are to be found in every country which is a prey to civil war, by exaggerating the errors of government & condemning its abuses of power without making allowance for its difficulties & temptations, you have presented the English public with a distorted picture of the Federal cause, & have, as I believe, contributed very largely to produce the exasperation which you allege to exist in the American mind against the English.

Moreover your letters have been deficient in the qualities of a sound foreign correspondence. They have contained but few facts & a great deal of wild declamation. No one reading only what you have written could have derived sound information, such as could guide him in the conduct of his own affairs. Every statement was one-sided, & every remark spiteful.

The end of all is that you have made yourself so unpopular that no government in the United States will tolerate you except under a sort of protest. Your usefulness as a correspondent is consequently much impaired, many sources of information are cut off from you, & your letters are almost unavoidably reduced to a mere empty bag of big words.

We cannot commit the character of the paper any longer to one who so misconstrues his duties. Much as I appreciate your literary ability, your steadiness & punctuality, I cannot but think that these qualities are dearly purchased at the price you have made us pay for them. It was in your power, at any time, by giving due heed to the hints which I have given you, & to my open remonstrances, to have avoided the errors of which the measure now is full. You have preferred to take your own way, & you cannot complain of the direction in which it has led you.¹

¹ Morris to Mackay, April 21, 1865. (P.H.S. Papers, M 13/405)

RETREAT

Three years is a long time to take in discovering so many defects in a correspondent, and Mackay might be entitled to a grievance about "the sudden cessation of my unfortunate connexion with *The Times*—in the favour of which journal I stood high as long as Fortune seemed to smile on the cause of the Southern Confederacy."¹ Morris had, indeed, made some attempt to modify Mackay's one-sidedness, but the correspondent's case against the Manager's injustice is complete, when the above indictment is set beside the glowing praise of two years before. After twelve months' experience of Mackay's quality, Morris wrote to him (March 19, 1863) : "I assure you that (your correspondence) deserves in my opinion the most unqualified praise. Your views are entirely in accordance with those of the paper & I believe of the majority in this country, & you have the art of expressing them so that everybody *must* read."² While Morris was thus belatedly dropping the pilot, Delane, in the hourly expectation of Lee's surrender, was at last facing the military facts and looking to the future. North and South were urged to "forget and forgive."

To write thus was to eat many words, but it was also to approach closely to the conciliatory spirit of the President. At long last *The Times* had recognized Lincoln's real qualities, and that not only in the necessary formalities of public utterance, but also in the unguarded expressions of private correspondence. When the news of Lincoln's murder was received, together with the first false report that Seward's wounds were also fatal, Morris, who had throughout been the most vehement of the whole staff in denunciation of the North, wrote to George Smith, the correspondent in Calcutta : "The two men who have been assassinated were England's best friends ; the Vice President who is now at the head of affairs is a drunken fool." The tragic event opened to *The Times* a way of graceful retreat from an impossible position. Woodham wrote an article of horrified indignation at the crime and of warm appreciation of the dead statesman. In it charges recently made by *The Times* were explicitly withdrawn. Lincoln had become "as little of a tyrant as any man who ever lived." (April 29, 1865.)

A week later, commenting on the reception of Sir Frederick Bruce as Minister to the United States, *The Times* observed

¹ Mackay, *Through the Long Day*, II, p. 395.

² P.H.S. Papers, M. 12/174.

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that the death of Lincoln had served to break "the ice of reserve and suspicion".

Happily for the harmony of States, as well as for the peace of families and individuals, bygones soon pass into bygones . . . and as for what "Historicus" calls "idle words of provocation employed by irresponsible persons," let us take his wise advice, and suffer them to be buried in the grave of President Lincoln (May 5, 1865)

This friendly spirit was confirmed in the summer, when L J Jennings was sent to New York with the duty, as Morris admitted, of expressing the changed policy of the paper

The substance of the defence of *The Times* was that the harm done by ephemera is ephemeral. This was not the view of its contemporary critics. Among these were John Bright, Goldwin Smith, and the numerous mass meetings of the Abolitionists, who were accustomed to pass resolutions condemning the Press in general and *The Times* in particular. But the most vigorous and effective was Leslie Stephen, who visited the Federal States in 1863, and published in 1865 "*The Times*" on the American War : A Historical Study, by L S. This pamphlet maintained that the attitude of *The Times* had promoted grave and lasting enmity between the two peoples, and that the best way to make peace was "to upset the credit of the mischief-makers who have interfered between us, and to withdraw our countenance from the blustering impostor who has been speaking all this time in our name without any due authority."

The reply to this attack must be sought in the detailed narrative of the proceedings of *The Times* during the war, which has been set out above. There can be no question that the sympathy of *The Times* with the losing side caused it to be led into partial statement of many facts, which for a newspaper is the unpardonable offence. Nevertheless, as the reception of Russell's description of Bull Run showed, the whole truth was not more palatable to the North than a half-truth. It is scarcely fair to reproach *The Times* with its representation of slavery as a minor issue, considering how long and persistently Lincoln himself denied that it was his primary object to emancipate the slaves. When the issue appeared to be Free Trade and the oppression of a people by the democracy of the North, *The Times* could have only one opinion. The South had a case, and, viewed from the distance, it appeared to be a strong case ; apart from questions

THE BALANCE HELD

of interest or of policy, *The Times* had a natural sympathy for an oppressed agrarian aristocracy. Moreover, Delane, with his finger upon the metropolitan pulse, believed he had taken the measure of British opinion, his diagnosis was correct all the time for a part of the public, and even for the majority, until the question of slavery was clarified by Lincoln's proclamation. And to some, as to *The Times*, even that proclamation did not clear the issue.

It stands to the credit of the paper that throughout the four years of fighting it never wavered in its steady and powerful argument for European and particularly British neutrality. Notwithstanding Delane's fears of Seward's intentions and his own desire to meet the danger half-way, the influence of the paper was exerted on the side of peace. There had been more than one moment of popular excitement when a less violent Press agitation than that of 1853 would probably have turned the scale in favour of war. On those occasions *The Times*, both in its editorial utterances and by opening its columns to such dispassionate lawyers as "Historicus" and "Phocion," held the balance steady, and in so doing rendered a public service fit to be set against the international mischief arising from its partiality for the lost cause.

XIX

AFTER PALMERSTON: DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE

IN the year of Lincoln's death it became clear that Palmerston, nearly 81 years of age, had not long to live. In May, 1865, his gout was so bad that when he wished to defend the Lord Chancellor from attacks in *The Times*, Lady Palmerston on his behalf wrote to Delane. In July he was well enough to write himself to inform the Editor that Lord Cranworth would succeed Lord Westbury on the Woolsack. This was his last letter to Delane. On September 30 his stepson-in-law, Shaftesbury, informed the Editor that he had left him "yesterday in remarkable health, and lively as in his best days." Palmerston was, in fact, on the verge of his last illness. On October 18 he died.

The event marks the end of an epoch in the political history of England; it is not less important to the history of *The Times*. From the first Delane had been hostile to party government, preferring coalition and compromise; his suspicion of democracy and reform antedated Palmerstonian influences, for the "revolutionism" of the Crimean period was but an expression of faith in the middle-class which, having won the vote in 1832, was now gaining office as well, and Palmerston could not reconcile Delane to aristocratic exclusiveness. Nor did he sow the seeds of the Editor's dislike for Reform. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Palmerston exerted an influence which at a modest estimate must be described as considerable. In foreign policy Delane was always insular; the Prime Minister, by giving him a stronger sense of the power of England, made him a bit of a "jingo" as well. None the less, so far as Europe was concerned, Delane throughout his career consistently advocated non-intervention, in Italy in 1858 and Poland in 1863, as also in Switzerland in 1847 and Naples in 1849. Delane's preference for peace, save when he thought the public's demand for war to be irresistible,

FACING A NEW CRISIS

remained unaltered throughout his career as Editor. It was in purely journalistic matters that Palmerston's value to Delane was so great.

Before 1855 *The Times* was in an unassailable position. Delane could dictate his own terms to Governments ; he could secure their information while refusing to pay for it with uncritical support. The repeal of the newspaper stamp destroyed his "monopoly". Provincial papers secured a local market at the expense of *The Times*, and in London, where there had been only *The Times* and the moribund *Chronicle* and other old-fashioned journals, there were now penny newspapers which rivalled *The Times* in ability and in circulation, if not in authority. The full effect of these changes was gradual. While Palmerston lived the authority of *The Times* was as great as it had ever been. Delane, with his access to all the sources of information and his personal friendships, informed his leading articles with a singular degree of intimacy with public affairs and public men. The full effect of the changes in the trade situation which followed the abolition of the stamp in 1855 was thus postponed.

With the death of Palmerston, however, Delane's most valuable source vanished. Thenceforth he had sometimes to admit to ignorance and was occasionally victimized by false rumours. Such occurrences could not but endanger the reputation of *The Times*, facing unparalleled competition. The final years of Palmerston's régime, so unenterprising politically and so safe journalistically, were followed by a period of far-reaching social changes, the more distasteful to Delane, because he now lacked a powerful counsellor in the Cabinet. Palmerston's death set *The Times* a journalistic problem of the utmost seriousness.

When Palmerston died Delane was on holiday in Ireland. Despite the closeness of their relations, his letters reveal not the slightest sense of personal loss. Delane's mind was perhaps pre-occupied with the event's immediate journalistic requirements. After writing to make sure that Dasent did full justice to the great career now ended, his thoughts turned to the question of the succession. He had to consider not merely who would now become Prime Minister, but who would be the leading figure in the years to come. Russell was old and reciprocated the ill-will of *The Times*. Gladstone was at best no friend to the paper ; he and his policy had always been disliked. The Conservatives were a friendly but unknown factor. Moreover, for Delane to surrender to

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Disraeli's blandishments would mean the sacrifice of a great principle. *The Times* would become a party organ.

"One can hardly say too much," Delane wrote to encourage Dasent's favourable obituary of Palmerston, "for all parties will conspire to praise him." The notice by Eneas Dallas, partly revised by the Editor, had long been prepared. Instructed by Delane, Dasent retrieved it from the indicated place: "the little basket which hangs over the davenport in my breakfast room" at Sejeant's Inn. It filled 8½ columns. In spite of Delane's fear that it was "rather flippant, which is unseemly in such an article," it was a sympathetic and lively account.

Leading articles supplemented the obituary and, in Brodrick's words, *The Times* summarized the feeling, entertained throughout the country, that a great chapter in English history was closed:

He has left none like him—none who can rally round him so many followers of various opinions, none who can give us so happy a respite from the violence of party warfare, none who can bring to the work of statesmanship so precious a store of recollections. It is impossible not to feel that Lord Palmerston's death marks an epoch in English politics "The old order changeth, yielding place to new" (October 19, 1865.)

Delane's resistance to his first impulse to return at once to Printing House Square was deliberate; he wished to give Dasent a chance to distinguish himself in a crisis. In the second place, he knew he could not repeat the achievement of 1855 and form a new and lasting tie with a rising star. Dasent was therefore responsible for the paper, though, as usual, closely supervised by Walter. The principal articles had all to be sent for Walter's revision before publication. On that dealing with the succession he commented.

B[rodrick?] thinks the tone of the enclosed as regards the future in the right direction, but he has more faith in Gladstone than I have. I suspect Johnny will be sent for, & have the refusal of the place; & that it will rest with him to decide who is to have it. I think it clearly lies between him & Gladstone.

The article, apparently unaltered by Walter, appeared on October 20. It admitted the prior right of Russell to the Premiership, but that there would be "no disrespect towards Lord Russell if the claims of younger men should now be preferred to his." After mentioning Clarendon (who had spent too much of his life

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among foreigners) and Granville (the best "safe" man available), the writer proceeded

But it cannot be denied that the expectations, if not the confidence, of the country wait upon Mr. Gladstone. Few, probably, are prepared to pin their faith to him, many will entertain the most serious doubts on the subject, but most will admit that he ought to have a chance. In grasp of mind, in political and economical knowledge, in eloquence, he is the first man of the Liberal party, and has a right to succeed to the highest office in the State (October 20, 1865)

Next day the pen was handed to Lowe. He produced an article so much less favourable to Gladstone that Walter felt bound to modify it considerably in the interest of consistency¹. The terms of Walter's letter to Dasent show that he was not aware that the Queen had already made her choice. In fact she had made up her mind, three days before Palmerston died, to send for Russell when the vacancy should occur. Her decision must have become known in Printing House Square before the article went to press, for when it appeared it began with a reference to Russell, "to whom we believe Her Majesty has entrusted the task of reconstructing the Cabinet." It remained, however, with its original analysis of the claims of the various candidates, extremely hostile to Russell, whose disadvantages were stated to be his age, his peerage, his unpopularity with the Irish, and his bad record in the negotiations of 1855. The references to Gladstone and Granville are clearly Walter's, and the conclusion is that, "though the choice is supposed to have fallen on Lord Russell," none of the candidates is wholly satisfactory. Lowe went on two days later with a direct and violent attack on Russell.

Delane's opinions reached Dasent hard upon the publication of this article. Russell was no more to his taste than to Lowe's, but he was prepared to accept the inevitable. Writing from Killarney on October 21, he informed his deputy :

My first impulse was not to come here at all but to go straight to London, but I have now decided not to do so unless you or Griff should

¹ "After the somewhat Gladstonian leaning of yesterday, I have thought it necessary to modify some of the severe criticisms on that personage. I have also adverted to the fact of Granville's being a member of the H. of Lords—which, in the early part of the article, is urged as a reason against Lord Russell's appointment. A compound of Granville & Gladstone would be perfect; but as that can't be managed, it only remains to be decided whether the palm is to be given to eloquence & energy in the House of Commons, or to good sense & mediocrity in the House of Lords. There is no doubt that the latter would be likely to produce more harmony in the Cabinet—but there is danger also in passing over Gladstone, who, if he were to turn rusty & join the Rads, might break up the Liberal party, & do a deal of mischief." (Walter to Dasent, October 21, 1865, P.II S. Papers, D 14/68.)

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express a wish to that effect. All that is to be done besides elegies and criticisms on his [Palmerston's] character and public conduct will be to canvass the claims of those who aspire to succeed him and it seems to me that I am too much personally mixed up with the candidates to render it desirable I should be in office while this invidious work is being done. My own impression is that Lord Russell must be Premier, Gladstone must lead the Commons and Clarendon be Foreign Secretary ; that this is a necessary consequence of the present state of affairs, that Granville will take the Embassy at Paris and that this ministry will be forced into a Reform Bill and very probably be broken up next Session

The Editor having thus accepted Russell, Woodham was appointed to conduct the retreat. He accomplished his task in two stages, beginning with a leading article, following one of Mozley's on Palmerston :

The appointment of Lord Russell, with all his drawbacks, to the vacant post can be so easily defended that it hardly needs excuse ; the choice of Mr. Gladstone for the place might require some justification, but would be more acceptable when justified. . . . The simple objection to Lord Russell was that there was an abler man than he to be had ; the objection to Mr. Gladstone was that, though the ablest man, he was not believed to be the safest. (October 24, 1865.)

Next day he added that, "like medicine, the nation must take him, even though it makes a wry face."

Lowe, the uncompromising opponent of Reform, received no invitation from Russell, and after writing a tentative leading article in *The Times* of October 31, 1865, in which he still seemed to hope that a sweeping measure of Reform might be avoided, he acquiesced with an ill-grace in his exclusion, writing to Delane :

Lord John don't want to have me and invents the best reason he can find for his decision which is really actuated by private animosity which I have very well deserved. I never looked to him as I did to Palmerston and have no right whatever to repine at his neglect. I really have no wish to join this Government or that you or any other of my friends should trouble yourselves about it. It ought not and I think will not last. No honor is to be got in it.¹

Delane, however, was clearly not prepared to go far with Lowe, who had already alarmed him with his extreme views on the franchise. "Bob Lowe wrote such an article upon Bright,"

¹ November 14, 1865. (P.H.S. Papers, D. 14/92.)



IN ISOLATION

he said once to Dasent, "it made my hair stand on end, and I have had to alter it almost beyond recognition."¹ The paper had already had to disclaim Lowe's opinions :

We demur to the proposition that "good government," in Mr. Lowe's sense, is the end, that is, the sole end, of representative systems ; and we deny that any disturbance of the settlement made in 1832, however opportune and however moderate, must open the floodgates of democracy, and thus defeat the objects of "good government." (May 6, 1865)

While Dasent edited the paper the restraint upon Lowe was less firm, despite Walter's warning to the Assistant Editor : "Don't let B.L. ride his Anti-Reform hobby too hard—for reform we must have of some sort." Delane on his return from his holiday on November 23 no longer allowed Lowe to write in *The Times* on the franchise question. Thus the paper, while continuing to show its distaste for Russell, showed that it was prepared to compromise on the question of Reform, provided the measure were moderate.

Russell became Prime Minister and quickly manifested his attitude to the Press—and especially to *The Times*.² Favours were to be few and equally divided. While the return of Clarendon to the Foreign Office was valuable, Lowe was excluded, and other Ministers held aloof. Delane's isolation was further emphasized when ill-health forced his old friend Sir Charles Wood to resign in February, 1866. When Parliament met on February 6 and the paper was without a copy of the Queen's Speech, the failure was explained away : "The former practice of giving newspapers a copy placed the Sovereign in the undignified position of repeating, as it were, at secondhand that which everyone had read in the morning." It was therefore "no cause of regret to ourselves that we are unable to predict what Her Majesty will say." A forecast of the speech, correct in every detail, appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of February 6.

¹ Dasent, II, 159. Mr. Dasent quotes neither authority nor date.

² Towards the end of 1865 a rumour circulated the Clubs that a bargain had been struck between Russell and Walter by which the latter was to receive a title, in return for the dismissal of Delane. The matter puzzled Delane, who asked Dasent : "What can be at the bottom of it ?" (See Dasent, II, p. 160.) On Christmas Eve, Walter wrote amusingly to Delane about it . . . "Swallowfield" won't do at all Fancy swallowing Lady Russell and all the clan ! . . . But pray who are the *gobe-mouches* who invent these pleasing stories about me ?" David Urquhart revived the story in his paper, the *Press*, February, 1866 ; it indicates the situation which followed Palmerston's death.

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The blow was a bitter one to Delane ; exclusive information of the intentions of Sir Charles Wood was a poor compensation for the readers of *The Times*

A more serious example of Delane's lack of information appeared a few weeks later. As soon as Parliament met it became evident that there was no safe majority for Reform in the House of Commons, and that even within the Cabinet its advocates had to contend against powerful opponents. Rumours began to circulate that the Government was the prey to internal dissension. On February 26 Lord Torrington wrote to Delane .

I have been told & the information comes through Milner Gibson —that it is not impossible Lord Russell may shortly retire from ill health & the D of Somerset succeed him Sir E. Tennant told me this privately but at any rate it is as well you should know such a change is on the cards & so I send my gossip.

The Editor received the letter the same day but published nothing until the 28th, presumably because he was making inquiries. On that day the rumour, given with reserve .

We are not in a position to affirm positively the truth of this rumour, but the existence of such a rumour is substantiated, and we shall proceed to discuss it with others which have obtained equal authority as if they were well-founded.

The same evening a terse denial was published by authority in the *Globe*, and *The Times* had to admit that the rumour was false :

We were careful at the time to put forward the statement for what it might be worth, though we frankly confess that it came to us with such particularity of detail as to command assent ; nor was it until after considerable delay and inquiry that we thought it our duty to make it the subject of comment. (March 1, 1866.)

The rivals of *The Times* for Government favour commented acidly.¹ They agreed in attributing the source of the story to Robert Lowe ; to him who was using *The Times* in his campaign against Russell, &c. They differed only in their estimates of the culpability of *The Times*.

¹ Soon afterwards Delane was again led astray—in a question relating to Austro-Prussian negotiations ; the affair appears to have been a deliberate hoax. Delane accepted as genuine a forged letter purporting to come from T. V. Lister of the Foreign Office

DELANE MISLED

In the face of these indictments, to which there could be no reply, it did not soothe Delane to learn from Clarendon that Russell was not at all annoyed but had merely said "very calmly, 'I wonder Delane didn't call upon me at the Treasury and ask whether I had resigned I wd have told him the truth as I shd always be ready to do about any thing he wanted to know.'"¹

Delane, however, knew he could never look to Lord Russell to replace Palmerston, but he remained the more eager to strengthen his connexion with the Government, and when Granville had occasion to make some criticism of the Paris correspondent, Delane wrote on June 1, 1866

Your letter affords me an opportunity I have long desired of telling you how deeply grieved and mortified I have been at the cessation of that friendly intercourse on political affairs by which in happier times I so largely profited. It was not perhaps to be expected that the long immunity from party feeling which we enjoyed under Lord Palmerston should continue under Lord Russell, but I at least have done nothing to provoke the bitterness which now prevails, and from which no one suffers more than myself.

As to Lord Russell, it is no new thing that I should not be among his followers ; but I have at any rate left him unassailed, and if I have felt obliged to oppose some of his measures, I have always endeavoured to be respectful to himself.

In fact I feel that I have nothing to excuse as regards Lord Russell, but much to lament as regards yourself in a state of things most distasteful to yours ever faithfully.²

The overture was coldly met. Granville replied :

I have had (to my great regret) no communication with you since the formation of the present Govt. on political matters. I have had nothing in my own department of interest for you, & with respect to general politics, the positions taken up by you & by Lord Russell made it impossible for me to talk confidentially in a manner which would have been agreeable to myself. . .³

Thus it was made only too clear to Delane that there could be no *rapprochement* with Granville while Russell remained Prime

¹ Clarendon to Delane, March 2, 1866. (P.H.S. Papers, D. 15/30.)

² Delane to Granville, June 1, 1866. (Fitzmaurice, *Granville*, I, pp. 505-6.)

³ Granville to Delane, June 1, 1866. (P.H.S. Papers, D. 15/69.)

AFTER PALMERSTON: DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE

Minister. The Foreign Secretary, however, continued to write with his accustomed freedom despite Russell's known views. Soon after the composition of the Russell Cabinet had been announced the Prime Minister wrote to Clarendon that he was " aware that Mr Delane was very angry that I did not ask to kiss his hand instead of the Queen's when I was appointed to succeed Palmerston ; but I would rather not be in office than hold it on such humiliating conditions "¹

The public had so long been trained to expect from *The Times* early and confidential news that its unwonted poverty in this respect was quickly criticized. Since Delane was now starved of information, Morris was prompt to see an alternative source in a Frenchman's promise of secret information and he set O'Meagher to investigate. O'Meagher's reply was not encouraging ; he was acquainted with Morris's French correspondent and expressed disbelief in his claims. O'Meagher proceeded to contrast his situation under the Imperial Government with that under the previous régime .

Under the Republic it was not so difficult as now to get at documents of the kind, and I sometimes had my share of them. A few years ago the Emperor sent me direct two or three papers of some importance —one in particular, a private letter he had just written to Victor Emmanuel without his Ministers knowing anything of the matter. When it appeared in my correspondence one of them sent his private secretary to ask me whether I guaranteed its authenticity, and *The Times* was detained at the Post Office until I reassured them on the point. I merely begged the Minister to ask the Emperor's opinion about it. I regret that His Majesty has not followed up this excellent practice of sending me official documents. . . .

In any case the topics which filled the public mind during the greater part of 1866 and 1867 were chiefly Parliamentary Reform and Ireland. Access to the leading English statesmen was more valuable than foreign sources. In the spring of 1866 Lord Russell prepared his last Reform Bill and *The Times* at once adopted an attitude critical though not hostile. When Gladstone announced in the House of Commons that a Reform Bill would be introduced on March 12, *The Times* pressed for a " double-barrelled " Bill —one that would redistribute seats as well as extend the franchise. The Bill in fact dealt only with the extension of the franchise,

¹ Russell to Clarendon, April 26, 1866. (Maxwell, *Clarendon*, II, pp. 312-3.)

THE CAVE OF ADULLAM

yet *The Times* did not immediately condemn it. Strong opposition was, however, being organized in the House by a section of the Liberals, with Lowe at their head, forming what John Bright described as "the Cave of Adullam."

The movement had long been anticipated by Delane, who wrote on February 1, 1866, to Bernal Osborne :

Nobody in the whole Cabinet, except Lord Russell and Gladstone, have (*sic*) the least hope or desire of carrying a Reform Bill. They say the subject was disinterred only to meet the personal exigencies of Lord John, and he may carry it, if he can. In the meantime, the Tories admit that they are not ready, and so, though much against my ordinary opinions, I think there is a chance for a Third Party which includes the unattached—such as Stanley, Lowe, Horsman, etc. Lowe has hitherto done exceedingly well this Session, and has enormously improved his position.¹

Lowe launched the campaign with a tremendous oration on March 13, but notice of the Adullamite amendment—affirming the inexpediency of a partial measure—was given by Lord Grosvenor on March 20. Its terms were exactly in harmony with the views expressed in *The Times*, although the writing of the articles had not been entrusted to Lowe. Grosvenor was no more than a figurehead, the real assault on the Bill was delivered by Lowe and Stanley, while the defence was sustained by Gladstone. In the furious battle that raged from the beginning of the debate on the second reading (April 12) *The Times* threw in its lot with the Cave, warmly praising Stanley's speech in seconding the amendment, and hailing "Mr. Lowe's great speech" at the close of the debate as "a triumph." The division was taken on April 27, and the amendment was barely defeated by a majority of five. Of course, talk of resignation immediately followed. Yet on Monday, April 30, *The Times* believed that "the Ministry will not resign":

Their manoeuvres were reprobated, but they themselves were encouraged to remain in office. This would seem to be the Ministerial interpretation of the vote of the House, and we cordially approve it. . . . It is the interest of the Opposition as well as of the country that the present Ministers should remain in office. The Reform question must be settled, and it is not easy to believe that it could be settled by a Conservative Government.

¹ Quoted by A. Patchett Martin, *Lord Sherbrooke*, II, p. 267.

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Clarendon, writing to Delane on foreign affairs the same day, vouchsafed a significant postscript "If the Tories will but take yr. advice & help to make a reform bill that stumbling block may for the future be got out of everybody's way."¹

The fact was that, the dominance of Palmerston having suspended party government in England since 1851, the long truce was breaking up. The party system was at last coming back into its own and the stage being set for the long duel of Gladstone and Disraeli. In future sharply defined Liberal and Conservative parties would be alternately in office. *The Times* by the whole of its recent past inevitably desired to postpone such a consummation and, rather than encourage it, would foment the Adullamite secession, which broke up the solidarity of the Liberals, or argue for an agreed settlement of the Reform question in the hope of avoiding a party clash. The Government desired to the House of Commons and took a step in the direction favoured by *The Times* by bringing in a Redistribution Bill, which the paper described as

so simple in its conception, so practical in its details, and, as far as we can at present determine, so just in its principle, that we ask with wonder why it was not introduced before (May 8, 1866.)

But an Opposition heartened by an access of strength from the enemy so notable as Lowe could hardly be expected to let slip their opportunity, and it soon became obvious that the Bills must founder in Committee. In fact, on June 18, the Government were defeated in Committee on an amendment. *The Times* now tried to save the Government at the expense of the Bill.

The fate of the Ministry ought to be completely disengaged from the fate of the Reform Bill. . . . We can discuss the amendment of the Constitution without perpetually thinking of the effect of a decision upon the Ministry. (June 19, 1866.)

While this article was passing through the press, Delane, who had been at the debate, wrote at four o'clock in the morning an appeal to Clarendon, the one member of the Cabinet from whom he succeeded in getting confidential intelligence :

I hope I may so far presume on your long-tried favour as to express my earnest hope that you will not think it necessary to act upon a hasty and evidently ill-considered phrase or two of Mr. Gladstone's in last night's debate and to break up a Ministry which has endured for seven years in great honour, and which still possesses a

¹ P.H.S. Papers, D. 15/52.

Piute

S. West
June 28/06

My dear Delane

I well know
that you never print what
you do not think. That you
do not care for thanked for
your opinions - It is therefore
for my own satisfaction that
I tell you how much I was
pleased by the art. of this
morning, not simply because

it was egoistic, but
because it stated with
such remarkable precision
the object of it. I have since
in our foreign policy the
spirit in it. I have thought
of carrying out these objects -

I consider that my political
career terminates today. I
have no wish or intention of
returning to office, & you have
done me a service, & I shall

never forget, ~~as well as~~ that
in nothing know that I
have our complicated
foreign affairs in a satisfactory
state & my successor

Yours truly
Palmerston

AFTER PALMERSTON. DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE

THE PARTY GAME

large and well-affected majority, on account of a paltry defeat on an amendment to a clause in Committee proposed by one of your ordinary supporters. It would be a most undignified end, and would go far to justify all that was said last autumn when Lord Russell assumed the Premiership.

I am quite sure that, if you were to withdraw the Reform Bill, pledging yourselves to bring in another next year and challenge the Opposition to a vote of want of confidence, you would have a large majority.

No one has seen how ill things have gone in the whole conduct of this unlucky Bill with more regret than myself, but it would, I humbly suggest, be a culminating folly if you were to make it the instrument of your destruction.¹

But the rigour of the party game was firmly re-established. Clarendon replied the same day :

Many thanks for your letter. I have not seen or heard from any colleague this morng, & I have no more idea than yourself of the manner in wh the defeat of last night is to be treated. There is certainly no principle of reform involved in rating and renting, but the question will be whether the Govt. can allow the Bill to be taken out of its own hands, as this defeat will be the prelude to others, or withdraw it altogether. In either case it seems to me that the humiliation will deprive the Govt. of anything like substantial power.

The House does not want reform, and, for aught I know to the contrary, its rabid opposition to it may faithfully represent the feeling of the country, & the Tories not only want office but are quite prepared to take it & they declare that they can carry on the Govt. Disraeli & Stanley are *wild for office* as I know from the last authority & Derby tho coy will not be found reluctant. The loot is I believe all distributed & I therefore doubt whether a vote of confidence such as wd enable the Govt. to carry on cd now be procured.

However, as I began by saying, I am quite in the dark & in the coming deliberations upon the state of affairs I shall not allow my vote to be influenced by my desire to get out of harness. I will keep you informed upon the matter—any change at this critical moment, involving, as it must, a deal of agitation at home, wd be pernicious & that ought to be borne in mind.²

The arguments of *The Times*, supported as they were by the Queen herself, who feared a change of Government in the

¹ Clarendon Papers; Dasent, II, 169

² P.H.S. Papers, D 15/72; Dasent, II, 169.

AFTER PALMERSTON: DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE

disturbed state of Europe, did not prevail.¹ Later in the day Gladstone announced in the House of Commons that he and his colleagues "had thought it their duty to make a communication to Her Majesty," the answer to which they had not yet received. The comment of *The Times* was :

Why has the Liberal Government thrown itself over a precipice ? No honest jury could possibly return any other verdict than that it has committed suicide to prove estimated rental a better test than rateable value. Such is the bright martyrdom Mr Gladstone has attained to But what a time to do it in ! (June 20, 1866)

A later passage of the article hinted a regret that, while the crisis was raging at home and abroad (Prussia had declared war on Austria two days earlier) : "Her Majesty without whom nothing can be done, and who has both to accept resignations and fill the vacancies, is now discharging the functions of Royalty at Balmoral, near six hundred miles from Westminster."² In these confusing circumstances Lord Russell quitted office

The Times immediately advocated a coalition between the Tories and the Adullamites. The effort was actually made It failed, either (in Derby's version) because the Adullamites demanded a Whig Prime Minister,³ or (in Lowe's words, in a leader in *The Times*) because "there are very few things that he [Derby] cannot do ; but the uniting of two discordant sections of politicians is exactly one of them " Lord Derby's third Ministry was thus as weak as his first two. The Conservatives were quick to make a determined effort to secure the support of *The Times*. Delane, too, was happy enough to regain the secrets of Downing Street, yet he could not bring himself to achieve access to them at the cost of turning the paper into a party organ—which had been Disraeli's aim for more than a decade.

Nevertheless, tolerable communications were established. A week before the Derby Government was formed *The Times* had been able to forecast that Stanley would become Foreign Secretary.

¹ Clarendon also used his utmost persuasion to induce Russel to retain office. (Maxwell, II, pp. 315-17) But this was not until after the resignation had been offered to, though not accepted by, the Queen

² This was inserted by Dusent in response to a note on June 18, 1866, from Delane . "I shall be very glad of an article expressing respectful regrets that H M should at such a crisis, when her servants are worn out by fatigue and anxiety, find that her health requires her absence from London and, at a time moreover, when the most momentous resolutions have to be taken and every minute is most precious.

"But it must be done with a very light hand or we shall excite a loyal hullabaloo." (P.H.S. Papers, D 15/74.)

³ Derby to Disraeli, in Buckle's *Disraeli*, IV, p. 439.

“A NEW CONSTITUTION”

This provoked a characteristic observation from the outgoing Premier.

I see Lord Stanley is announced as your (Clarendon's) successor and that Lord Derby has done that which I would not do, namely, submitted his appointments to Mr. Delane before submitting them to the Queen. This is a new constitution of itself, and one much to be deprecated.¹

The relationship between the new Government and *The Times* was, as Russell suspected, close. Delane was invited to Derby's house in St. James's Square to see the Reform resolutions, with which the process of legislation was to begin, before they were presented to Parliament.² Derby said farewell to Delane on this occasion with the distinct impression that he had secured the full support of *The Times*. He wrote confidently to Disraeli:

It will be a crumb of comfort to you to know that I have had a most satisfactory interview with Delane. He is cordially with us, and will do all in his power to carry us through. He listened most attentively to the whole of our programme, and pronounced oracularly, “I think it will do.”³

Delane's undisclosed view, however, was that the resolutions were “illusory, impracticable, intangible, and misty,” and his judgment was duly published in a leading article of February 12, 1867. The House of Commons was no less hostile, and the resolutions were withdrawn on February 26, to be replaced by a Bill. In the long debate which followed, Lowe fought heroically against Reform; he was losing, while *The Times* sought compromise.⁴ The Conservatives at last gave way before the Liberal attack, and the paper could claim with justice that the measure which went to the Lords was not a party achievement: “For good or evil the House of Commons may truthfully boast that the substance of the Representation of the People Bill, 1867, is its own work. It embodies the ideas of no Cabinet and of no Minister.” (July 12.) It was also the work of *The Times*. Granville, writing to Delane during the last phases of the fight in the Commons, attributed the concessions of the Government to the pressure of *The Times*:

¹ Russell to Clarendon, June 27, 1866. (Maxwell, II, 320)

² Talbot (Derby's secretary) to Delane, February 7, 1867. (P H.S. Papers, D. 16/20.)

³ Buckle, *Disraeli*, IV, p. 492.

⁴ One compromise, the cumulative vote, was the pet project of a leader-writer, Courtney. On June 3, 1867, Delane wrote to Dasent: “I have told Courtney he may ride his Cummulative hobby tomorrow . . . Don't let him ride it too far.” (P H S Papers, D 16/66, Dasent, II, p. 203.)

AFTER PALMERSTON: DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE

" You have carried *all* Gladstone's proposals, excepting the one conservative restriction "

Nevertheless, the Editor was not rewarded by any personal overtures from Liberals. On March 30 Gianville wrote :

I wish you and Gladstone had more personal communication. It would be of immense use and advantage, and for the director of such an important organ of public opinion as *The Times* it cannot be otherwise than an advantage to know the mind of one who in every position is sure to exercise so great an influence on public affairs "Tout le monde y gagnerait," as Lafontaine sings.¹

Gladstone did not get, because he did not seek, any such advantage. Like Russell he was determined, as far as possible, to abrogate the privileges of *The Times*, and Delane had to remain content with his few Liberal intimates—Charles Villiers, Henry Bland, and Bernal Osborne.

With the passing of the Reform Act Derby's political career was virtually over. On February 18, 1868, *The Times* published his political obituary. On the 25th he resigned and the Queen at once sent for Disraeli. It is evident that Delane had already been drawn into consultation. *The Times* congratulated a man born outside the governing classes on reaching the office of Prime Minister :

If Mr. Disraeli be evidently the fitting successor to Lord Derby, it must be remembered that he has achieved that distinction in spite of every disadvantage of birth, of education, and of position, and in spite, above all, of the great and, at one time, apparently unmitigated distrust of the party now accepting him as their leader. (February 26, 1868.)

Only two new appointments in the Cabinet were made by the new Premier. Lord Cairns succeeded Lord Chelmsford as Chancellor, and Ward Hunt succeeded Disraeli himself as Chancellor of the Exchequer. For the latter and more remarkable of these two nominations it appears that the new Premier had, with great diplomatic skill, induced Delane to take a measure of responsibility. Disraeli's flattering letter was written on notepaper itself the most flattering :

Private.

Osborne

Feb 28 1868.

Dear Delane—

I can't resist sending you a line of congratulation on the successful manner in wh *our* Chancellor of the Exchequer has been received.

¹ P.H.S. Papers, D. 16/45; Dasent, II, p 236.

FLATTERY FROM DISRAELI

Do you remember our conversation at Lord Cairns' ? What you said decided me.

I was always very much for it myself indeed it was, of course, my own suggestion ; but it was carped at by commonplace minds, who seemed shocked at the sudden elevation, & talked of other people as being "looked up to" in the City.

Your clear, & sagacious judgment came to my aid opportunely—wh shd. teach both of us the advantage of dining out.

It is rather nervous work, but I am in good spirits on the whole. Here, everything is sunshine, moral & material.

Yours sincerely

D.¹

Disraeli, however, having no majority in the House of Commons, held office for an uneasy period of only eight months, during which *The Times* moved steadily over to the Liberal side. It was prepared to support Gladstone on the question of economy, and with Gladstone's demands on the Irish question the paper was also in agreement. Hence, when Disraeli, after a defeat in Parliament, appealed to the country, *The Times* entered upon the election almost as a Liberal Party organ.

The attack upon the Prime Minister's address to his constituents was entrusted to a recently appointed leader-writer, William Stebbing,² who heaped ridicule upon Disraeli's election address. The leader ended thus :

We must not be understood to disparage the merits of the Address. It is studded with the most beautiful moral and political maxims, not always very *apropos*, but which are not for that the less admirably suited to furnish the copybooks of Conservative beginners. . . . We must lament that [it] contains many promises to resist the policy of others, but no signs of any policy for the great Conservative party itself, except simply to resist and resist. (October 6, 1868.)

On the other hand, when Gladstone opened his campaign at Warrington, *The Times* ranged itself clearly on his side, welcoming him as "the most powerful of allies in the cause of economical reform," of which the paper now considered itself the principal champion, and applauding his declaration for the Disestablishment pure and simple of the Irish Church :

Keeping in sight this cardinal point, that the Irish Church must cease to exist as an Establishment, we think the nation may fairly excuse the leaders on either side from any explanation of their respective

¹ P H S. Papers, D 17/13 , Dasent, II, p. 222

² For the career of Stebbing see Chapter XXI

AFTER PALMERSTON: DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE

plans. . . . Let the constituencies return men pledged to establish religious equality in Ireland, and we will venture to say that a way will be found to settle the question readily enough¹ (October 14, 1868.)

On October 26 the paper foresaw "that the General Election will show such a triumph of Liberal principles that our single fear is lest it may be too great." This fear was realized, the Liberals returned to the House of Commons with a majority of 121.

The equilibrium of party politics, which had so greatly contributed to the influence of *The Times*, had now been overthrown. For the moment, however, the mood of the paper was one of exultation. "The great day has passed, and a wonderful victory has been achieved." On the return of Lowe for the newly created University constituency of London, the paper rejoiced "that among our Universities there is one which seems likely to fulfil its true functions in returning a man of ability and culture without dictating his opinions or his course of action" (November 18, 1868.)

For Disraeli the paper was now "the malignant *Times*."² He resigned without waiting for Parliament to meet. When Gladstone undertook the task of forming a Ministry at the end of November, 1868, he was prepared to consider entering upon closer but deliberately formal relations with *The Times*. On December 3, the day he kissed hands, he thus replied from Carlton House Terrace to Delane's application :

Dear Mr. Delane

Mr. [George] Glyn [Chief Whip] has given me your letter. Things are as yet in their first beginnings. On my way from Hawarden today I had an audience at Windsor. I am very well satisfied with appearances as they are now before us.

Very faithfully yours

W. E. GLADSTONE.

I will ask Glyn to give you more information as soon as any is ripe.³

Delane actually secured his first intimation of the names of the new Ministers from Torrington. It was published as a forecast on

¹ This article was by Chenery, but most of the articles on the Irish Church were by Thomas Moyley. John Walter had strong views in ecclesiastical matters, and Delane wrote to Dasset: "I think you had better keep Moyley on the Church subject because J.W. does not mind strong things from him." (P.H.S. Papers, D. 17/21.)

² Disraeli to Grey, December 4, 1868; Buckle, *Disraeli*, V, p. 96.

³ P.H.S. Papers, D. 17/85; Dasset, II, p. 229.

GLADSTONE "ATTENTIVE"

Saturday, December 5 On the Sunday Gladstone himself wrote. " You may like *certainty* at a time such as this " and gave the list of appointments. *The Times* was thus able to say next morning that " with one exception, the appointments have followed the course we indicated " Gladstone met Delane at dinner with Granville that night, and the Editor noted in his diary¹ that the Prime Minister had been " most attentive " to him.

The return of Clarendon to the Foreign Office, and of Granville to the leadership of the House of Lords with the office of Colonial Secretary, provided Delane with two principal and trustworthy channels of communication. Lowe, also, became Chancellor of the Exchequer. Gladstone himself sometimes wrote direct, but generally through Glyn. The information coming from this source, however, was, conformably with Gladstone's programme of efficient administration, apt to be aridly official. Delane's other sources maintained their willingness to communicate more freely. Glyn, with some point, thus wrote to Delane on December 13 : " Pray never scruple to send to me at any time, but I have learnt that I can't give you NEWS ! ! "

Occasionally, during 1869, Gladstone invited Delane to call on him in order to receive his confidence on the latest phases of business concerning the Irish Church and land questions, with which the Prime Minister was pledged to deal. The Bill for the disestablishment of the Irish Church set in train a crisis in which the role of *The Times* was not that of a merely passive supporter of the Government. Introduced at the beginning of the Session in 1869, the Bill passed its third reading in the House of Commons by the end of May, but serious opposition was expected in the House of Lords, for the Bishops were concerned to defend the rights of Church property. The Archbishop of Canterbury had already written to Delane, without effect :

You probably know much better than I do the details of the measure on the Irish Church, which is to be unfolded on Monday.

It now appears that the hopes entertained, till within the last few days of a peaceful solution are at present gone; but may I suggest whether in the interests of peace in Ireland it is not possible to induce the government not to commit itself irrevocably on details so as to cut off all hopes of accommodation.

Knowing the feeling of Irish Ecclesiastics and Protestants generally, I confess I believe, that, if the pledges given last session of respecting

¹ *Dasent*, II, p. 229.

AFTER PALMERSTON: DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE

rights of property are not faithfully kept, we shall see no more peace in our days between the two sections.

It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of what the mind of the public accepts during the next few days.¹

Disraeli saw the Archbishop with a view to organizing opposition in the Lords, while Tait, at the Queen's desire, approached Gladstone in the hope of a compromise that would avoid a conflict between the Houses. Little had come of these talks; when introduced into the Lords, the Bill met with a hostile reception. *The Times* insisted upon the gravity of the situation "The Lords have the issue at this moment in their hands . . . Refuse the present Bill, and the terms of the next will be less acceptable." (July 20, 1869.)

The Lords, however, threw out the preamble, and the debate adjourned in an atmosphere of acute crisis. Gladstone wished to withdraw the Bill, but was overruled by Granville and the majority of the Cabinet. There was talk of a creation of peers to force its passage. *The Times* entreated the Government neither to surrender nor to declare war on the Lords, and pleaded for peace by compromise :

If the political imagination could compass such a fancy as shutting up Mr. Gladstone and the Duke of Argyll, as representatives of one side, and Lords Salisbury and Cairns, as champions of the other, in one room, who can doubt that they would contrive between them to settle the terms of a solution already almost completed? (July 21, 1869.)

Although Delane "feared we had said too much," the political imagination successfully compassed something resembling the fancy suggested by *The Times*. Before the Lords met on July 22 a conference took place at the Colonial Office between the leaders of the two parties in the House, Granville and Cairns, and after long discussion a settlement was reached, in which the Archbishop concurred. It is probable that Delane played some part in effecting this settlement. He was certainly in close touch with Gladstone, who sent him two notes in the course of July 19, asking him to call and discuss "the present aspect of the 'situation.'"² On July 21, the day of the leading article and the eve of the meeting

¹ Archbishop Tait to Delane, February 27, 1869. (P.H.S. Papers, D 18/18.) Tait in this matter was working in close accord with the Queen

² P H S. Papers, D 18/50, 51.

IRISH LAND TROUBLE

of the House of Lords, he received a letter from Lord Halifax,¹ which suggests that this old friend of *The Times*, not then in office, had been urged by him to attempt mediation :

I have done my best, & I hope that all will go right ; but to say the truth I have not quite the same confidence in the conduct of matters as when in somewhat similar circumstances the Duke of Wellington & Lord Grey decided the course of their respective parties.

You need make no apology for writing to me Even if you had no such motive as the public good, I should be sorry that you shd think any excuse necessary for giving me advice or recommending any course to me.²

In the evening Delane dined with Gladstone, who told him that the Government were prepared to compromise on the preamble. He had therefore every opportunity to exercise his influence in favour of the solution advocated by *The Times*, but how much weight his influence had in causing its actual adoption cannot be estimated. *The Times* said no more than that

We take no credit for a prescience of which everyone was capable who could free himself for a moment from the heat . . . of party spirit, but we do most unfeignedly congratulate the nation upon having escaped a grave disaster. (July 23, 1869.)

The Bill passed, and Parliament was prorogued on August 10. *The Times* thereupon returned to the question, lying beyond that of the Irish Church, which it had urged upon the Government. The Irish land question was difficult, "but it is the duty of a government to meet and overcome difficulties and it is a privilege of a strong government to be able to accomplish this duty." (April 21.) In the words of Gladstone's biographer, " *The Times* made a contribution of the first importance to the discussion, in a series of letters from a correspondent that almost for the first time brought the facts of Irish land before the general public."³ These letters were the work of William O'Connor Morris, afterwards well known as a historian, and at that time practising at the Irish Bar. He had for some years been a reviewer for *The Times* of books on military history, and, finding himself in agreement with the views of the land question adumbrated in the paper, had arranged with Delane in May to make an inquiry and write letters on the subject from all parts of Ireland. The letters, twenty-six in

¹ The Sir Charles Wood of earlier days.

² Halifax to Delane, July 21, 1869 (P.H.S. Papers, D. 18/51.)

³ Morley, II, p. 293.

AFTER PALMERSTON: DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE

number, appeared throughout the latter part of the year, the first on August 13, the last on December 30. The tenor of his argument, adopted with little modification in the editorial columns, may be summarized in the words of a leading article that appeared when it was known that the Government had a Bill in preparation :

Without pretending to lift the veil which shrouds all Cabinet deliberations, we should not despair of forecasting the probable direction of their policy on Irish Land Tenure. Through all the mist and confusion of details one result comes out into the clearest relief, and that is, that what the Irish farmer wants, above all, is security of tenure . . . In the Ulster system of tenant-right we have an example of custom replacing the law, and reconciling on the whole the interest of the tenant with the right of the landlord. . . To legalize Ulster tenant-right *pur et simple*, and extend it to all Ireland, would be at once an heroic and an inadequate remedy, nor must we be understood to advocate it for a moment. We do advocate, however, a careful study of those deeply-rooted usages exemplified by Ulster tenant-right, with a view of founding a new code of Irish agrarian law on the ancient structure of Irish agrarian custom. (October 27, 1869.)

This article was almost certainly written with knowledge of what had passed in Cabinet the previous afternoon, for Gladstone had written to Delane three weeks before that "The Cabinet will probably meet on the 26th : and when I come up for it I should much like to see you on Irish Land Laws. Any error, committed by the Government on that subject, would in all likelihood be irremediable "¹

When the Bill was eventually introduced, early in 1870, *The Times* "frankly confessed" that "it exceeds our anticipations." (February 17, 1870) O'Connor Morris's plea for the recognition of Ulster tenant-right was adopted without reservation, and when Gladstone wrote to Manning to explain his policy—"to prevent the landlord from using the terrible weapon of undue and unjust eviction, by so framing the handle that it shall cut his hands with the sharp edge of pecuniary damages"—he described himself as "compressing eight or ten columns of *The Times*."² The Bill was allowed to pass with little opposition.

With the death, in June, 1870, of Lord Clarendon, *The Times* lost an old friend, but its connexions with the Government were still strong, for Granville returned to the Foreign Office and

¹ Gladstone to Delane, October 6, 1869. (P.H.S. Papers, D 18/65.)

² Morley, II, p. 294.

INDEPENDENCE AND PARTY

Gladstone continued to see Delane in his "little room" in the House of Commons. Lowe remained Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Thus it was that Delane solved the problems of journalism and statesmanship raised by the death of Palmerston as far as they affected *The Times*. The Editor did not succumb to the temptation of permitting the policy of the paper to be guided by Robert Lowe. Lowe was a statesman of power, whose strong views might impress themselves, as many people for a moment believed they had,¹ upon the spirit of *The Times*. Walter and Delane, as we have seen, were both on their guard against this. Some months before he became Chancellor of the Exchequer Lowe ceased writing leading articles. Delane avoided also another danger : despite the difficulties of the new political situation, he did not permit the paper to become the organ of a party. As the development of the Irish question shows, he opposed or supported a Government in so far as its merits won his approval. Even when circumstances drove it towards simple partisanship, *The Times* remained independent. Thus when the Franco-Prussian War broke out the Government's policy—not least its refusal to permit officers on the active list to accompany the Prussian Army as correspondents—was roundly condemned. This, however, did not break off relations, as a letter from Lord Granville indicates :

Confidential

July 26, '70.

My dear Delane,

I hear that you thought my sending you the tiresome blue book was an idle ceremony, and I do not deny the fact, but I promised Dasent that I would send the first that was printed and therefore did so.

We are very old friends. I have only tried to influence you a very few times, and I do not know that I ever succeeded. But you have done me 1000 great favours in your professional, as well as in your personal character.

I see symptoms of your finding it your duty in the former capacity to criticize the F.O. Policy in the present crisis.

I have no good objection to make, but don't let it injure the personal relations of you and

Yours sincerely

GRANVILLE.

¹ On October 24, 1865, Abraham Hayward wrote to Delane : "There is an outcry against yesterday's attack on Lord Russell in *The Times* . . . People say of course that Lowe is the writer of the articles on the political situation, as it is called—which I much doubt." (P.H.S. Papers, D. 14/71.) It is evident enough that Lowe was meant by the *Daily News* when it asserted that "whenever a more than usually malevolent falsehood respecting Earl Russell's Ministry appears in the leading columns of *The Times*, the public unanimously pronounce one name, a name synonymous with brilliant but perverted talents, and a justifiable ambition frustrated by uncontrollable egotism." (March 1, 1866.)

AFTER PALMERSTON. DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE

Delane, in fact, was more friendly to the Government than some of his leader-writers. In November, 1870, for example, he would not use an article which Courtney wrote against Granville's foreign policy. "Now," he wrote to Dasent, "I am no worshipper of Gladstone's and think he has shown himself eminently 'parochial' all through the war; but Granville has, I believe, done all that could be done with any safety and indeed with any advantage."

The rise of strong rivals to *The Times* made its support less necessary to the Government. While communicating with Delane, Gladstone had taken care that no information unauthorized by himself was revealed to *The Times* by Civil Service officials whose high position gave them access to his own intentions or to Cabinet plans. In consequence, the paper's unique reputation for early and exclusive intelligence, maintained to the full under Palmerston, lessened under Gladstone and Russell. Moreover, the alignment of the parties by profound differences of principle made the independent position, which the paper ever strove to maintain, increasingly difficult under Disraeli. In the seven years of active life which now remained to him this was the problem to which the Editor addressed himself. At the same time the paper was once more faced with the necessity of adapting its organization to the task of reporting a first-class European war.

XX

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

ON July 3, 1870, Lord Granville, returning to the Foreign Office after the death of Lord Clarendon, was told by Hammond, the Under-Secretary, that "he had never during his long experience known so great a lull in foreign affairs" At six o'clock the same evening the new Foreign Secretary received a telegram informing him that the Provisional Government in Spain had offered the Spanish crown to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, and that the Prince had accepted the offer. Next morning *The Times* recorded with approval Granville's appointment, and in the same issue published a Reuter telegram: "General Prim has sent a deputation to offer the crown of Spain to a Prince of Hohenzollern, who has accepted the proposal."

The news was not deemed worthy of comment *The Times* of Monday, July 4, 1870, devoted a leading article to the funeral of Clarendon, another to his successor and the rearrangement of the Cabinet; leaders on the Privy Council and on Baby Farming made up the usual number of four articles. The Hohenzollern candidate was not discussed until the 6th, when it appeared that French susceptibilities, though groundless in fact, were understandable and merited satisfaction. The paper believed General Prim to have been chiefly at fault for making the offer.

The crisis developed rapidly. Delane was chiefly struck by the anachronism of nations quarrelling over dynastic problems, but by the end of the week he had to admit that the affair was taking a serious turn. So little was a crisis expected that the Paris office was vacant.¹ The paper was receiving long communications from Charles Austin, who had served *The Times* during the Abyssinian expedition of 1868, and also letters from the Vicomtesse de Peyronnet,² but at a moment such as this these

¹ See page 461.

² "A Parisian Correspondent." Mme de Peyronnet, an Englishwoman by birth, connected by marriage with the ducal house of Russell, had succeeded Prevost Paradol in July, 1870.

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

occasional correspondents hardly took the place of an experienced man of the calibre of a Hardman or an O'Meagher. Prussia had the advantage of a native correspondent. In January, 1865, Moiris, after hesitating over appointing a German correspondent, had appointed Carl Abel, the Egyptologist, to succeed Hardman. During the crisis of July, 1870, Carl Abel supplied regular letters

These details are of some importance. *The Times* had no love for either party in the dispute, towards Napoleon III and the Prussian Government the paper was equally hostile. At first it leaned towards the French side, but, in Abel, Prussia had a persistent and interested advocate, while the news from France came from a more detached informant, and one whose experience was not sufficient to permit him to see beneath the surface. This gave Bismarck an inestimable advantage in winning over British opinion. *The Times*, if it supported anyone in Prussia, favoured the Liberals, who clustered round the Crown Prince and his English wife. Abel himself was a Liberal. But in the national crisis all parties were united, and Abel patriotically presented the best case for his country. Abel's letters were written with studied moderation, Germany appeared in his letters to be completely pacific. *The Times* did not know that Bismarck had encouraged Pium to offer Prince Leopold the Spanish throne; it was convinced that Napoleon was eager for war. Austin faithfully recorded the bellicose gestures of the Parisian public.

Delane was principally exercised to decide whether Napoleon would be able to lead the country into war. Like Lord Granville, he refused up to the last moment to believe that hostilities would ensue. Already preparing a war staff, he nevertheless wrote on July 12 to Moiris: "I don't believe there will be any war at all and confidently expect that this week will see the end of the panic." Within two days it appeared that his expectations were justified, for on July 14 Prince Leopold's renunciation of the Spanish throne was published. With the elimination of the cause of the conflict, the danger appeared at an end. A leading article, remarking that "All's well that ends well," commented: "Europe has thus been spared the spectacle of a great public crime." (July 14, 1870.)

The Times accepted the statement of a French newspaper that, the Hohenzollern withdrawn, France would demand nothing

THE EMS TELEGRAM

more. The French Government, however, decided to demand a guarantee. This gave Bismarck, who was dissatisfied with his King's pacific conduct, his opportunity. Benedetti, the French Ambassador, went to see the King at Ems on July 13; King William courteously informed him that his demands were inadmissible and, later, when he received the official news of Leopold's resignation, informed Benedetti that he regarded the incident as closed and therefore a further interview on that subject was not necessary. In publishing the telegram containing this information Bismarck altered it so that the King's refusal to see the Ambassador again appeared to arise from the nature of the French demands. The altered telegram was received by the French as an insult, which had to be avenged.

On July 15, 1870, France declared war, and Bismarck's aim that she should be the aggressor was realized. He secured more. Benedetti had conducted the negotiations at Ems very unskillfully, and colour was given to the rumour that he had been unpardonably rude to the King. The Prussian papers made the most of the incident, Abel transmitted an equally hostile version to *The Times*.

This afternoon King William was walking with Count Lehndorff, his Adjutant, in the Kurgarten at Ems, when M. Benedetti accosted him and proffered his last extravagant demand.

The King turned round and ordered Count Lehndorff to tell M. Benedetti that there was no reply, and that he would not receive him again. Berlin is excited by this intelligence, and crowds are in front of the Palace crying, "To the Rhine!"

It was natural that *The Times*, with the evidence before it, should sympathize with the cry. France appeared morally as well as technically to be the aggressor. The first leading article on July 16 began solemnly:

The greatest national crime that we have had the pain of recording in these columns since the days of the First French Empire has been consummated. War is declared—an unjust, but premeditated war. This dire calamity, which overwhelms Europe with dismay, is, it is now too clear, the act of France—of one man in France. It is the ultimate result of personal rule.

On the evening of the 15th Delane was dining with the Prince of Wales at Marlborough House when a telegram from the Paris office of *The Times* was brought to him announcing that

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

the Emperor had declared war. As Morris was at this time a sick man, the task of organizing a staff for war correspondence fell to the Editor. He returned to Printing House Square and wrote that night to Morris informing him that *The Times* was ill-prepared :

The war has come upon us so suddenly that I have been obliged to act at once and yet I fear we shall be out-stripped. Lawley¹ and Captain Townsend, engaged for the *Telegraph*, started this morning and none of our men will be able to move at the earliest before tomorrow night.

I have accepted the two Hoziers,² one for the Crown Prince's Army, the other for that of Prince Frederick Charles, and have procured leave for them both so far as their respective masters the Duke of Cambridge and Lord Spencer are concerned, but Cardwell makes an objection to Henry Hozier's going which is to be considered at the Cabinet tomorrow. Meanwhile, he has, at Bernstorff's suggestion, telegraphed to the King and the Princess Royal of Prussia.

Russell is embarrassed with his daughter and his paper [*Army and Navy Gazette*] and thought at first it would be several days before he could move. I hope, however, he may be mobilised on Sunday. In the meantime I have telegraphed to Austin and have sent Hardman, who is very much better, to take his place and assist him in procuring facilities.

I much doubt, however, if the French Government will give way at all, unless perhaps they were to make an exception for Russell in whose favour I want the Prince of Wales to write to the Emperor direct.

A Colonel Pemberton of the Fusiliers is very anxious to accompany Russell on payment of his expenses and is described as everything that can be desired in a Military Correspondent. His idea is that he could be very useful as a jackall. He is said to speak excellent French, to have many friends on the French Staff and to have written a good Novel. I don't know him but every body seems to have a good word for him.

Brackenbury also is most anxious to be employed but would not like to serve with the Prussians, who also would probably not like to

¹ Who acted for *The Times* in the American Civil War. See Chapter XVIII.

² Lieutenant Henry Hozier (afterwards Colonel Sir Henry Hozier, K C B) acted as *The Times* correspondent with the Prussian Army during the war with Austria, 1866. He was highly successful. Russell, with the Austrian Army, wrote "Oh! why am I to see nothing but retreats! Hozier is the only man I envy in the world just at present. He sees everything—he is told everything. He can get his letters off, he can get his letters in, he rides about with a conquering and advancing army. As he does it so well I forgive him his good fortune" (Atkins, II, p 141.) On Napier's staff during the Magdala expedition of 1868 Hozier corresponded with *The Times*, at his best on those points which were Austin's weakest.

SEARCH FOR WAR CORRESPONDENTS

have him. His old friends, the Austrians, may be dragged into the conflict hereafter, but at present they at least affect neutrality.

The scene of war will be so extensive that there will certainly be room for him.

Delane's arrangements broke down in important particulars. In common with most Englishmen, his estimate of the strategic prospects was totally false. On July 12 he had written : "If . . . war should break out, France would, I have no doubt, attack Prussia on three points, Mayence from Strasburg, Coblenz from Nancy, and on the Elbe by an army on board her iron clad fleet" With this conception of the probable course of events his plan for the correspondence with the German armies was "to have one or two men who from the Rhine Province could feed Abel with news and who could retire into Prussian territory as the French advanced." The rapid Prussian advance naturally broke down an organization on these lines.

It was, moreover, difficult to get men to the front at all. Approaching Granville on the question of sending Russell to the French Army, Delane received the discouraging reply that Lord Lyons, the Ambassador in Paris, had already written that the French Emperor did not mean to have any correspondents with him—"I think a mistake on his Imperial Majesty's part," Granville added.¹ Appeals to the French Embassy in London did not change the decision ; Russell would not be granted more than the empty privilege of a welcome at headquarters, if he undertook not to act as *The Times* correspondent. "We have had another reason to put not our faith in Princes," Delane wrote to Russell on the 18th—a letter from the Prince of Wales was not forthcoming.

Another difficulty arose with regard to the two Hoziers, who were officers on the Active List. The Prussians preferred newspaper correspondents to be soldiers ; the Tory Government had made no difficulty about the employment of Lieutenant Hozier and Captain Brackenbury in the Austro-Prussian War. But Edward Cardwell was now at the War Office, engaged upon the task of transforming the Army ; among his military reforms was the discountenancing of communications between officers and newspapers. Morris had already had trouble in the matter of a correspondent from Woolwich—an appointment held by Captain

¹ Granville to Delane, July 17, 1870. (Atkins, II, p. 165.)

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

Brackenbury¹ Now both Henry and John Hozier were forbidden by the War Office to accept the permission readily given them to accompany the Prussian Armies. Delane was furious. He expressed his feelings with epigrammatic but unprintable force in a letter to Russell, but for publication they can be studied only in the more verbose terms in which he instructed Dasent to avenge him :

I want you to write me a smart attack upon the Ministry who are beginning this war by an act of timorous subserviency hardly credible. The two Hoziers were ready to start for the Prussian Army last night, they were assured of a warm welcome by the King and the two Princes² as well as by the Prussian Ambassador, the Duke of Cambridge had given them leave, but they are retained lest the presence of British officers with the Prussian Army should excite the just susceptibilities of the Emperor.

I have scarcely patience to write of such prostrate funk as this argues on the part of Cardwell and Gladstone and Granville. They are indeed a set of clerks excellent for Parliamentary purposes or the business of administration; but quite incapable of the courage required in such emergencies as these.

If they knew or could see anything but the bogies their own fears conjure up, they would at any rate wait until the Emperor objected, but as the Emperor would probably be very glad of every scrap of knowledge he could get of his enemy's operations, the Emperor would be the very last man to object. As to Prussia we have her not only willing to permit but anxious to receive for she well knows the advantages her arms derived from the presence of Hozier and how much the renown of her exploits depended upon his descriptions. The world would indeed know even without him that the Prussians fought and won the battle of Sadowa but it could know nothing of the preliminary and subsequent skirmishes and the several points in which they proved their superiority to the Austrians.

It may be added that to the presence of intelligent British officers in the business of a great war the British army owes her present control system.

And yet this British government which is not asked to contribute a shilling to these officers' expenses and which if it had any really

¹ Brackenbury himself, when he later became Director of the Military Intelligence Department, obliged every officer serving in that Department to sign an agreement to make no communication to the Press (Maurice and Arthur, *Life of Wolseley*, p. 232.) He was *The Times* correspondent with the Austrian Army in 1866, but was not a success until Russell arrived, as his subordinate, he did better and, after the war, he took Hardman's place for a short time in Italy. During the Franco-Prussian War he wrote some much appreciated articles upon the mitrailleuse, the terrain and other military points.

² The Crown Prince Frederick William and Prince Charles Frederick, who commanded two armies

DELANE AGITATED

British sympathies ought to share the British love of publicity in its panic fear of giving offence,¹ refuses to allow its officers to proceed to the scene of war !

Nobody attributed to them the pluck of Palmerston ; but they might at least have had that of Pakington, who did not hesitate a moment to give the requisite permission.

I am sorry to have to speak thus of friends but they are a mean spirited white livered set and will get no credit and no respect for the prostrate attitude they begin by assuming.²

This denunciation was duly translated into the form of a leading article on July 21 (on which day Delane was writing to Morris "I could declare war on the Ministry tomorrow"). A tentative proposal was made that Eber, perhaps because of his Garibaldian associations, might be acceptable to the French ; but although he accepted the commission, Delane concluded from the tone of speeches in the French Chamber that even he would stand no chance. The Prussians, however, showed a much more friendly attitude to *The Times*, and accordingly, immediately on learning from Granville of the French rebuff, Delane had instructed Russell about the middle of July to take over the mission originally designed for the Hoziers. Russell called on the British Ambassador at Berlin and was told that he would be accepted as correspondent with the Army, although even the British military attaché had been refused permission to accompany the campaign.³ He was received by Seckendorff at Potsdam and attached to the Crown Prince's staff. With him was his assistant, Colonel Christopher Pemberton, a retired officer, who, not being on the active list, was exempt from the War Office prohibition.

On the other side of the conflict the immediate necessity was to re-establish the Paris office. As soon as war had been declared, and without waiting for instructions, since Morris was away from London, Hardman returned to his old post.

Thus Hardman, in default of an accredited representative with the French forces, became a sort of war correspondent

¹ This comma should apparently have been placed after "publicity" Delane, when agitated, was apt to be eccentric in his punctuation and orthography

² Delane to Dasent, Sunday, July 17, 1870 (P.H.S. Papers, D. 19/61, printed by Dasent, II, pp. 265-266.)

³ Colonel Beauchamp Walker was, however, permitted in the end to accompany the Prussian Army. Henry Hozier went as his assistant. "I wish he was not quite so thick with the newspaper element," wrote Walker, who was unaware that he secretly corresponded with *The Times*. Walker said he had seldom met "a rougher or more disreputable set" than most of the correspondents. (Cf. Granville Papers, P.R.O., G. and D. 29/90)

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

behind the lines, while Mme. de Peyronnet continued her occasional letters on the social life of Paris at war. Only two representatives of *The Times* made any contact with French headquarters. Captain William Lockhart, a nephew of Scott's biographer, well known as a novelist, went to Paris in July and tried, without success, to obtain a pass to join the Army. On his departure from the capital, however, he came up with the troops at Forbach and, notwithstanding his ignorance of both French and German, succeeded in compiling an account of the battle that outdistanced all competitors—the only exclusive dispatch obtained by *The Times* during the early stages of the war. On his own responsibility, Charles Austin planted himself in Metz when the war broke out, and sent the only letters from the French front received by *The Times*, which was forced, like other papers, to depend upon official communications. Captain George Sartorius, of the Bombay Staff Corps, informed Morris "that he had certain means of getting to the front through the D. de Grammont (*sic*) but that he could only write through a third person and in such a manner that he could not be discovered. I accepted and gave him a letter to Hardman. Remuneration by letter." But no letters came, Sartorius's plan broke down.

From the German side information was much fuller. Numerous correspondents supplemented Russell and Pemberton. Sutherland Edwards wrote from Luxemburg, Latimer was with the Army of the North under Falkenstein.

Hardman was by no means unfriendly towards the French,¹ but his theme was rather French delirium than French enthusiasm :

Last night there was a good deal of shouting and excitement in the streets. . . . There will be no permanent subsidence of this state of excitement in which we live until such time as the passage of troops shall have ceased ; and even then the fever of expectation will be only so far allayed that every piece of news from the theatre of war, even the smallest skirmish favourable to the French arms, will be able to revive the effervescence. (July 23, 1870)

Well might Lord Granville say that Napoleon erred in refusing permission to Russell. One curious result was that though both Delane and Russell expected an early French victory, *The Times* gained credit for accurately judging German strength before it was made manifest to a startled Europe.

¹ On July 25 Delane wrote to Morris that Hardman "ought to conciliate even the French Ministry by the strongly French line he is taking"

RUSSELL IN SEARCH OF AN ARMY

Though promised a hospitable reception by the Crown Prince, Russell's progress was not without difficulty. His plans had been made on the assumption that the Prussian Army would retreat; in fact he and his assistant, Pemberton, had to toil painfully after the Crown Prince's army, of whose whereabouts they were uncertain. They bought horses in Berlin, and were accompanied by an English jockey who, stranded penniless in Germany after an unsuccessful flutter at the Hamburg races, accepted employment as groom. Their baggage followed in two hired vans. Russell had marked his van with a large painted goat copied from his crest and was put to some embarrassment by Prussian soldiers, who took the effigy for the trade-mark of a patent medicine vendor. The cavalcade reached Mainz on July 31, and there the two correspondents separated, Pemberton leaving on August 4 to join the headquarters of Prince Charles Frederick. Russell continued his search for the Crown Prince. At Neustadt he began to meet convoys of wounded and prisoners coming down the line from the battle of Worth. The railway was blocked, and Russell's riding horse had to be put in the shafts of the van. At Landau he was told that the Crown Prince was still farther to the west; at Weissenburg, where a hired carriage brought him at 2 o'clock on the morning of August 7, he was delayed by the arrest of his courier on suspicion of being a French spy. At last in Sulz he came upon Seckendorff, and was invited to breakfast with the Crown Prince. But by this time the first great battle of the war was over, and the only aspect of it he could describe from his own observation was the "eight or ten acres of French prisoners." For his account of the battle itself he had to rely on the Prussian General von Blumenthal.

Russell's presence in the Crown Prince's suite was one example of the Prussian wish to gain the good will of the British public; a more startling example had been given in London on July 24. There were rumours current that the Emperor of the French had approached the Prussian Government about Belgium. On July 22 Lord Augustus Loftus wrote to Granville:

I sounded Thile yesterday as to whether any proposal had come from Paris regarding Belgium. He gave me an evasive answer, saying that I had better ask Bismarck. I do not take all for Gospel that comes from Bismarck, especially if he has an object in view; he may wish to sow dissension between England and France and is capable of circulating anything which might assist his views.¹

¹ Granville Papers, P.R.O., G. and D. 29/90.

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

What Bismarck was capable of circulating quickly became evident. He instructed Bernstorff, Ambassador in London, to communicate to *The Times* a certain document.

On Sunday evening, July 24, 1870, Baron Krause, acting on Bernstorff's orders, called upon Delane at his home in Serjeant's Inn, with a letter from the Prussian Ambassador :

Private

Prussia House,
Carlton House Terrace, S.W.
July 24th, 1870.

Dear Sir,

I beg to introduce to you Baron Krause, Councillor of our Embassy, who has returned a few days ago from Berlin and will make to you a communication of the highest interest for the English public, upon which you may rely, as Baron Krause is able to prove to you,

Truly yours,

BERNSTORFF.¹

Baron Krause's interesting communication was the "projet de traité" between France and Prussia, composed, it appeared, in 1866. In return for French recognition of a federal union between North and South Germany the King of Prussia was to engage to give France his support, if the Emperor conquered Belgium. During the interview Delane asked a number of relevant questions Krause thus reported to Bernstorff :

Yesterday, according to Your Excellency's orders, I gave Mr. Delane a copy of the relevant document. After I had sketched its contents briefly with the words : "It is concerned with a French offer to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance on the basis of the acquisition of Luxemburg and Belgium," Mr. Delane asked me to read the document to him. I complied with the request willingly, and to his further question as to the date of the document gave the answer that, as appeared from the contents, it was written after the establishment of the North German Confederation. As to the date when it was proposed, I did not precisely know; nevertheless last year it was brought up on the French side, when the news of the English preparations during the Belgian railway question reached France, and the document is not out of date, since it would rest with us alone to go back to it before the outbreak of hostilities and prevent the war. Faithfulness to our South German allies and our guarantee of Belgian neutrality and independence alone stand in the way.

¹ P.H.S. Papers, D. 19/54.

Private

Prussia House,
Carlton House Terrace. S.W.

July 24th - 1872

Dear Sir,

I beg to introduce
to you Baron
Kraus, Commissar
of our Embassy,
who has returned
a few days ago

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

DELANE'S PRUSSIAN VISITOR

from Berlin and
will make to you
a communication
of the highest interest
for the English
Public, and upon
the authority of
which you may
say, as Baron
Krause is able

to prove to you
Only yours
Clement

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

DELANE'S PRUSSIAN VISITOR

Mr. Delane declared that the publication of the document must win for us much sympathy in England and with the observation that he and I were alone and no publicity would arise from our conversation, sought more time in order to establish positively the date of the French proposal; whereupon I could only repeat in similar form the above, with the addition upon his particular question, that I could not be in doubt as to the authenticity of the document, since I had myself had the original in Count Benedetti's own handwriting in my hands in Berlin above eight days ago. Finally Mr. Delane promised to maintain secrecy in all circumstances.¹

Delane next day published the document in the original French, with a leading article. It is not clear that Krause was the source, but it would seem that without deliberately misleading Delane the Prussian Counsellor led the Editor to make an inference. "We are satisfied that our information is correct," said *The Times*, and that the project had "recently again been offered as a condition of peace" (July 25, 1870.) The sensation that followed was all that Bismarck could desire.²

From the German point of view, the revelation came only just in time. The same morning (July 25), the *Daily Telegraph*, having then the largest circulation among London newspapers, published a report of an interview with Napoleon in which the Emperor stated that Bismarck had asked Benedetti what *quid pro quo* would satisfy France, if Prussia were to annex Holland. This statement, accompanied as it was with the assertion that France had refused to consider the bargain, was decisively checked by the revelation of the Treaty. The majority of the London papers, though cautious, were persuaded of its authenticity. The Francophile *Standard* alone asserted boldly that it was a forgery designed to depress the Stock markets and to discredit the French (*The Times* having shown "a remarkable zeal for the Prussian cause" ever since Napoleon refused to make an exception in Russell's favour³). "The treaty was

¹ Krause to Bernstorff (London, July 25, 1870): Translated from K. Rheindorf, *England und der Deutsch-Französische Krieg*, 1870-71 (Leipzig, 1923), p 172.

² Bernstorff to Bismarck (London, July 25, 1870) implies that Delane had independently concluded that the French were again offering the Treaty: [Translated] "Yesterday I sent Krause to the Editor of *The Times* with orders to give him a copy of the document. The text of the project appeared to-day in the paper and was spoken of in a leading article thoroughly favourable towards us. On the question of the date when the proposal was made, the Editor committed himself to a conjecture and expressed the opinion that it had recently been suggested on the French side, that we could save the peace by accepting the proposal. Krause had only told him, that it would have been in our power to revive the offer again now."—(Rheindorf, p. 173.)

³ In fact the friendliness of *The Times* for Prussia antedated this refusal.

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

believed to be genuine on the credit of *The Times*, and it had its natural, we will not say calculated effect"; but its final result could only be to discredit *The Times*. The Government, already aware of the existence of the projected Treaty, were of another opinion. Gladstone wrote to the Queen:

Your Majesty will, in common with the world, have been shocked and startled at the publication in to-day's *Times* of a proposed project of Treaty between France and Prussia.

A large portion of the public put down this document as a forgery, and indeed a hoax; Mr. Gladstone fears it is neither. Count Bismarck at this time speaks freely of it: and Count Bernstorff a few days back informed Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone that it existed in the handwriting of Count Benedetti. This communication was made to them personally, in strict secrecy. Probably the object of the Prussian Government was to prompt them to become the agents for making it known to the world. This Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone thought no part of their duty. They entered into no compact respecting the intelligence, but determined to take time to consider it: with an expectation, which has now been fulfilled, that it would find its way into print by some other agency.¹

Questions were asked the same evening in the House of Commons; Gladstone, interrogated by Disraeli, stated that he could give no information "as to the mode in which (the treaty) has come to be communicated to *The Times* newspaper."

The French made a vigorous attempt to discredit the story. First, the *Journal Officiel* of the 26th published a denial, not touching, however, the question of the Treaty itself, but the comment with which *The Times*, in the leading article of July 25, had accompanied it: "Unless we are misinformed—and, speaking with all reserve on a subject of such importance, we are satisfied that our information is correct—the Treaty has been recently again offered as a condition of peace." Next, the French Prime Minister, Emile Ollivier, addressed a letter to "a friend in England." A duplicate copy of this was supplied to *The Times*. The circumstances in which Ollivier's letter came to the paper cannot now be reconstructed, but it is plain that its insertion in *The Times* was unauthorized by Delane, and Morris was in Paris. The letter was received on the morning of the 27th when Delane, according to custom, had returned to Serjeant's Inn. Thus there was included in the second edition, made up by an editorial

¹ Gladstone to the Queen, July 25, 1870, in *Queen Victoria's Letters*, Second Series, II, p. 46.

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subordinate at about 11 o'clock for publication at noon, and a third edition made up at 4 for publication at 5 o'clock, on the 27th, Ollivier's letter dated the 26th

Paris, July 26, 1870.

My Dear Friend,

How could you believe there was any truth in the Treaty *The Times* has published? I assure you that the Cabinet of the 2nd of January never negotiated or concluded anything of the kind with Prussia.

I will even tell you that it has negotiated nothing at all with her. The only negotiations that have existed between us have been indirect, confidential, and had Lord Clarendon for their intermediary . . .

The publication by *The Times* on Wednesday, and without a word of comment or criticism, of a letter seeming to impugn not only the statement that the French had again recently raised the matter, but the Treaty itself, naturally led to the belief that the paper was preparing a more or less complete retraction. Delane's embarrassment was extreme, as his letter to Morris, written from Serjeant's Inn on Wednesday evening, proves:

I hear you are returned¹ but I am in such absolute despair at the disgrace brought upon all of us by the publication of Ollivier's letter and the public confession it involves that we have been all in the wrong, whereas we have been all in the right, that I have no heart to hear or discuss your news.

I am indeed ashamed to go out—I might say afraid of being hooted at as having deceived the public and confessed it. We shall, of course, have no mercy from either the public or the press—nor do we deserve it²

The Times of the following day faced the situation boldly. A leading article (July 28) stated that "the treaty is proved to be authentic," and added that Ollivier's letter "possesses no value, except as another illustration of M. Ollivier's character." "What does he say? He declares that the Cabinet of the 2nd of January never negotiated or concluded any Treaty of the kind with Prussia. The answer, of course, is that nobody has ever brought such a charge against M. Ollivier's Ministry."

The *Standard* of course saw its opportunity: "The *Times* has performed the happy dispatch. It published yesterday a letter from M. Emile Ollivier, which—to speak with German emphasis—gives the lie direct to the one Statement by which our contemporary made its portentous revelation really interesting." The

¹ Morris had been in Paris for several days and returned on the Wednesday.

² Delane to Morris, July 27, 1870. (P.H.S. Papers, IV)

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hostile organ, however, made no headway with this attack. Delane's fears were exaggerated, for the public was too keenly interested in the question of the authenticity of the Treaty itself to inquire closely about circumstances. Ollivier's letter had little influence upon the question; the *Daily News* saw his opening "his heart to us in a gushing private letter to a friend in England" as unimportant.

The authenticity of the document was gradually admitted. Bismarck assembled the Ambassadors of the Powers in Berlin and showed them the original in Benedetti's handwriting; Loftus sent Granville a note from Benedetti, "so that you may compare the handwriting, when I send by Post the Photographic copy of the Treaty."¹ But even this did not end all controversy, for it was maintained that Benedetti had written at Bismarck's dictation. Historians have taken diverse views, but the prevailing opinion seems that the project originated in the mind of Napoleon III, and Benedetti received formal instructions from Paris to lay it before Bismarck. This, too, was the contemporary judgment of *The Times*, which, having already (July 16) given Prussia "all that moral support which is seldom denied to those who take up arms in self-defence," pronounced on July 27 that:

It would be in general a sound deduction, when the authorship of any articles of agreement under discussion is doubtful, to believe that side to have originated them, which would gain most by them if they were adopted, and any one may judge for himself whether Prussia or France would have been the greater gainer by the ratification of the projected Treaty.

The effect in England of the appearance of the Treaty in *The Times* was decisive. Stimulated by the feeling aroused in the public and in Parliament and by frequent leading articles in *The Times*, the Government opened negotiations with both belligerent Powers with a view to strengthening the guarantees for the neutrality of Belgium under the Treaty of 1839. The result was that Great Britain undertook, for the duration of the war and twelve months thereafter, the obligation to defend Belgian neutrality by force of arms against either side that might violate it.

Early in August news of the hammer blows of the German Army began to come in. Russell's dispatches were as eloquent and accurate as ever, but, unhappily, they were not first in the field.

¹ Loftus to Granville, July 30, 1870. (P.R.O., G and D. 29/90)

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He had difficulty in keeping up with the troops, and many younger men, with newer methods than those of the Crimea, were competing successfully with him. He himself thought there was a combination, expressed or understood, among the host of correspondents to beat *The Times*. One in particular, Archibald Forbes, of the *Daily News*, outstripped him again and again. Forbes, who regarded Russell as his professional exemplar, had improved on his senior's technique and was now the master of rapid communication in the telegraphic age. He was attached to the headquarters of the Crown Prince of Saxony, with whom he was on excellent terms, and was accustomed to receive from the staff full technical details of forthcoming operations, which he sent home and had set up in type before an attack was launched. Then, the moment operations began, he was given the word of release by the Crown Prince, and telegraphed to London to publish the intelligent anticipation as a record of accomplished fact. Russell, sending his dispatches painfully by the routine channel of the *Feldpost*, naturally achieved greater fullness and accuracy, but in point of time was left far behind. At one time Morris wrote desperately to Russell to try to secure Forbes, on any terms, for the service of *The Times*, but Forbes was not in the market. Various expedients, such as posting an agent on the Belgian frontier to act as a transmitting station for Russell's dispatches, were quite ineffective in reducing Forbes's superiority. Further misfortunes continued to befall the service of *The Times*. A certain Mademoiselle Penay, whom Russell had engaged to take a letter to England, was arrested as a spy at Dieppe, and, on the evidence of the *Times* dispatch found upon her, kept in prison for five weeks. And, at the Battle of Sedan, Colonel Pemberton, riding up to a body of French infantry whom he thought had surrendered, was shot dead.

The Battle of Sedan¹ involved Russell and *The Times* in an unpleasant incident. After the surrender of the Emperor to the King of Prussia, various inaccurate accounts of the interview between the two sovereigns appeared in the press of the world. Wishing, he said, to correct these versions, the Crown Prince of Prussia gave Russell by word of mouth a detailed account of what had actually passed, which Russell immediately embodied in a

¹ In an attempt to secure priority with his account of the battle Russell made the journey to London himself, writing in the train. Skinner, the *Daily News* correspondent, also tried this expedient. As the two men lodged together, their attempts to hide their intentions from each other gave them an amusing evening. (*Cf.* W. H. Russell, *My Diary during the Last Great War*)

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dispatch to *The Times*. Some weeks later Reuter's agency circulated a statement to all newspapers, purporting to be signed by Bismarck, to the effect that "The report of the conversation between King William and the Emperor Napoleon, given by Dr. Russell, *The Times* correspondent, is founded throughout upon mere invention." Delane, having complete faith in Russell, refused to publish the statement, but Russell was shown it in the *Standard* by Alfred Austin,¹ the war correspondent of that paper, and demanded an interview with Bismarck, by this time established at Versailles. The Chancellor said he had not signed any statement, but, when asked to publish a denial, temporized, and eventually refused, practically admitting that the substance of the statement had been issued at his desire. He blamed Russell for indiscretion, saying "I do not care if you published every word I said to you, but when you hear things from that dunderhead the Crown Prince you should know better," to which Russell retorted : "Do I understand I have your Excellency's permission to publish your opinion of the Crown Prince ?" Russell, being obviously unable to quote his authority in print, was left apparently without remedy for a gross injustice, and the other English papers severely censured *The Times* for suppressing Bismarck's alleged contradiction. However, *The Times* of October 14 contained, in a prominent position, an article by Chereny strongly upholding Russell, defending the non-publication of the *démenti* on the ground of his high professional reputation, and quoting the following passage from the *Nord-Deutsche Zeitung* as a withdrawal by the Prussian Government of Bismarck's supposed imputations :

Mr Russell, the well-known correspondent of *The Times*, in reporting the King's conversation with the Emperor Napoleon, had the misfortune of being slightly inaccurate. This may happen to the most cautious chronicler of current events, and in the eyes of all equitable persons will certainly not detract from Mr Russell's well-deserved reputation of being one of the best informed and most conscientious correspondents of the whole European Press. We have no doubt that the authority from which one to whom the world is so much indebted for his friendly and veracious communications from our camp derived his intelligence was of a kind which justified his assumption that he had learnt the truth, and not one of those myths which apparently, without anybody's fault, are wont to collect round great events.

¹ The future Poet Laureate. He had applied unsuccessfully for employment on *The Times* in 1864, but was probably at some time a contributor, for in 1871 he asked Morris for a testimonial (P.H.S. Papers, M. 16/695.)

RUSSELL AND BISMARCK

"Our opinion," Chenery commented, "is that in Count Bismarck's Note we have only an instance of the tendency of public men to give off-hand denials of anything that is inconvenient." This was written before any explanation had arrived from Russell. His full account of his interview with Bismarck, complete except for the suppression of the Crown Prince's name, was published on October 22 with a supporting article by Wace, who took the line that Bismarck must have wished to correct some slight inexactitude, and that some underling had usurped his name and issued the sweeping denial. "In conclusion," he said, "we thank Count Bismarck for his appreciation of our Correspondent's difficulty, and for the pains he took to rectify his subordinate's mistake." Peace with *The Times*, which the Prussian Government clearly thought important, was restored, but Russell had his doubts whether the incident were entirely closed. Writing to a friend, he said :

When Bismarck saw my report he perceived that the King had kept back from him much of what he had repeated to the Crown Prince. He called the King's attention to the report in a German paper. The King said it was "not accurate" or was "slightly inaccurate" (if so, the Crown Prince was to blame), and then B., wishing to hit the Crown Prince for his confidences to me, orders a denial to be given and is obliged to disavow it, and to make an *amende*, for which he will not forgive me. I like the great man personally, and if I were a Prussian I could fall down and worship him for his work.¹

Bismarck, however, bore Russell no ill-will. Indeed, as the statesman afterwards recorded in his memoirs,² the correspondent was a welcome source of information, for he was on good terms with the generals, who were jealous of Bismarck. In *Friendship's Garland*, Matthew Arnold laughed in a kindly way at Russell's naive pleasure at being courted by all the prominent Germans, but the correspondent made good use of his eminent position. The affair of the Conversation is but one example of his intimate knowledge of what was happening.

The issue of September 5 recorded the surrender of the Emperor, the revolution in Paris, and the deposition of the Imperial dynasty. *The Times* wished the Provisional Government well, but did not cease to assert its opinion that France was in the wrong. The

¹ A full account of the incident, with Russell's own description of the interview with Bismarck and the text of Chener's (wrongly described as a leading) article, is given in Atkins, Vol II, Chapter XVI.

² *Gedanken und Erinnerungen*; vide infra, Sources, XX.

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leading article of September 7 advised the acceptance, lest a worse fate befall, of the harsh terms of peace that had been published in the German press, and on the following day *The Times* dealt with Jules Favre's disavowal of the nation's responsibility for the acts of the Emperor. "France cannot escape from the wanton attack she made upon Germany because the members of the present Government were free from complicity in it."

The Prussian armies advanced swiftly to the outskirts of Paris, and on September 15 it was announced that the siege had begun. "It will be strange indeed," wrote *The Times*, "to have all our Paris news from the German camp," but it seemed at first that news might fail even from there. For on September 28 Russell wrote to the Manager.

I have written to Delane to say that after much reflection I have come to the decision that I cannot, with regard to my own feelings on the subject and to your interests, remain here to chronicle a bombardment of Paris, a city of two millions of men, women and children, and as I hear it has been decided to do so I have asked him to send out a successor as soon as he can, I keeping my post as usual till his arrival. I can say no more.

It is the bombardment of the City of Paris I object to. If the forts only are attacked that is not a horror for one's old age to remember.¹

Delane, however, replied on October 5 begging Russell to see the business through to the end, adding mysteriously: "As to the contingency you mention in your short note to me and to which I cannot for obvious reasons more particularly refer, I have been assured here from the very beginning that it will never occur."²

Delane explained more fully to Morris on the same day:

This silly resolution of Russell's is made dependent on a contingency which I know will not occur. The Prussians here, who have never deceived me, say they have determined there shall be no bombardment of Paris but that its defences shall be regularly attacked.

They are influenced, of course, by dread of the scandal the destruction of such a City would cause: but also by a more practical consideration which the experience of the present war has rendered conclusive—bombardments don't answer. All the mischief done at Strasburg produced no effect on the Germans, but the opening of a practicable breach compelled him to capitulate at once. So at Phalsbourg, they have shelled the town till it no longer exists, but the garrison is none the worse and holds out.

¹ Atkins, II, p. 203

² *Ibid*

“BADLY SERVED”

They mean therefore at Paris to take if possible two neighbouring forts which would dominate the City & then summon it Valérien alone would do

But, of course, the Prussians want to hold over Paris the dead of a bombardment and I could not with any safety write to remove Russell's scruples.¹

Thus adjured, Russell remained at his post. But the dearth of news was very acute. A series of articles written by George Dasent appeared headed “No Post from Paris” and showing that at no time, even during the Napoleonic Wars, had the communications with the French capital been so completely cut. On the eve of the investment *The Times* had three correspondents within the city, not including Mme. de Peyronnet—Hardman, Austin, and Dallas—the last-named having crossed the Channel on private business and stayed as a volunteer. Hardman left Paris for Rouen in the hope of maintaining uninterrupted communication with London, while Charles Austin stayed in Paris to put together a narrative of the siege with a view to publication when possible, for it was not expected that he would be able to transmit messages while the siege continued. That the arrangement from the outset worked badly is shown by the following letter from Morris to Hardman, dated September 16:

Yours of the 13th arrived this morning. I am so bewildered contemplating the fact that a letter from Rouen has to go round by Paris, and does not reach its destination till the third day after despatch, that I don't know what to think or say. One thing, however, is plain—if the circuit and consequent delay are inevitable, Rouen is no place for the correspondent of a London newspaper. And yet, if you ask me where is a better place, I cannot answer the question. Your decision must depend upon circumstances which will be known to you sooner than to me. The only suggestion I can make, with my present knowledge of the state of affairs, is that you should abandon the quest of information concerning Paris and the Government, leaving that to our friends within (from two of whom, by the way, we have letters this morning, dated 14th), and endeavour to describe what is going on outside Paris. . . . The one step which seems to me least likely to be useful is to return to Paris.

You cannot be surprised that Delane is rather rusty. He has much reason to complain of *all* our correspondents. They have shown neither readiness of resource nor activity—and, worst of all, not one of them has been successful.

¹ Delane to Morris, October 5, 1870. P I I S Papers IV.

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After this failure Hardman removed himself to the seat of delegated government at Tours. From thence came a letter, which was published on September 30, giving an account of the first balloon voyage of "the aeronaut, by name Durnot, who came down safely in a field near Evreux on Friday. . A letter received here by the balloon says that one of these new-fangled mails will be despatched every week from Paris." The new-fangled mail, however, seems to have brought nothing to *The Times* during October, and Morris became ever more despondent. "If things do not mend with us," he wrote to Russell on September 23, "I shall resign my place in favor of the express messenger of the *Daily News* who evidently is more acute than we are here, or else he has the devil's own luck." Russell himself, it is apparent, was still far from realizing the conditions of the new warfare, and had to be instructed in such terms as this :

I beg you to use the telegraph *freely*. After any very important event, go yourself with all speed to the nearest telegraph station that has communication with London. Send by the wires, not a scrap of a few lines, but a whole letter. This is what the correspondents of the *D.N.* have been doing frequently.

On October 17 Morris was writing to O'Meagher, in his retirement at Bayonne, "No paper has been so badly served as *The Times* during this great war by *all* its correspondents, old and new," and on November 1 the total failure of Captain Lockhart, who had been sent to report the siege of Metz, made it necessary to head a column with the following introduction :

We take from the *Daily News* the following admirable account of the evacuation of Metz, and congratulate our contemporary upon the promptitude and ability of his Correspondent. We might envy him, if such a feeling were possible, with so honourable a competitor.

The next day, and for many days afterwards, news from Paris was published as having been received by balloon post—very tardily, it appears, for the dates show it to have been on the average a fortnight late. Early in November advertisements in French began to appear in the "Agony" column in such terms as the following :

Monsieur Jules Delarbré est prié de faire savoir à Monsieur André de Warn que sa femme est heureusement accouchée d'un fils. (November 10, 1870.)

Messages of this kind became increasingly frequent until by the last weeks of the siege they occupied the whole of the front page

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and most of the second. A message from Hardman, published on November 19, explained their use. The front page of *The Times* was photographically reduced to microscopic size and the print conveyed from Tours by carrier pigeon into Paris, where the messages were enlarged and distributed.

Russell attended the proclamation of the King of Prussia as German Emperor in the Salle des Glaces at Versailles and contributed a very graphic account to *The Times* of January 20, 1871. A few days later, as the result of a fortunate accident, *The Times* made its one great *coup* of the war. Russell, walking in the streets of Versailles, met a French friend :

The Frenchman was much agitated. "Tell me, for God's sake, what it is all about," he exclaimed. "Why should Jules Favre be here? What can he be doing unless Paris is doomed?" "Jules Favre here!" said Russell. "That is impossible." "But I swear it. I know him as well as I know myself. Not five minutes ago he passed me in a carriage going towards the Rue de Provence." This was news indeed. Keeping his information to himself, Russell hurried off to headquarters and had the news confirmed. He then sent off a telegram, and in *The Times* of the next day London read that the negotiations for the capitulation of Paris had begun.¹

The success of Russell over the capitulation much cheered Mowbray Morris. Although to the very end of 1870 every attempt made to place a representative with the French armies had met with a peremptory refusal from Gambetta, in the new year the ban was lifted and a Colonel Elphinstone admitted to General Chanzy's headquarters at Le Mans, subject to a censorship of his letters. It is true that Elphinstone was so badly treated that he had to withdraw within a month through damaged health; nevertheless, the following letter to Russell shows how much the spirits of the Manager had risen :

The *Daily News* people are either "inexact" or silly. I don't believe they are spending £500 a week in telegrams, tho' with 4 correspondents at Versailles they may be getting rid of that sum somehow. As for their being formidable, you need not be afraid of them, and you have a right to assume airs of superiority. Of late we have beaten every one hollow—news of capitulation—terms of peace—details of possession of Valerien—everything important—has been published by us exclusively, & we have beaten the knavish fellows hollow. . . .

¹ Atkins, II, p. 234. There is a difficulty about time. Atkins says that Russell received the news on the evening of January 23, but Russell's telegram is dated 2 p.m. on the 24th.

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We are in despair at getting no letters from Paris—not even news from the usual sources. The *D.N.* publishes something purporting to be from inside the city, but on careful examination of the article, I am convinced it is a *fraud*. At any rate, we could have written every word of it here, in P. H. Sqr¹.

Russell witnessed the entry of the Prussian Army into Paris and narrowly escaped being set upon by the mob as a Prussian himself.² His account was sent home by special steamer from Calais and special train from Dover in order to be published the following day. With the return of the French Government to the capital Hardman resumed his post, but was almost immediately permitted to hand it over to Laurence Oliphant, who during the war had acted as a correspondent from the south of France.³ The attitude of *The Times* towards the Provisional Government at Versailles was critical, but it reprobated Napoleon's attempt to return. His day was over and his Proclamation from Wilhelmshohe was greeted with a reminder of his responsibility for the moral degeneration of France, for the war itself and for the French disaster. Republicanism, according to Woodham in a leading article of December 12, 1870, had at least the support of the majority. Judgment, however, was reserved, for the state of France was difficult to ascertain. During the interregnum *The Times*, despite the disorganization of its staff, regained its leadership in news priority. Writing in the train, like Russell after Sedan, Charles Austin made three consecutive journeys between Paris and Boulogne at the beginning of April, 1871, and the paper scored with its dispatches on the Commune. Russell and Oliphant had exciting adventures, and when a bullet closely shaved Oliphant's head he took it as a religious warning and incontinently departed for America. For a few months the Vicomte de Calonne acted as a stop-gap, but the Paris office, after the Commune, was no longer in danger of complete suppression by Delane. It was reduced to a peace establishment, but was managed under Hardman as *The Times* permanent correspondent until his death.

¹ Morris to Russell, February 6, 1871 (P.H.S. Papers, M. 16/435) Kelly, one of Russell's assistants, had written to Morris on January 13. "The correspondent of the *Daily News* admitted to me that he made up letters out of a Guide Book. I venture to think such matter would be rejected by you" (*Ibid.*, M. 16/408).

² It is possible that he would have fared no better as the representative of *The Times*, which the Parisians hated as a Prussian organ. "Le *Time*, dans un numéro qui parvint jusqu'à nous (ces numéros-là arrivaient toujours), disait qu'après tout le bombardement de Paris n'était point une monstruosité si extraordinaire ; que c'était sa faute : pourquoi avait-il le mauvais goût de se défendre ? d'arrêter ces bons Prussiens ? de leur faire de la peine ?" (F. Sarcy, *Le Siège de Paris*, p. 129.)

³ For Oliphant and Blowitz see the following chapter, pp. 462-3

XXI

MEN AND METHODS UNDER DELANE

DELANE followed Barnes in requiring each issue of *The Times* to preserve an internal consistency. Although watchful of every detail in the appearance of the paper, he was not inventive in matters of lay-out, and the paper he bequeathed closely resembled typographically that which he inherited. Its later growth was a little undisciplined, as Walter and MacDonald were to observe in Chenery's time. Delane, too, may have given a preponderance to political affairs, but he recognized that news was to be found in books, in theatres, concert halls, picture galleries, exhibitions, courts, wherever men worked or talked. The paper, therefore, even in his period when politics dominated, embraced far more than the staple of Parliamentary, home and foreign news, always provided that the non-political matter was of interest to the vast bulk of readers who were not specialists. Capable writers were retained for such reporting. Thus *The Times* had in Nicholas Woods the best of descriptive reporters, whose long and stirring accounts of the prize-fights between Sayers and Heenan (April 18, 1860) and Heenan and Tom King (December 11, 1863) were generally admired. In James Caird the paper possessed an able commentator upon agricultural topics¹

The policy relating to artistic criticism as laid down in 1823 by Barnes in an article on "The Fine Arts" was continued by Delane. Applied particularly to the visual arts, it may be generalized to include many subjects of aesthetic interest, to which in its very earliest days *The Times* had paid little attention. The 1823 article declared that :

Feeling it to be our duty as daily publishers to catch the living manners as they rise, and as everything that tends either to the use,

¹ Sir James Caird (1816-92) was appointed Special Commissioner for *The Times* in 1850 to inquire into the agricultural distresses caused by the repeal of the Corn Laws. His thorough survey of England was republished as *English Agriculture in 1850-51*. In this work he was assisted by J. C. MacDonald. Caird was for many years afterwards the agricultural specialist on *The Times*.

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instruction or amusement of our numerous readers is important, we intend visiting all the Public Exhibitions of Art that are likely to interest the public this season, and to offer such observations on their management, the subjects they exhibit, the merits of the artists, and the tendency they have of improving the British School of Painting, Drawing, Sculpture and Engraving, as occur to us, in doing which we will most liberally praise the praiseworthy, but we cannot give up the privilege of using the rod (January 15, 1823.)

From this date all the important exhibitions and also outstanding sales were noticed, but sight was never lost of the fact that art found a place in *The Times* not for its own sake but because "it was a matter of the public interest" Delane was a keen amateur of the fine arts, and he believed that art criticism, now given generous space, had to be directed towards the common reader rather than towards the trained artist.

The earliest writer on art whose name survives was Samuel Phillips, formerly a political writer on the *Morning Herald*. After 1845 he was given a regular appointment as art critic of *The Times*. Phillips undertook the duties of criticizing the important exhibitions—he seems occasionally to have visited Paris—and of noticing the sales, in the course of which he became very well known as the "art critic of *The Times*"—better known than the paper wished. It was in his time that the Royal Academy recognized the dignity of his profession by inviting Press representatives to their Private Views.

Phillips saw two schools of English painting, the one headed by Etty and Turner and the other by Eastlake. "The Colourists are on their way downwards from Venice to Flanders, the Expressionists (if we may coin such a term) are on their way backwards from Raphael to Masaccio, and there are some among them who seem eager to push on at once to Cimabue." (May 6, 1850.) To neither school did he give wholehearted support, he preferred the severer style of Eastlake. His taste, in fact, was eclectic and sought satisfaction in the variety of Landseer, whose dogs appeared "rather realities than the representations of nature"; in the grandeur of De la Roche, whose "Cromwell" was "the impersonation of vulgar power enthroned by authority and by crime," and in the charm of Leslie and the humour of Frith.

In 1852 Phillips observed that, with the disappearance of well-established names, the public had to look to the younger

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artists, he was optimistic for the future, although he shared the common opinion regarding one vigorous school of young painters. The Pre-Raphaelites were "a coterie which has allowed eccentricity to degenerate into stiffness and mannerism." There was, he thought, "something strangely perverse in an imagination which souses Ophelia in a weedy ditch" Phillips's appreciation was guided largely by literary considerations, a trait to be found in his successor also

On the sudden death of Phillips in November, 1854, Tom Taylor applied for the position. Mowbray Morris then refused to appoint him, because the publicity attaching to Phillips's work had decided *The Times* not to appoint another regular critic and Taylor, even better known in the world of letters than Phillips, could not fail to become more widely known as "*The Times* art critic." For some years thicfore the paper was satisfied with occasional contributions, John Oxenford writing some of the articles while Taylor himself was responsible for a large number. In 1857, without obtaining a definite appointment, Taylor succeeded in establishing a monopoly in his subject; art criticism was entrusted solely to him, but he was commissioned separately for each exhibition and paid by space.

Thence until his death in 1880, Tom Taylor was in effect the art critic of *The Times*. Although his position was never regularized, he secured virtual recognition in 1868, when his proposal to submit to the Editor a list of Exhibitions recommended for notice was accepted. Chiefly famous as a dramatist, Taylor was also a journalist of very wide experience. His criticisms of the Royal Academy Exhibitions indicated clearly his cosmopolitan outlook; he readily did justice to all that was best in contemporary British art without at any time giving way to an unbalanced enthusiasm. He was a kindly man, more willing to praise the good than to blame the ill; he chose to castigate general causes of shortcomings, such as the lack of continental training, rather than to condemn a particular artist. Hence he explicitly sought not to criticize but to describe—and his descriptive capacity was enviable. He would wander along "the line," picking out here and there a work which attracted him, and would convey its charm or its beauty in a few well-chosen words. As a critic he was undoubtedly limited. He felt an immediate attraction for a scntimental subject, and he suffered somewhat from the moral fallacy—his admiration for

MEN AND METHODS UNDER DELANE

Watts and his hesitation over Leighton were based upon the seriousness of the one and the voluptuousness of the other; further, he seems to have preferred Leslie to Boucher and Fragonard because the first named had no "double meanings."

Criticism of architectural achievements was given for the most part to reporters. The building for the Exhibition of 1862 was described by Leycester, who also reported the funeral of Lord Palmerston, a succession of Thames bridges as well as the new Covent Garden Opera House (March 31, 1858), the Westminster Clock Tower (November 18, 1857) and other masterpieces of architecture and engineering were reported by Nicholas Woods. By design the articles on these subjects were, in fact, reports and not criticism; the writer described what he saw and conveyed his admiration for feats of engineering skill. Such work lay outside the sphere of art criticism. In the last years of Taylor's career, however, a change was made. Francis Turner Palgrave, who had in 1857 made an unsuccessful application to write architectural criticism, was appointed to attend to the architectural section of the Royal Academy. When Taylor died in 1880, Palgrave's duties were merged in those of the art critic.

It was a rule to notice new plays. Delane, when his youthful enthusiasm for the stage was over, was not a regular playgoer, but Mowbray Morris was for a period accustomed to be present at first nights and to judge plays with critical firmness and, not seldom, harshly. The direction of the cultural side of *The Times* was largely his, and he ably performed the difficult task of keeping to their posts writers, more bohemian than those of other departments, responsible for informing the readers of *The Times* of the activities in theatres and concert halls.

For the greater part of Delane's period the work of dramatic criticism was in the hands of John Oxenford, a prodigious worker whose activities were not confined to *The Times*. A prolific writer of plays—over seventy have been listed—he was also an authority on mathematics, German philosophy, and metaphysics, and was one of the first writers in this country to draw attention to the significance of Schopenhauer. Almost self-taught, he yet mastered Greek, Latin, and several modern languages, and his translations of Calderon's *Vida es Sueño* and Molière's *Tartuffe* earned the highest praise from the leading critics of his time. The material relating to his early days—that is, before 1835, when he wrote his first play—is scanty. He was brought up for



JOHN OXENFORD

the law, but there is no reason to believe that he gave much attention to that profession. His name as a solicitor with an office appears in the Post Office London Directory of 1846, 1847, and 1848, at 12, Bircham Lane—the City address of T. M. Alsager, his uncle, by whom, doubtless, he was introduced to *The Times*. A statement is made (in the D.N.B.) that Alsager intended him to write the money article and that he wrote soundly on commercial and financial matters. It could well be true of an adept in so many subjects, but there is nothing in the office archives to support this. His name rarely appears in the Editor's diary, and it is not possible to trace his early contributions, but an undated letter from Alsager to Leigh Hunt is witness to the value of young Oxenford's writing:

I must not quietly take a merit which does not belong to me. The notice to which you refer was written by my nephew, Mr Oxenford, and I am glad to find you so content with what he has done, though he has done no more than justice. . . .¹

Oxenford's later writings on plays, while pleasing in wit and brightened by clever phrasing, did not, as criticism, strike deep. A significant comment appears in the highly flattering obituary notice which appeared in *The Times* of February 23, 1877. It is devoted in the main to Oxenford's work outside the office, but remarks :

His summary of the plot of a new piece, after only once visiting the performance, was frequently a masterpiece of clearness and condensation. Everything necessary to inform the readers was there, what was superfluous to the understanding of the plot being discarded; so that one could see the main purport of the drama as clearly as one could see one's own face in a looking-glass. Judged from this point of view, a collection of Mr. Oxenford's analyses of plots, separated from his always kindly, sometimes too kindly, criticism, would be a precious acquisition to our dramatic literature.

This reference to the amiability of Oxenford's criticism is deliberate. Edmund Yates, who became an intimate friend of Oxenford's in the 'fifties, is responsible for some misunderstanding. His *Recollections and Experiences*, however, can be trusted for its personal tribute. He agrees with other writers that Oxenford was delightfully humorous, with the animal spirits of a boy: "No one ever wore his learning so lightly, or conveyed it so unconsciously and unpretendingly." But Yates's statement that

¹ Leigh Hunt Correspondence. (B.M., MSS Addl 38524 f.8)

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his kindness was officially enjoined conflicts with the documentary evidence in the office. According to Yates, Oxenford told him that when he took up dramatic criticism he wrote unreservedly of plays and players, and continued to do so until Delane, on account of an actor's complaint, not only admonished Oxenford to write in future to avoid protests as far as possible, but is alleged to have said that "whether a play is good or bad, whether a man acts well or ill, is of very little consequence to the great body of our readers." But Oxenford's confidences took place in taverns over pots of ale and clay pipes, and Yates was fond of such romantic touches. The truth was that Oxenford's habit of praise was part of his nature and not the result of studied obedience to his editor. A letter from Mowbray Morris dated May 10, 1866, thus takes him to task.

[The stage] must indeed be fallen to the lowest depth if Mr. Sydney Bancroft is "one of the most promising actors of young gentlemen on the stage." A greater stuck I never saw in my life, or a tamer performance than his in the play of "A Hundred Thousand Pounds." Surely you discredit the paper and injure the actor by such injudicious praise. And you mislead the public . . .

Morris wrote an even more severe rebuke on November 19, 1866:

All the world is grumbling about the dramatic criticism of newspapers.

I should not repeat these grumblings if I did not think they were substantially true. I say "substantially"—by which I mean that the gist of the charge is true and that the public is not fairly and honestly told whether a new play or a new actor or actress is or is not worth going to see.

This opinion of mine is not new to you. I have at least hinted it more than once, if I have never expressed it so plainly. The time is come now, I fear, for plain speaking. If we do not do our duty better in this matter henceforward we shall be disgraced. I am sure that after thirty years service you must feel quite as much for *The Times* as any of us can do, and that you would not willingly see its enemies triumph. They do at this moment. They write against us, and particularly against you, and the worst is that the general feeling of the town is with them.

There is not one of these cavillers who could hold his own against you in a fair contest. You know more about the subject than they do, and you can write incomparably better than they can—and yet

THE MUSIC CRITIC

if you entered the lists against them in this controversy, you would, like Brian de Bois Gilbert in *Ivanhoe*, go down before a touch under the weight of your sins

A man of Oxenford's wide reading could hardly be lacking in critical judgment, but he did not see fit to exercise it in a newspaper. By 1875 he felt his many tasks to be a strain and he wrote to Delane that he must retire. "I trust that my forty years zealous service will entitle me to some consideration" He died on February 21, 1877

Music received more serious attention. The reason for this was doubtless that Alsager was one of the most distinguished amateur musicians of his age. As host of Mendelssohn and Spohr, he sponsored the first English performance of Beethoven's Mass in D. His house in Queen Square was a centre of chamber music and his concerts there led to the formation of the Beethoven Quartet Society. It is said that he wrote music criticism, if this be true, his many other duties would explain why that art was but rarely treated in *The Times* until the appointment in 1846 of the first professionally trained music critic in the person of J. W. Davison. Before this, Alsager's deputy had been Charles Lamb Kenney¹ who had entered Alsager's office in 1843. He wrote dramatic criticism, translated innumerable operas, and in 1845 represented *The Times* at the Beethoven festival at Bonn. Davison, then representing his own paper, the *Musical World*, travelled to Bonn in company with Kenney, and he helped in the more technical part of Kenney's reports to *The Times*. Retiring because of illness, Kenney recommended Davison, whose first appearance in *The Times* was made in the following year with a descriptive analysis of Mendelssohn's *Elijah* two columns long, published on the eve of its production at Birmingham. This was on Monday, August 24, 1846, and Davison's subsequent notices from Birmingham, containing more than a column about the first performance of *Elijah* under Mendelssohn's direction, were headed with the words "From our own Reporter." Henceforward he held undisputed sway as the sole arbiter of the musical policy of *The Times* for over thirty years.

Davison has been much blamed for certain conspicuous misjudgments; his honesty has been questioned, and posterity has been less than fair to his merits. The first of these was his excellence as a reporter. Few music critics are good reporters;

¹ Son of James Kenney, playwright and godson of Charles Lamb

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they are frequently so anxious to express their views that they forget to make clear to their readers exactly what it is they are criticizing. Davison could describe a work or an occasion in direct and forcible terms. His analysis of *Elijah* and his account of the Birmingham Festival are models of their kind. The capacity never deserted him and at the end of his career when he visited the first Bayreuth Festival (1876), despite his mistrust of everything associated with the name of Wagner, he wrote a series of accounts which are masterly on the informative side. Indeed, that dated August 20, which sums up the impressions of a first hearing of *The Ring*, is something more. It contains much just and intelligent criticism which could only have been made by one who had studied the scores and listened attentively to the performances. Unfortunately Davison had too often expressed himself with intolerance about Wagner for the merits of these papers to be recognized as they deserved to be. His reception of the first performance in England of the *Tannhäuser* Overture was not cordial:

The impossible overture of Herr Richard Wagner, introduced for the first time to an English audience, and played with surprising accuracy and decision, would do very well for a pantomime or Easter piece. It is a weak parody of the worst compositions, not of M. Berlioz, but of his imitators. So much fuss about nothing, such a pompous and empty commonplace, has seldom been heard. (May 3, 1854)

Apart from Wagner, the errors of Davison most frequently held up to scorn to-day are those concerning Chopin and Schumann, but here, too, extenuating circumstances may be pleaded and those who ridicule his criticism do not always show that they have searched the columns of *The Times* to discover what was said therein.¹

It has been alleged that Davison was unfavourable towards the playing of Mme. Schumann because of jealousy on behalf of his wife, Mme. Arabella Goddard, a popular pianist of the day. His welcome of Mme. Schumann, however, on her first appearance with the Philharmonic Society (April 15, 1856) shows no sign of this. His notice is a whole-hearted appreciation of her merits; but that Davison disliked the tendency of Robert

¹ Davison has been attacked on account of Chopin's complaint in 1848 that many papers had good notices of his *matinées*, except *The Times*, "in which a certain Davison writes." But these *matinées* went unnoticed in *The Times* because they were given in private houses and it is no part of a critic's duty to attend society functions in the pursuit of musical genius.

Schumann's music, which he linked with Wagner's as symptomatic of a pan-Germanic sentiment abhorrent to him, is beyond question. He certainly failed to do justice to it, but to-day there are many who perceive that his opposition to German influence in England was not unreasonable. It is to his credit that he supported efforts to propagate native music at a time when they represented a less popular cause than now. In the season in which he neglected Chopin he found ample space to praise the more liberal policy of the Philharmonic in giving Sterndale Bennett's work, and to discuss the compositions and performances of promising students of the Royal Academy of Music. He also warmly appreciated Hector Berlioz. Possibly his view of the musician was coloured by personal friendship for the man, but none the less what he wrote of Berlioz shows him able to appreciate qualities in music which were the antithesis of those of his admired Mendelssohn. On the whole it may be said of Davison that he began a tendency in the paper's music criticism, noticeable ever since, to swim against the tide of popular favour.

After Delane's retirement from the Editorship in 1877, Davison's dilatoriness in the delivery of copy and other defects of increasing age suggested that it was time for him to retire, too. Ten years before in a moment of exasperation Delane had written to him :

Except on a night sacred to nonsense [Boxing Night], I would never allow publication to be delayed even five minutes for a musical or theatrical critique.

But in general Delane was patient ; he had "a sincere regard for Jem Davison" which probably his successor did not share. At any rate Davison's habits, combined with the fact that his views were now too much against the stream of modern music to be acceptable, made *The Times* first supplement him with occasional articles from Dr. Francis Hueffer, and then appoint the latter to succeed him. It may not be true, as Mrs. Hueffer is reported to have said, that when Hueffer began work on *The Times* he had to engage a four-wheeled cab to carry back to distinguished musicians the presents which were brought to his door, but it is to his credit at any rate that the suggestion of corruptibility to which Davison had laid himself open entirely ceased.

Hueffer was of unmixed German origin, born at Munster in 1843, a man of cosmopolitan education who had settled in England

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and had declared himself an apostle of the Wagnerian doctrine. He brought new life to *The Times* handling of music, though he was by instinct and tradition more of an essayist than a daily journalist. At the same time, like many expatriated Germans, he identified himself very closely with his adopted country and wished to be regarded as an Englishman, even to the point of affecting an imperfect knowledge of the German language. Fuller-Maitland recalls that at the single performance of Stanford's opera *Savonarola*, when the critics were provided with scores not available for sale and marked "Als Manuscript gedruckt," Hueffer turned to him and asked what the words meant. Hueffer's skill as an essayist brought a new feature to the paper's columns in the form of periodical articles dealing with musical matters in a wider way than is possible in the daily notices of current events. Some of those of his earlier years were reprinted in book form under the title *Musical Studies. A Series of Contributions*, and his initiative foreshadowed what is now a regular feature, the weekly Saturday article on Music.

The Times under Delane made no attempt to provide a register of obituary notices, in the manner of the *Gentleman's Magazine*; it sought rather to describe at length the careers of the most prominent men of the time. For many years Charles Dod, of the Gallery and the *Parliamentary Companion*, filled this office. After his death in 1855 Edward Walford, well known as a compiler of biographical dictionaries, applied for the post, but was disappointed in his hopes, although between 1855 and 1859 he was commissioned to write a few obituaries. In 1868, after various journalistic ventures, which included the editorship of the *Gentleman's Magazine* during its last two years in its traditional form, Walford obtained a regular post on *The Times*, which he held for nearly two decades. Among his most important contributions were the biographies of Charles Dickens, Mazzini, and Rajah Brooke. During the intervening ten years the principal writer of obituaries was the versatile Dallas, whose list of biographies is remarkable, including those of Palmerston, Aberdeen, Derby and Metternich among the statesmen, Thackeray, Hood and Macaulay among the men of letters, and the Prince Consort and the King of the Belgians.

Dallas and Walford broke the back of the task, but other hands were secured for special purposes. It was, for example, fitting that Tom Mozley should write on Keble and Pusey, that Reeve

OBITUARY WRITERS

should compose Charles Greville's notice,¹ and W. H. Russell survey the careers of the soldiers whom he had seen in action. Joseph Parkes and Abraham Hayward were also much in demand for their special knowledge of men and affairs. Gallenga assumed responsibility for Italians, Tom Taylor for most of the artists, Courtney (a Cambridge mathematician) for scientists, Shand for such writers as Charles Kingsley and Lever.

Delane himself took a lively interest in the obituaries, for his journalistic eye saw that the death of a great man was an event which might drive all others from the public mind. Wellington's death, he advised Dasent, "will be *the only topic*"; "all parties will conspire to praise" Palmerston. When Napoleon III died, the singular step was taken of leaving out all leading articles in favour of a twelve column obituary, written by Shand and Gallenga (January 10, 1873). Delane was normally well prepared beforehand with biographies, which were sent from time to time for revision to their authors or others. It happened that the life of Lord Brougham was published in 1868, thirteen years after the death of its author, Stowe. But sometimes the Editor was caught napping. When the Prince of Wales was ill in 1871, a biography was hastily put together by Courtney and Mozley. Many stories are told of the rapidity with which obituaries sometimes had to be written—how Charles Dod wrote the life of Lord George Bentinck in a train between Ramsgate and London and how Brodrick sat down at 5 p.m. to write a memoir of Cavour before the paper went to press. But perhaps the most graphic description of a hurried memoir is given by Parkes in a letter to Delane. Hearing of the death of Edward Ellice, Parkes

took the last evening train and drove to Dasent's house on the Saturday midnight and found him not gone to roost. He kindly gave me till 10 o'clock on the Sunday night, for the best biographical account I could fabricate of our friend. I then went home to bed. After breakfast I went to the Reform Club to look up a few dates, for I had not made a single memorandum! I then at Brookes's found the year of Ellice's election there. I sate down at one o'clock at home, and just finished the article in rough at half past 9. Recopying or much cobbling were out of the question. So I cabbed with the Scrip to Printing House Square and there corrected it as well as I could. Then I took it into

¹ Reeve (Laughton, I, 263) appears also to have written the life, or a part, of the great Duke of Wellington, which had the unusual honour of republication in pamphlet form, but Woodham (Dasent, I, 140), Samuel Phillips (B. M. Catalogue) and Dod (Sir G. C. Lewis's *Letters*, 254-5) have also been suggested.

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Dasent and left it, not seeing a proof, and he well improved it—as it was it chimed in tunefully with the Leader

Delane was in Scotland and knew nothing at the time of the story behind the memoir, but he wrote to congratulate Dasent “on having been able to do such justice to the dear old ‘Bear’” Indeed, whatever the story behind the obituary, Delane rarely had to admit a failure, for it was part of his editorial flair to be, as Parkes observed, “Some how or other in your hunts . . . always in at the Death ! ”

Obituaries impinge once more upon the world of politics and it was here certainly that Delane felt most at home In the department of Parliamentary reporting he inherited a tradition which he handed on in its full integrity to his successors—indeed, the continuity was personal, since the head of the reporting staff at the time of Delane’s retirement was Charles Ross, who made his first appearance in the Gallery in 1820 and ceased work only in 1883 at the age of eighty-three. There were few M.P.s able to rival his experience In his early days reporting was done under difficulties. The Reporters’ Gallery was cramped, so that a man could barely stand upright, and the temperature was infernal ; the acoustics were bad and the “turns” long—Ross recalled how “when I first entered the gallery, if the Lords were sitting, we took an hour’s turn in each House : a terrible thing I have had an hour of Canning ; of course it was wretchedly done.”

The burning of the old Houses of Parliament in 1834 proved to be a blessing to reporters. In the new House they were given a gallery which was comfortable enough, even “luxurious” for the privileged ; the only complaints came from those who were excluded, for space was still limited. The new gallery was divided into nineteen boxes, three for *The Times*, one or two for each of the other London papers, one for Hansard. The provincial journals had to be content with joint representation by three press associations with one box each. Newspapers like the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Scotsman* were aggrieved that they were forbidden a seat of their own (the rule was not relaxed until 1881), while others complained that *The Times* had the best seats. This preponderance was due to the fact that the corps of *The Times* was a third larger than any other and that it gave on average twice as much space to its reports every day.

IN PARLIAMENT

Parliament had no official reporter and Hansard was sometimes a broken reed ; in these circumstances statesmen were accustomed not infrequently to appeal to *The Times* for an authoritative record of their words. A staff consistently excellent, with a succession of outstanding figures at the head—John Tyas, Charles Dod, J. F. Neilson, Charles Ross—gave *The Times* a supremacy in this department which the new journals sought in vain to defeat. Disraeli, in a moment of hostility, claimed that its reputation was illusory and that the *Standard* and the *Morning Post* were better, but he himself rehearsed his speeches with Neilson,¹ whose acquaintance he made through Barnes, and took Ross's advice in questions of oratorical delivery. Reporting in *The Times* was not guided by political consideration and, indeed, was not subject to the Editor's revision.

The Gallery staff consisted of about eighteen members. The long "turns" of Ross's early days were replaced by periods of fifteen minutes. Late at night, when the paper was about to go to press, the turn was shortened to ten minutes, after midnight to five, and if the House sat into the small hours, it was reduced even to two and a half minutes, so that *The Times* next morning should have the last possible words from the statesmen's lips. The three boxes allocated to *The Times* were occupied by Ross, the writer of the summary and the reporter. Ross's function was simply to supervise. The summary, written in a classical style created by John Tyas, was the model for all other papers, until H. W. Lucy invented a lighter, more descriptive style in the *Daily News*. It was written, like the full reports, in a committee room of the House of Commons and aimed at giving in small space the essence of a day's oratory. The reporter sat in his box for a quarter of an hour taking notes—in the 'twenties, shorthand writers were in a minority and half a century's experience convinced Ross that "a good reporter . . . should condense at the time ; he should take a sufficient note to make him clearly to understand what the speaker says, and then he should write out a neat account of his opinions ; that is my notion of reporting."² With his notes, he retired to the allotted room (the private room for *The Times* reporters was not secured until long after Delane's death), while his place was taken by a successor, already awaiting

¹ Disraeli when First Lord of the Treasury wanted to give Neilson a Civil List pension, but the proprietors of *The Times* objected, and themselves augmented Neilson's salary by an equivalent sum. (Buckle, III, 5)

² " You want a man's opinions, not his words," again said Ross.

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his turn on the back seats, which being useless for reporting were used by the representatives of Reuter's and the weeklies, by leader-writers and other journalists wishing to hear a debate, and by the waiting reporters. In the committee room, copy was prepared with great rapidity and sent off by a messenger every quarter of an hour. The use of a telephone was secured in 1880 and permitted the saving of much time, since compositors in *The Times* Office had long been accustomed by the Continental private lines to taking down from dictation. It was Ross's opinion that the reports in *The Times* were too long, for no one, he said, read them, and he wished to substitute a longer summary save for outstanding debates, but, as he stated in 1878 to a committee of the House of Commons on Parliamentary reporting (of which John Walter was a member¹), "it has come down, it is traditional custom, if one may apply those words, and they feel it . . . a point of honour to maintain their reputation for giving full reports." The tradition honourably maintained by Ross and his successors was costly, for it made immense demands upon space and involved a dead loss computed by Ross to reach £20,000 or £30,000 a year. During the Session, reports of the debates took precedence over all other matter, and owing to their length they exercised a great influence upon the make-up of the paper. The reporters provided the statements of Members, and these utterances were the staple of the leading articles.

The outstanding figures among the leader-writers of Delane's earlier years have been mentioned in Chapter VI. As time passed new men emerged. Thus with the departure of Knox in 1860 there was appointed to his place the Hon. G. C. Brodrick, a brilliant scholar of Merton College, Oxford, who had attracted the attention of Walter by an essay on Representative Government and was at once invited to write leading articles. For fourteen years he wrote regularly upon every subject, though his sympathy with the North during the American Civil War made him a rare contributor on that topic. He ended the connexion in 1873, in order to take up a political career, but, like Wingrove Cooke, he did not succeed, and in 1881 was elected Warden of Merton College.

In 1863 a young clergyman, Henry Wace, having recently left Oxford for a curacy in London, entered upon a long career

¹ The Committee was a result of the agitation of the *Sentinel* for a separate seat in the Gallery.

"A LIBRARY IN BREECHES"

as a leader-writer. He was particularly appreciated by Delane for qualities which he shared with his older clerical colleague—adaptability and industry. "Wace," the Editor wrote, "will work like a brick, so also will Woodham." Another acquisition, L. H. Courtney, was appointed in 1864. At St John's College, Cambridge, Courtney had distinguished himself as a mathematician, being in succession Second Wrangler, Smith's Prizeman and a Fellow of his college, in 1858 he forsook mathematics for law and Cambridge for London. He was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn and soon turned his attention towards journalism. His review of the *Water Babies* was accepted and published on January 26, 1864, and he shortly afterwards began to write leading articles. Courtney's strong and somewhat advanced views, e.g., upon the question of land ownership, were the more piquant since his appointment to *The Times* followed close upon the Delane-Cobden controversy which arose in the first place out of that question. His advocacy of proportional representation was given some scope by Delane in 1866, but during the Franco-Prussian War his views on British mediation and his hostility towards Gladstone failed to gain the Editor's approval. Delane was impressed rather by his learning ("a library in breeches" was the Editor's phrase) than by his style, for his prose was inelegant; Delane nevertheless greatly valued his services, writing in 1865 "Courtney is certainly a great acquisition." His talents in finance were recognized by John Walter, who offered him, despite his bias towards bimetallism, the succession to the City Office, there were rumours even that he was to succeed Delane, but the Chief Proprietor felt that his enthusiasms unfitted him for the chair. In the 'seventies, without completely abandoning journalism, Courtney began to turn towards a public career. He was in the Commons by 1875 and became Under-Secretary to the Home Office in 1880 and Secretary to the Treasury in 1882. The latter office he quixotically resigned because the principle of proportional representation was not recognized in the Reform Bill of 1884. For some years Deputy Speaker in the House of Commons, he was created a peer in 1906.

The death of Wingrove Cooke in 1865 left another gap which was filled in the following year by the appointment of Gallenga. Like his predecessor, Antonio Gallenga was one of those rare journalists who achieved success both as a foreign correspondent and as a writer of leading articles. Delane placed much confidence

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in his articles upon foreign subjects, although they always required "translating." Between 1866 and 1872 Gallenga wrote a large proportion of the foreign articles, but his work was repeatedly interrupted by service as a correspondent, for his best talents were in that direction.

Such was the personnel of the leader staff by 1867, when Delane wrote that if no recruits were secured that department would "flag".

You are quite mistaken [he informed Morris on August 3] in supposing that I have eight effectives If you reckon Courtney, Woodham, Lowe, Chenery, Brodrick, Wace, Mozley and Gallenga, you must begin by deducting Lowe who has scarcely written at all this year,¹ Brodrick who can't write at night, Chenery who only writes four times a week & Gallenga who only writes on foreign subjects and then requires to be rewritten. Thus, out of my eight, whom you reckon as effectives, four are more or less lame & Mozley & Woodham are only available for second day subjects²

Early in the 'seventies changes became necessary in the leader-writing staff. The retirement of H. A. Woodham in 1874 was a notable event. Although of late years he had been a comparatively infrequent contributor, he continued to write. His last article appeared on May 22, 1874, and he died on March 16, 1875, at the age of 61. A brief memoir in *The Times*, under the head "University Intelligence," did not reveal his long connexion with the journal, stating only that he had been "a laborious and brilliant contributor to periodical literature" He had, in fact, been writing regularly for *The Times* for thirty years, a record in which he took a justly great pride.

Delane therefore sought to infuse new blood into the department. Thus L. J. Jennings was recalled from New York, and, in September, 1867, began to write leading articles. He was not a success, and during 1868 Brodrick and Courtney were commissioned to find new writers. Brodrick showed his judgment by recommending James Bryce, who, however, did not see his way to joining the staff. Godfrey Lushington, a Fellow of All Souls and a friend of both Brodrick and Courtney, was given an extended trial. John Walter, entertaining him at Bear Wood, found him

¹ Lowe wrote only thirty-six articles in 1867, and his last appeared in January, 1868.

² Mozley held a country living in Wiltshire, and retired to Plymtree in Devonshire in 1868; Woodham would still write only in Cambridge.

NEW BLOOD

" clever but too doctrinaire," nevertheless worth encouraging. " His Hobby is Trade Unionism, of which he is a great admirer &, I suspect, a legal adviser."¹ Lushington was soon absorbed in politics, and in 1885 became Permanent Under-Secretary to the Home Office. Brackenbury, the military correspondent, and Charles Austin, who distinguished himself as a correspondent in Abyssinia and later in France, and Malcolm MacColl, later Canon Residentiary of Ripon, were among those given trial by Delane.

Of all his " colts," as he called them, Delane found only one who was entirely satisfactory William Stebbing, son of a well-known divine, was recommended by Courtney and, after a few months as a reporter in the Lord Chancellor's Court, was given some legal subjects to write upon² The new writer was a brilliant Oxford Scholar, educated at Westminster and Worcester College. Taking a first in Mods , in Classics, and in Law and Modern History, he published in 1865 an Analysis of Mill's Logic and spent some years in miscellaneous legal work before his appointment to *The Times* As a leader-writer he was an immediate success and was quickly given every kind of subject. On August 25, 1868. Delane wrote from abroad · " I can't resist writing again in praise of the Spanish articles. They are all one could desire, & if Stebbing can maintain that ' form ' he is a most valuable acquisition."

In addition James Macdonell, after a brilliant career on the *Daily Telegraph* as leader-writer and correspondent, was invited in 1875 to contribute to *The Times*. His first article, on the Spanish situation, appeared on March 27, and he continued to write, principally on foreign subjects, until his death at an early age four years later. Other new men appointed (E D J. Wilson in February, 1870 ; S. H. Reynolds in July, 1873, and Thursfield, two years later) long survived Delane and carried into later régimes the memories of his methods.

During Delane's term of office the significance of the " Special " Correspondent's dispatches on several occasions overshadowed the leading articles In his last years the changes in the foreign department were radical, enforced not merely by considerations of personnel but also by political changes and mechanical progress.

¹ In 1867 Lushington published " Workmen and Trade Unions," as Essay II of *Questions for a Reformed Parliament*, a criticism of the law of Masters and Servants and a defence of Trade Unionism.

² Stebbing was appointed reporter as from April 9, 1868 (but, noted Morris, " he cannot write shorthand ") His first leader appeared on August 3

MEN AND METHODS UNDER DELANE

It was Morris's aim to supplement Reuter "by our own special telegrams from our own correspondents." These are "much increased of late," he informed Oliphant in December, 1871, "and I hope to do yet more. We are restrained, however, by the great cost of the use of the wires, which in many places is all but prohibitory." The problem was to combine economy with efficiency. One solution had already been attempted by the provincial papers. In 1868 the Association of the Proprietors of Daily Provincial Newspapers had then resolved to establish a cooperative newspaper press association with the object of collecting, writing, editing and circulating news.¹ Their principal argument was the reasonable one that the newspapers were better judges than the telegraph companies of what the public wanted. The outcry against the companies' "despotic and arbitrary" management succeeded in its object, and in 1870 all lines were transferred to the management of H.M. Postmaster-General. The general rate for the public was lowered, there was a still lower rate, uneconomic as it turned out, for the Press, and the telegram² became part of everyday journalism. It was, of course, part of the new scheme that the Post Office should not undertake the collection of news. After 1870 the Cooperative Association of the Provincial Newspaper Proprietors was responsible for the collection of news; in 1871 the Central News was founded to provide provincial newspapers with special articles, features, &c.

A movement to apply this cooperative principle to the London papers did not receive the support of *The Times*. Morris felt that Reuter was now too strong to be affected by such a scheme, which, moreover, would not solve the problem of speeding up the paper's own unique organization of foreign correspondence. Morris therefore informed the projector of the plan in 1872 that "it is better for each journal to supply from its own resources any deficiencies they may find in the news supplied by Reuter."

Another solution of which also the provincial papers were pioneers was better fitted to meet the difficulties. In 1865 the *Scotsman* had secured from the Electric Telegraph Company the concession³ of a "special wire," which, by giving the paper

¹ J. E. Taylor, of the *Manchester Guardian*, was the leading spirit. The Press Association, founded in 1836, is the offshoot of the Provincial Newspaper Society, it is independent of the society, but owned by provincial journals, almost all of which are members of the society.

² The word "telegram," according to Morse, was first used by an Albany, New York State, newspaper in 1852.

³ At a price. Above 200 miles from London, £750 per annum, under 100 miles, £600. To Ireland, including cable, £1,000 per annum.

THE "SPECIAL WIRE"

the right to employ its own London correspondents, rendered their messages more accurate and reliable, and, as no limit was put to the messages sent, more comprehensive. The London newspapers were slow to extend to their Continental offices this "special wire" system, as inaugurated by the *Scotsman* between London and Edinburgh. It was not found easy to establish between the English and Continental administrations workable conventions governing individual wires. Moreover, it was not only a question of wires but of cables, of the various regulations made by the nations of the Continent, and of the interpretations set up by the International Telegraphic Committee. After much discussion, *The Times* succeeded in its effort to erect in Brussels a private office, with clerks and instruments, receiving and transmitting messages from Berlin and Vienna. The Berlin wire was reserved to *The Times* from 9 p.m. till midnight on Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday; the Vienna wire on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. By such means *The Times* enjoyed the valuable protection afforded by a central European office able to forward messages direct to Printing House Square which was equipped with its own roof-poles and receiving apparatus from 1860. Alternatively, in cases of interruption due to storm or any other cause, the journal's clerks could receive messages from *The Times* Paris office. The negotiations with the French Government and the Société du Télégraphe Sous-Marin entre la France et l'Angleterre were finally approved in 1874.¹

The triumph of the telegraph necessarily modified the functions of the foreign correspondent. In the past Morris had always laid stress on the importance of literary quality in dispatches for publication; there was now some danger that the need for more rapidity might supersede other qualities altogether. The older correspondents were slow to adapt their technique to new requirements, and both Morris and MacDonald had some difficult years helping them to learn the new art. One of the principal reasons which reconciled the paper to Blowitz was that he was a complete master of telegraphic correspondence.

The telegraph, however, did not eliminate good writing. An outstanding example of the literary correspondent survived well into the new era. In 1864 George Finlay, the historian of Byzantium and Greece, became *The Times* correspondent in

¹ The negotiator on behalf of *The Times*, whose handling of the matter was much appreciated at Printing House Square, was Blowitz, who thus, on the threshold of his career, gained the confidence of the Manager.

MEN AND METHODS UNDER DELANE

Greece, at the recommendation of General Eber. For nearly a decade he castigated the Greek Government in letters, which, since his history of Greece, ending with the year 1864, "may, in some sort, be regarded as a sequel "¹ His contributions were highly valued, for, as Morris wrote, not only were there "very many persons in this country who regard Greece with interest, both as a political problem to be solved and a people to be developed or rather regenerated & also as a country where pecuniary interests are involved," but "everything you write about Greece cannot fail to be read with both pleasure & profit "

Winwood Reade, whose offer to report the Abyssinian War had been rejected, accompanied the British force in the Ashanti War of 1873 as special correspondent for *The Times*. An interesting innovation made during the Abyssinian War was the use of a code for telegraphic purposes. This had been adopted by the advice of Moberly Bell, the young and able agent of *The Times* in Egypt. News from Abyssinia was transmitted by way of Alexandria, and Bell found that the use of the Egyptian Government wire occasioned many objectionable leakages. The adoption of a cipher could not be avoided, though Morris was averse from it "I suppose it is a necessary evil," he wrote. "It is always a source of great anxiety to me because it places us entirely at the mercy of the manipulators of the telegraph instruments. When a message is transmitted in the Queen's English, the recipient can be guided by the context to correct verbal errors; but when a cipher is used, there is no such safeguard, and thus is liable to the most frightful errors."

Not only the telegraph, but political changes also modified the foreign news service. The European system of *The Times* had been based upon the two permanent offices—Paris and Vienna—to which centies Berlin, as has been seen, was added. Bird, the doyen of the foreign staff, had served continuously at Vienna since 1848; in August, 1866, his health broke down and he had to retire. W. H. Russell took his place for a short time after the Austro-Prussian War, not without some regret, as the following indicates :

Vienna (& be hanged to it)
Sept. 3d. 1866.

My Dear Delane,

There was ever such a wee tingle about my ears & a slight addition to the lovely warmth of my natural hue when I was reminded of my

¹ William Miller, "George Finlay as a journalist," in the *English Historical Review* Vol. 39, pp. 552-567.

RUSSELL "TORTURED"

forgetfulness as to what should not have been forgotten but my departure from the soil was so hurried I left many directions ungiven. Herewith please to find as the Bankers say a small "in-the-before-undeveloped - idea - of - making - debtlessness - now - fulfilment" contribution I am waiting for your instructions in much anxiety of mind I think it very cruel of you to make me German correspondent ad interim Altho' I was at School—the "Institut" von Seyddecker at Wiesbaden & "Collegium" at the same place being associated for ever in my young mind with soft beds and hard grub—for several years before Consul Plaucus came into power my deutsch has become sehr klein & I go thro' unheard of torture with the daily journals & with my German literary acquaintances to scrape up matter for any half column or so. . . .

Russell's torture, however, was soon ended by the return of Bird, who with the diminishing importance of Vienna was capable of carrying on "the correspondence pianissimo till the end of the year."

In 1867, after a prolonged struggle, the Hungarians secured their independence by the establishment of the Dual Monarchy. Francis Joseph, the Austrian Emperor, was crowned King of Hungary. This, in the first place, enabled Eber to end his long exile by a visit to his native country; hitherto of necessity employed only in the minor centres of Eastern Europe, such as Constantinople and Greece,¹ he now took Vienna. Further, it was clear that the Ausgleich and the Austrian defeat in 1866 rendered advisable something more than a revision of personnel. Morris consulted Eber about the reorganization of Eastern European correspondence in general and received in reply a long memorandum, dated July 18, 1867. Eber's scheme was based on the view that the Austrian Empire was dissolving into a kind of federal amalgamation with two equally important centres at Pesth and Vienna, and minor but still considerable centres at such provincial capitals as Prague, Lemberg, Agram, and Klausenburg. He proposed, therefore, to abolish the resident

¹ Eber's love of intrigue had full play in Constantinople and Athens. On March 21, 1861, Lord John Russell wrote to the Prince Consort "It is far from impossible that the plan of General Eber for offering King Leopold the Empire of Constantinople may be that which is cherished in the secret cabinet" (Gooch, II, p 275) From Athens Eber wrote to Delane, November 8, 1862 "Of course you and I, we would not demean ourself by accepting the throne of Greece or any other throne, we are quite content with making and unmaking kings, it is less bother and rather good fun; but what do you say—shall we make you slave Simpson [Delane's secretary] king of Greece or else the majestic porter, who would look splendidly in the fustanella, or else one of the boys, especially if goodlooking, he might soon become popular We are the masters of the situation. Every word we say is reported, translated and commented on and every suggestion eagerly caught up."

MEN AND METHODS UNDER DELANE

correspondent at Vienna and appoint a peripatetic substitute, who should "watch closely the phases of this struggle for equilibrium between the different nationalities of Austria, and go from time to time to one or other of these places as his presence might be called for there." This, he thought, would

have the advantage of giving a variety to your correspondence and a freshness which is so much wanted and so rarely obtained Having this essential point in view I should go further. In spite of the curious problem which is being solved in Austria at this moment, I believe the area too limited to provide an interesting correspondence all the year round. Even Paris, which is a far greater political and social centre, is barren ground for a correspondent during three or four months of the year. In order to make this inevitable period of dreariness profitable, I propose to extend the field of the Austrian correspondence to Turkey. . . It would be sufficient to establish and keep up relations with three points, Belgrade, Bukarest and Constantinople which would give a fair summary of news from Turkey once a week or once in ten days. It would be an additional resource for escaping the danger of monotony even in ordinary times, while it would enable the correspondent to be on the spot if anything was likely to arise¹

After consultation with Delane and Walter, Morris agreed to give this plan a trial for a year, and Eber himself was appointed to put it into effect. It worked well, and Eber remained responsible for news from these parts of Europe for a considerable term of years. After his life-long struggle against the Habsburgs, he settled down within the Dual Monarchy, and came to terms with the Government. In 1871 Morris could write. "Eber is in an exceptional position in Austria, both towards the Imperial & the Hungarian Governments. They have great faith in him, and live with him on intimate terms."

After 1866 it became necessary to maintain a permanent office in Berlin. Carl Abel, the German² who had taken Hardman's place in 1865, retained his position until 1879; his English was so good that the Manager had doubts whether his successor, an Englishman, would be able to achieve his literary standard,

¹ It was Moris's special foible to be on the spot at such times. "Whether or not you were really in the secret of the Greek Revolution, the public at least *The Times* readers will always believe that you had a hand in it. And J W said to me the other day that he was sure we had planned it between us. I have a great triumph over him. He was very averse to your tour, & said it was useless & nobody cared about Montenegro or Serbia or even Turkey. And now it happens that you turn up in the right place at the very nick of time." Moris to Eber, November 11, 1862 (P.H.S. Papers, M. 12/14)

² See the preceding chapter, page 416

O'MEAGHER'S RESIGNATION

but he was a slow gatherer of news Morris quickly discovered another fault.

Your first letter is published this day It seems to me that you have written it with a view to a higher class of readers than *The Times* in fact commands They are people, of no great knowledge of foreign affairs, engrossed by their own business, & requiring things to be made *plain* to them I fear that not many of them understood you this morning or are much the wiser for your exposition of Prussian politics. It took me two careful readings to interpret your meaning

Abel was responsible for news from all the Northern European countries, Scandinavia and Russia as well as Germany ; for this task he was peculiarly fitted, since, as Morris wrote, his "knowledge of the Northern languages is, I believe, unequalled." He was expected not only himself to transmit news from these countries but also, when an important event demanded special notice, to make arrangements for the appointment of a temporary correspondent, whether in Christiania or in St. Petersburg.

The organization of correspondence from Northern and Eastern Europe was thus brought into harmony with the changing political scene In the Italian peninsula two correspondents were maintained—Hardman at the capital and Wreford at Naples , when Hardman was removed to Paris, Wreford was for a time left in sole charge, but the destruction of the Pope's temporal power was of interest even during the Franco-Prussian War, and Karl Hillebrand¹ was commissioned to send in daily letters from Rome. He was replaced by Gallenga and then by the artist Shakespeare Wood, who supplied the paper with the little it required. Hardman returned to Italy in 1872, but was soon sent back to Paris, and Wood resumed his duties, ably dealing with both political and antiquarian information during the next twelve years. Thus the situation in Italy remained unaltered, but changes of a far-reaching character were in contemplation at the Paris office, which was still the most important.

O'Meagher's long reign over the Paris office was brought to an end by his retirement in 1869, and Hardman, who had frequently taken his place during his vacations, was brought from Florence to take charge until permanent arrangements were made. It

¹ Karl Hillebrand (1829-1884), historian and critic, had been Heine's secretary and later professor at Douai Of German nationality, he removed to Italy during the Franco-Prussian War.

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had been Hardman's ambition for many years to succeed to the Paris office and Morris had encouraged his hopes. Nevertheless, at Printing House Square there were conflicting views

Some months before O'Meagher's retirement his communications were supplemented by a weekly article of about a column and a half, intended to give "a view of French politics, literature, and social life by a native of the country." This task was performed by Prevost Paradol, who wrote under the name of "A Parisian" Morris was of opinion that two correspondents should now be regularly installed "and that neither of them should be *affiché* with *The Times* label" Walter was of a different opinion and thought that the old system was the only safe one. He wished to appoint Gallenga, "who," wrote Delane, "would quarrel with everybody in a month" The Editor, indeed, ran his eye over the list—Gallenga, Hardman, Eber, Paradol, Hozier, Russell, and Sir A. Malet (a "shunted diplomatist") without approving any of them Delane, in fact, also denied the need of a permanent correspondent "As with Diplomats, so with correspondents, their day has passed."

Censorship had long rendered the French Press so valueless that *The Times* subscribed to only two French papers, but in February, 1870, Morris asked Hardman, who was temporarily installed, to provide him with a good selection of papers, for "we have recently awakened to the fact that the press in France is free." The Manager next adopted Delane's suggestion and thus wrote to Hardman on March 30, 1870:

. . . we do not intend to retain a regular accredited Paris Correspondent. We think that times have changed so much since such a quasi diplomat was first established that we ought to make our arrangements in accordance with these changes. The telegraph and the day mail have placed an ordinary correspondent at such a disadvantage that, do what he may, he will always seem to be behindhand. The news beats him (in point of publication) by 48 hours, & the papers by 24.

When Hardman fell sick almost at once and went to Italy, Paradol ended his connexion with *The Times* on his appointment as French Minister at Washington, and the Paris office, as has been seen in the previous chapter, was empty, when the Franco-Prussian War broke out in July, 1870. The permanent reorganiza-

HENRI DE BLOWITZ

tion of the Paris office was deferred till the war was over¹ Meanwhile Laurence Oliphant, whose long and varied career had already brought him frequently into relation with *The Times*, succeeded Hardman and brought in Blowitz as an assistant, but without definite status.

Henri de Blowitz arrived in Paris as an adventurer from Marseilles shortly before the war, and in some way gained the ear of Thiers after the fall of the Commune. Apparently the President hoped to use him as a means of insinuating his views into the Press. He first came to *The Times* on the recommendation of Thiers. As Oliphant's assistant, his engagement was not permanent, and he sought to displace the Vicomte de Calonne, who was carrying on the "Parisian" correspondence initiated by Prevost Paradol. Morris much preferred Calonne,² but Blowitz in the end secured the "Parisian" correspondence. His name first occurs in the correspondence of Morris on October 6, 1871. His position was thus established when at the end of March, 1873, Oliphant once more departed for America and Hardman was brought back from Italy to Paris. His relations with Blowitz were from the first uneasy. Blowitz was at this time largely employed in reporting by telegraph the debates at Versailles, and, since the private wire was not yet available, he generally had to send off his messages without first submitting them to Hardman in order to be in time for the press. Hardman, sending in his letters by post afterwards, had to complain that the violent partisanship of Blowitz, who had lately been converted to the Royalist Party against his old patron Thiers, thus anticipated his own more sober communications. He continued :

You know Blowitz a little, & you will probably have discovered that he can be extremely pleasant & amusing & is a very clever fellow, & I should be much at a loss to replace him by anyone equally so, & I am sure that he is capable of rendering good services to the paper if he can only be kept straight & taught to suppress his personal predilections & take a more objective view of things political. From what I have written you will understand that he eludes my control. He is, in fact, rather slippery, & I am unable to place full confidence in him. I mean that when he tells me anything I do not feel sure that he is

¹ For the Paris office see Chapter XX, *supra*. A large number of first-class correspondents were fully occupied in France—Oliphant and Blowitz in Paris, Hardman at Versailles, Austin on tour to report the effects of the German occupation, &c.

² Calonne protested that Blowitz was a mere agent of the French Government, but he himself was accused of Bonapartist bias. Calonne to Morris, August 15, 1872. (P H S. Papers, IV.)

MEN AND METHODS UNDER DELANE

presenting it in its naked truth & is not colouring it for his own purposes.

. . . The worst thing is that I have a constant doubt as to his perfect frankness. If I could entirely confide in him, I might content myself with writing my 4 or 5 letters a week, & leave everything else to him. Instead of which I am kept upon the *qui vive* as to what he may send you & as to the use he may make of a position which he avails himself of to the very utmost in the way of acquiring influence. . . .

In another letter, Hardman revealed that Oliphant had left him a warning about the tendencies of Blowitz

Oliphant told me that at first he had difficulty in keeping him in the right line. He wanted to telegraph things that were false in order to produce certain effects. I thought he had reformed him, but *chasser le naturel et il revient au galop*, & his education is not yet complete. Still, I doubt his going beyond a certain point

Hardman proceeded to outline the process of one of Blowitz's habitual tricks. The Paris telegrams in the paper, reprinted in the French papers, carried great weight. This weight depended on their having appeared in *The Times*. Blowitz, who sent his telegrams to London in French to be translated there, had acquired the habit of secretly supplying advance copies of the originals to the French papers of his party so that they could be printed in those sheets at the earliest moment at which they could be credibly described as "from *The Times*." He was detected by Hardman when a message of his, which had been corrected in Printing House Square so as to reverse its sense, appeared that afternoon in Paris, in its original form, with an attribution to *The Times*.

Blowitz, however, had great gifts as a news collector, and continually brought up information of a remarkable character from the world of political intrigue in which he was at home. Moreover, his counter-charges that Hardman was past his work and out of touch with the new men in French politics had some foundation. Whatever the merits, there was constant friction until Hardman died in office in November, 1874. Then, after some hesitation, Blowitz was appointed to succeed him on February 1, 1875

In his *Memoirs* Blowitz claims that, a few months after his appointment, he achieved another and still more startling success, nothing less than the salvation of the peace of Europe. In the spring of 1875 the rapid recovery of France and the suspicion thus caused in Germany led to a "scare" that the Imperial

AN EYE ON BLOWITZ

Government contemplated a preventive war upon France, since among the menacing symptoms were several bellicose articles in the semi-official German Press French statesmen were terrified It was hoped in Britain that the catastrophe would be averted by the intervention of the Russian Czar, who was about to visit the German Emperor At this point Blowitz sent *The Times* an alarmist letter from Paris, which was published on May 6, 1875 The consequent publicity, according to Blowitz, enabled the Czar to speak categorically to the Emperor and in this manner peace was saved

Blowitz's claim is not borne out by the facts. His letter did not cause the Czar to speak nor did Russian intervention save the situation The facts are that his letter was written at the earnest request of Decazes, the French Foreign Minister, who deliberately conveyed to him some of the more sensational facts of the reports of the French Ambassador in Berlin The German campaign was dying down, though Paris was very uneasy¹ and the British Government still apprehensive. Decazes and Blowitz, with their own reasons for wishing to give a startling turn to the situation,² made Delane an unwilling accomplice He published Blowitz's "scare" letter, accompanying it, however, by a deprecating leading article, attributed by the French first to the inspiration of the British Government and finally to that of the German Embassy,³ on "the heated fancy of our French neighbours ; but we give them publicity because it would be worse than folly to hide any grave misgivings which may be disturbing Paris." The publication of the war scare letter created a sensation in Paris and had such an effect upon the Bourse that Decazes was accused of stock-jobbing The effect of the letter on the public was as designed it revived the fears which were waning To this extent it affected the calculations of statesmen. Beyond that it had little significance ; the leading article of May 6 aptly entitled it "A French Scare."⁴

¹ On May 7 the *Standard's* Paris correspondent reported in a letter dated May 5 that Paris was very uneasy—this was on the eve of Blowitz's article.

² As early as May 2 Blowitz formed the intention to make capital out of the situation by writing an article "which he promised himself would have a great success." (*Memoirs of Prince Hohenlohe*, II, p 144)

³ An interview with Lord Derby convinced the French *Chargé d'Affaires* that the former hypothesis was wrong, he therefore inclined to the second "Je sais en effet, que l'ambassadeur d'Allemagne, malgré les appréciations sévères des articles du *Times* sur une conduite de son Gouvernement, les a hautement approuvés" (*Documents Diplomatiques Français*, First Series, Vol I, No 407)

⁴ Blowitz's ingenious account of the affair is given in Chapter V of his *Memoirs*. The letter from Delane, which he prints on p. 115, is curiously like the style of Blowitz and unlike that of Delane

MEN AND METHODS UNDER DELANE

A few months later the centre of foreign news interest suddenly shifted eastwards. A revolt broke out in Herzegovina and a crisis developed which grew to major proportions. Delane's dislike of the whole Eastern Question led him to ignore the trouble until it held the attention of the public. In 1867 Morris commiserated Eber, whose best efforts were thus wasted, since "our friend in the [Serjeant's] Inn" seized every excuse for basking his letters and "never could be induced to publish a word about the Danubian Principalities even when the intrigue was at the hottest." This treatment discouraged the Hungarian and, his customary insight failing him, he chose to take his holiday in August, 1875, without foreseeing the Slavonic unrest. The *Daily News* thus got several days' start. *The Times* replied by appointing the American W. J. Stillman, formerly American Vice-Consul in Cete, who happened to be on the spot. He proved to be both able and trustworthy. Beginning a long service to *The Times*, he wrote from Herzegovina a correspondence which, in spite of interruptions due to ill-health, brought many abuses to light and did much to guide public opinion. Another brilliant recruit was Mackenzie Wallace, whose long and distinguished career began with a mission to St Petersburg in 1877.¹

Other arrangements were less happy. Edwin Pears had been appointed correspondent at Constantinople in 1873 but was allowed to pass to the *Daily News*. By 1876 he was organizing the brilliant correspondence of that paper. Gallenga was sent out and reached Constantinople early in the winter of 1875. His correspondence was of high quality, but it was slow. Moreover, he quarrelled with Sir Henry Elliot and with Layard, and, worse still, came to be suspected in Printing House Square of intriguing with the Italian Embassy. He was finally expelled by the Turkish Government on the eve of his recall. His successor was Charles Austin.

Some of the company of American correspondents who had remained in Europe after the Franco-Prussian War were tried. Their methods, however, scarcely harmonized with the older traditions of *The Times*. Edmund O'Donovan, after a brief service in Spain, was not retained; McGahan's application for employment was rejected. To Eber the Manager gave his reasons: "There has been a cloud of Jefferson Bricks swarming over

¹ Appointments after 1874 were made by Morris's successor MacDonald; see Chapter XXIII, "Delane's Last Years."

HUMILIATING DELAYS

Europe from the U.S. all eager to furnish correspondence to *The Times* but somehow I don't fancy the connexion particularly. McGahan offered himself among others but I dreaded his sensational proclivities." This nervousness, however justifiable in itself, was too unqualified. In consequence *The Times* was repeatedly defeated—in Serbia by Forbes and in Bulgaria by McGahan. A further setback to its Eastern correspondence was the murder of Ogle in Greece. It was small compensation that *The Times* correspondent was accorded a public funeral in Athens.

The paper's dislike of sensationalism was, indeed, extreme. A correspondent in November, 1875, was instructed that, while "the Public has an insatiable appetite for horrors," the Editor is "always under more or less pressure for space." As a consequence *The Times* on June 23, 1876, was without news of the most famous "horrors" of the century. That day's issue of the *Daily News* shocked Britain with intelligence of the Bulgarian atrocities, and the readers of *The Times* were compelled to wait several days before Gallenga's confirmation arrived. It is true that his dispatch carried great weight, but the delay was humiliating.¹

Despite isolated successes, *The Times* failed to maintain its prestige in its reporting of the Eastern crisis. The Manager, reviewing the situation, blamed Gallenga for lack of enterprise; he was not "a newsman" but "an essayist and littérateur—and these Yankees are undoubtedly pushing fellows with a great gift for routing out facts." Blowitz, the new recruit, also a "pushing fellow," was a master of the new technique of journalism which the Americans had done much to stimulate during the Franco-Prussian War, i.e., the wiring of news.² It was to be his achievement, after Delane's retirement, to regain for *The Times* its reputation for beating its rivals in the rapidity as well as the trustworthiness of its foreign news.

The telegraph, in conjunction with stirring events in Europe and elsewhere, naturally increased the space, already preponderant, given by Delane to political intelligence and comment.

¹ It has been stated that Gallenga's news of the atrocities, in fact, arrived early, but was held up by Delane. No evidence to this effect survives in P.H.S.; on the other hand MacDonald clearly attributed the success of the *News* to Gallenga's slackness.

² The Civil War established telegraphy as a normal medium of news-transmission and the New York journals naturally applied it to the Franco-Prussian War. The *New York Tribune*, through G.W. Smalley, pooled its telegrams with the *Daily News*. This was the first arrangement of the kind. See H.W. Bachr, Junior, "The *New York Tribune*" after the Civil War (N.Y. 1936, pp. 76-7).

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Nevertheless, although in Delane's view *The Times* was, and must remain, essentially a political newspaper, there was room in his, and certainly Walter's, conception of the paper for comment upon more humane interests. Space was given more regularly and generously, for instance, to literature in Delane's period than in Barnes's. Indeed, despite Delane's lack of serious interest in books, reviews of publications of many kinds occupied, from time to time, a very considerable proportion of the paper

XXII

REVIEWERS OF THE TIMES

BOOK-REVIEWING under Delane made no attempt, comparable with that made by the *Literary Supplement* during its first thirty-six years, to survey the whole field of contemporary literature. The space given to reviews was not scanty, considering that only when Parliament was not sitting could space be regularly spared (Samuel Lucas, a regular reviewer from 1855 to 1865, entitled his two volumes of collected reviews *Mornings of the Recess*), and that most of the articles on books were worked off at Christmas, Easter and in the summer holiday. That a book was old was no obstacle, that it was new small recommendation.

Certain entries in the Editor's diary (whether in Delane's hand or in that of some occupant of the chair during his absence), such as : "A very difficult book to review and very well done," "I don't know who—nor does Delane," "Mr. Walter's friend," "Dallas !! Two Cols." (in praise of Brown's *Horae Subsecivae*), "As good a review as was ever written," and "An excellent Review and should be well paid," imply strongly that the Editorial eye fell upon the notice only on the night of publication. The general impression is that (in accordance with a custom only recently abandoned) the new books were all set out in the Editor's or some other room, and that certain persons were privileged (as no one has been privileged for more than thirty years) to go and take what books they fancied. Yet evidence will be found in this chapter that Delane himself chose the reviewers for some of the books and occasionally guided their judgment. To one of them, on a matter of small moment, he once confided "a tremendous secret." The book he sent was "by no less a personage than Baroness Rothschild"; and after some mild joking about the leaves being bank-notes and the ink distilled diamonds,

REVIEWERS OF THE TIMES

he instructed his reviewer

to make a pleasant little notice of the book in your first Christmas Book article which shall not betray this tremendous secret but appear to deal with the book on its merits & to find them great

John Walter III exercised some degree of censorship over the reviews of theological and kindred works ; and both he and Delane took it ill when any book was sent by the publisher direct to a reviewer and not through the Editor.

Of the regular reviewers only one is known for certain in the earlier years—Samuel Phillips, who joined the staff in 1845 and died in 1854. From 1857 onwards the Editor's diary makes it plain that occasional contributors were called in from outside Max Müller, A H Sayce, E W Lane, R. S Poole, E H. Palmer review Oriental and other linguistics, and Edward FitzGerald's friend, E B. Cowell, praises Chereny's *Assemblies of Al-Hanūt* with more than mere politeness to a member of the staff. Archibald Geikie is among the men of science who contribute ; and Charles Kingsley reviews a book about the deeps of the sea, and finds in another book, about travel in the South Seas, an occasion for rebuking levity and for having a hit at the missions of the Protestant Dissenters and the Catholics. Birkbeck Hill leaves Percy Fitzgerald's *Boswell* riddled with holes, and Conington finds Worsley's attempt to translate Homer into Spenserian stanzas “doomed to fail,” but for all that a work of genuine poetical power. Leader-writers also—G C Brodrick, Stebbing, Venables, Wacc—sometimes lent a hand. But for nearly everything *The Times* trusted to regular reviewers, generally two at a time—a system maintained until the starting of the *Literary Supplement* early in the present century.

The books reviewed were fewer, but the reviews were longer, than now. Even a novel might get two columns and more ; and it was not uncommon for a review, divided into sections and spread perhaps over half a year or more, to run into twelve or more columns, though the tendency was for reviews to grow shorter and to be less long delayed. Then, as now, biography and memoirs and travel were the subjects held most likely to interest the readers of a daily paper.

One of the first biographies to meet the eye is Gleig's *Warren Hastings*, the “three big bad volumes.” The reviewer was not so contemptuous as Macaulay a few months later, but he took

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the same view of Gleig's merits as a biographer. The third series of Brougham's *Historical Sketches of Statesmen* gives occasion for a *tour de force* in description of the author's activities and energy ; and his *Lives of Men of Letters and Science in the time of George III* are found to be superficial, coarse, brilliant, and insufficiently worked on. Bell's *Life of Canning* is abused—a Radical work, with no moderation or modesty. Greater wrath was aroused by the *Foreign Reminiscences* of the late Lord Holland. These were "idle and mischievous tales," and when the author's son wrote to protest, the "unclean pages" of this "most offensive book" were held to prove that the writer of them was a Republican and had tried to help Napoleon to escape. Disraeli's *Life of Lord George Bentinck* was bad biography and bad politics, but with good things in it, especially the "elaborate sketch" of Peel Disraeli himself, revealed in a *Literary and Political Biography* in 1854, is "the great political infidel of his age, a hero who thinks of nothing but his own success" In 1851 Carlyle's *Life of Sterling* gave Phillips a new chance of stating his opinion of the author He knew nothing about Sterling and "produces no evidence for his insinuations." Of the Peel letters (see Vol 1, pages 349-50) the reviewer says that their publication by Carlyle was a breach of confidence ; about the exaltation of Sterling into the chair of Thomas Barnes he holds his peace—that was no concern of the public.

The biographies reviewed in *The Times* were by no means all those of politicians and lawyers. In 1854 and 1855 the *Life of P. T. Barnum* was given six columns and, at the close, strong censure of his "system of morality." In 1853 and 1856 Lord John Russell's *Memoirs of Thomas Moore* were given many columns, in which the reviewer, blaming Lord John for revealing too much of the lies and shifts and financial and domestic wriggles of the poet, writes very soundly on the business ability that underlay his snobbishness. The rich sold him splendour ; he sold them music and sentiment ; below the bargain there was no ulterior dependence. Moore could have done without his rich friends ; Theodore Hook could not. Joseph Cottle is mildly mocked at for his revelation of the weakness of Coleridge, "intellectually a giant, morally a dwarf." The lives of Southey and of Wordsworth, each by his son, reveal the difference between "the man who always read and never thought," and "the man who read little and always thought." In 1848, Monckton Milnes's *Life of Keats*

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(disliked for enthusiasm and snobbishness) occasions a level-headed condemnation of the political hatred which had led to the cowardly attacks on him, and contains the sentence. "It is the spirit of Keats that at the present moment hovers over the best of our national poesy and inspires the poetic genius—such as it is—of our unpoetic age." Leigh Hunt's *Autobiography* is roughly handled; he is rebuked for being peevish, whining, cowardly and sycophantic.

In 1857 the diaries show that all the reviewing of biography and memoirs was then in the hands of two men—Samuel Lucas and Eneas Sweetland Dallas. Lucas, a Bristolian, winner of the Newdigate and the Chancellor's Prize for the English Essay, a barrister very popular on the Western Circuit, and a local historian of moment, was a man of wide reading and wide interest, a sound and level-headed critic of literature, well-informed on the arts, able, indeed, to write wisely and well on anything from poetry to the cotton trade. Dallas, a Scot, was less urbane; his intellect was more powerful than Lucas's; and his book on the theory of poetry, *The Gay Science* (highly praised in *The Times* by Arthur Locker on its publication in 1866), has lately come back into notice. But he was not without prejudice. The first biographical review that can certainly be known for his was Sir William Napier's *Life of Sir Charles James Napier*. In its twelve columns and more he betrays something other than a coolly critical dislike of a book "chiefly remarkable for combining all the faults which a biographer can possibly commit," and something other than the desire to take any hint which a quarrel between Delane and the Napiers' cousin, the sailor, may have suggested. His treatment of Sir Charles Napier's historical romance of *William the Conqueror* and of Elers Napier's *Life of Admiral Napier* reveals a contemptuous dislike of Napiers in general; and it may well have been that Lucas in 1864 was called in to review Bruce's *Life of Sir William Napier* and make some amends for Dallas. Another matter that roused Dallas's bile was sport, fox-hunting particularly. Climbing fared no better with Dallas than hunting. The Alpine Club's *Peaks, Passes and Glaciers* drew from him so much contempt for all English travellers, and especially for mountain-climbers, that the second volume was given to Lucas. But so late as 1871, when Alexander Innes Shand, himself a fine climber, reviewed Alpine books by Leslie Stephen, Tyndall, and Whymper, it is plain that Alpine climbing was still being sneered at by some.





LUCAS; DALLAS

Lucas and Dallas both came to the paper about the same time, Lucas in 1855, Dallas perhaps a little earlier ; and at first it was Lucas who took most of the biographies. On the second volume of Sir Robert Peel's *Memoirs* he was severe. He disliked the "circumlocution in vaporous and diplomatic phraseology" which made each sentence "an official jujube"; and he accused Peel, in the matter of the Corn Laws, of shuffling and getting credit which was not his own. Lucas could "gut" a book as well as George Dasent or the best of them ; but gutting was not his habit. With some slight Protestant leaning, he delighted to slap Wiseman's *Recollections of the last Four Popes* for its "unctuous rotundity" and its "scarcity of contents"; and in chaffing or scolding he often shows a neat wit. In 1858 he began one of his principal tasks, which ended only just before his retirement in 1865, the reviewing of Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*. At the outset he blamed its "perversity."

The third volume (1862) he found "more discursive, more episodical, more diffuse than its predecessors," but it won a rather grudging tribute to Carlyle's power of description, which, by the time of the last volumes, had warmed to admiration of his narrative, especially of war, and his skill in geography. In 1862, Lucas began the reviewing of Spedding's *Letters and Life of Bacon* with learned and sound criticism of the first two volumes ; but before any further volumes appeared he was dead. Another great task that he began but could not finish was the reviewing of the Duke of Wellington's Dispatches. One of the best of all his biographical reviews was his article on Home, the medium. It is perfect in delicate irony ; and it describes the spirits as "frivolous bores." Dallas, too, as his treatment of Guizot's Reminiscences shows, could gut upon occasion. His interests were rather literary than political. He knew how to praise Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, how to make the most of Lord Dundonald before concluding that his troubles were all his own fault ; he knew also how to write of Lady Morgan's *Memoirs* in a manner to which no critic of our own time would stoop. His happiest review in the biographical field is that of the *Memoirs of Thomas Hood*, with its thoughtful remarks on wit and humour, and its conclusion that *The Bridge of Sighs* and the *Song of the Shirt* are painful rather than pathetic.

The mantle of Lucas fell on William O'Connor Morris, lawyer, historian, and Irish County Court Judge. Morris, whom Delane brought in as reviewer in 1858, was a man of trenchant mind

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and no small political prejudice, but one who never shirked his work or stooped to mere gutting. In 1869 he took on the reviewing of Spedding's *Bacon*, and he carried it through to its end in 1875. His attitude was consistent. He began by saying in effect that it was all very well, but Mr Spedding would not convince *him*; and he knew enough about Bacon's intellect to admire it deeply, but his "inferior character" could not be acquitted of "many of the grave censures." In 1873 he reviewed Cusack's *Life of Daniel O'Connell*. On the book he was severe; to O'Connell, all those years after the battle, he was fair, and indeed generous. Side by side with O'Connor Morris as reviewer of biography were others, also more occupied in other work: Caroline Norton, who wrote prettily about Mary Berry's letters; Wace, who began the conscientious and respectable reviewing of the *Life of the Prince Consort* which was carried on by others; Alexander Innes Shand, who was neatly ironical over Mr Gladstone's *Chapter of an Autobiography*, and wrote a masterly criticism of Trevelyan's *Life of Macaulay*. Abraham Hayward, too, is an occasional contributor, chatting easily of social and theatrical memoirs, wisely of the personal life of George Grote, and in gleeful savagery about the indiscreet gossip of an American Minister at the Court of St. James. More notable reviewer of biography than any of these was Frederick Napier Broome, who came to *The Times* very soon after his return from New Zealand in 1869, and left it in 1875, when he began the Colonial Office career which ended in his being Governor of Western Australia. Broome began well with Crabb Robinson's *Diary*: "a stream not very wide or deep, but winding through a beautiful country" and offering "narrow views on wide subjects." Forster's *Life of Landor* he found too long and too reticent about the faults of its subject. Poor Landor years before had appealed—but too late—to the Editor, not "as Editor, but as scholar, gentleman, and man," not "to pay any extraordinary attention" to the Landor-Yarcombe trial; and Forster had not turned the scale in his favour. But *The Times* was fortunate in having Broome at hand in 1869 to 1870, to take charge of Mrs. Beecher Stowe's article and book about the Byrons. Broome kept his head, as neither Dallas nor Hayward would have done. The discussion, he wrote in 1870, had been rather a faction fight than a judicial inquisition; and, though assured of Lady Byron's good faith, he held that Mrs. Stowe, in making public an accusation of which she did not hold the proofs, had committed "one

TREATMENT OF MACAULAY

of those blunders that are worse than crimes" After Broome the most frequent reviewer of biography was George Dasent, who occasionally disguised himself in the Editor's diary, for no reason now known, as "Edward Halfacre"¹ Dasent was insuperable, both at gutting and at rewriting in his own words without comment Last to be mentioned here are T. E Kebbel, who did useful work in reviewing the Lives of Palmerston and of Shelburne, and, very near the end of the period, James Thursfield, who made an excellent entrance with scholarly and critical praise of Mark Pattison's *Casaubon*, ending with a lively, but not impudent, rebuke to the great man for his colloquial language

Several great histories were published during this period, and *The Times* gave them attention at considerable length. The most exciting was Macaulay's On December 5, 1848, four days after the publication of the first two volumes of it, a first notice considered the introductions and the sources, and before the month was out more than ten columns about it had appeared. The reviewer decided that this book was in a class of its own, because Macaulay knew the subject too well to follow the old framework, and the famous chapter III was duly extolled—and gutted. In 1855-6 the third and fourth volumes were reviewed at even greater length; the author being blamed for partiality, but commended for his other good qualities. The book "will be a *Kṛṣṇa* &c but it is not the History of England" The hand seems to be that of Lucas; and Lucas it was who, in reviewing the fifth and sixth volumes in 1861, found Macaulay less partial than before, but still too partial for good history—an opinion not shared by the reviewer of Macaulay's *Works* in 1866, who put the History above both the speeches and the poetry: he was a partial historian, but why not? History ought to be partial. It was probably Lucas who in 1856 began the attack on Froude's History, which was taken up by O'Connor Morris, by Dallas, and once by Mrs. Norton. Delane's choice of her to review volumes V and VI is probably explained by John Walter's objection to letting them go to O'Connor Morris, to whom the publishers had sent them direct. The brilliant lady took so long over them that Delane wrote to hurry her up; but the review, when it arrived, was found to follow the beaten track with much smartness and vivacity and to reveal a violent and not too well-informed contempt for Queen Elizabeth. O'Connor Morris's particular contribution to Froude-

¹ But see above, p 123.

baiting was to accuse him of "indelicacy"; and the shrewdest criticism came from Dallas, who found that he made too little of economic and social difficulties and ascribed all to religion. Froude was much more roughly handled when Brodrick got at his *English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, where Froude's Carlylean, or Machiavellian, principles of the right to rule were held to distort the whole picture. The reviewing of Buckle's *History of Civilization* was begun soberly by Lucas, who found it too long and digressive but explained the system clearly. It was continued by Dallas. Buckle had dared to say certain things about the Scots—one being that they were as bad as the Spanish in superstition and religious illiberality, and it was not surprising that Dallas should trample on both theories and facts that could lead to such a conclusion.

In classical history Liddell's *History of Rome* gave occasion for a hope that the author would reform both Christ Church and education in Oxford. Grote was not admired "The essence of history," declared the first reviewer of it, "is its narrative"—a view held also by O'Connor Morris and consonant with the paper's love of culture for all and dislike of pedantry. Grote, therefore, was too much the commentator, too little the historian, and, as for its language, "but for its genuineness we should be compelled to class one of the best of English books among the very worst of English writings." The American historians fared none too well. Motley's *United Netherlands* was rated by O'Connor Morris for belittling monarchical England and France. Prescott's goose was cooked by Dallas, who contrasted him with Macaulay; and Thursfield shrewdly questioned both the sincerity and the logic of Bancroft.

Not the least cultivated field of history was the history of war; and here, though Lucas, Dallas, Henry Hozier and C. B. Brackenbury did well, O'Connor Morris was supreme. He had, in particular, a great knowledge of the Napoleonic Wars; and, taking them over from Lucas in 1860, he stuck to the Wellington Dispatches throughout the period, always interested and always asking for more. Of the American Civil War and of the Franco-German War he was equally a keen student: in the history of the Crimean War he naturally gave place to W. H. Russell. The capital feature of those years was Russell's review of Kinglake, which began in January, 1863, and ended in February, 1875. There is no need here to describe Russell's attitude to Kinglake,

nor to dwell on the inextinguishable interest of these brilliant articles. In 1874 and again in 1875, when the volume on Inkerman appeared, Delane warned Russell not to deal too harshly with it. His former articles "were not always strictly judicial"; and O'Connor Morris, reviewing Russell's own *British Expedition to the Crimea*, looks back on the turmoil of twenty years before and finds Russell less complete than Kinglake but more candid and more just. Before leaving the subject of war, we may mention two minor matters. One is Eber's delightful notices of the Erckmann-Chatrian stories, *Madame Thérèse*, *Le Conscri*, and *Waterloo*, and the other is a long article, as early as July, 1846, on the moral condition of the soldier, founded on two new books: a passionate plea for better treatment, education and encouragement of the common soldier, which includes a savage attack on drunken, brutal and ignorant officers.

A branch of history just then coming into public notice was the archaeology of the excavators. In 1849 Layard's *Nineveh* is hailed as "the most extraordinary work of the present age"; and in 1874 T. E. Kebbel (whose own *Essays on History and Politics* had been kindly reviewed by Lucas in 1864) showed both learning and judgment in his review of Isaac Taylor's *Etruscan Researches*. George Dasent in 1857 took the high literary line over Schliemann's *Trojan Antiquities*. He consented to believe that Schliemann's Troy might be Troy; but, in effect, who cared?

We must protest against any argument as to the authenticity of the Homeric poems being founded on this discovery. That divine work is true for all time in a much higher sense than any which can be propped up by mouldering Cyclopean walls and sherds of pottery and the poetry would outlast the walls when "they shall have crumbled into dust, and been resolved into the elements out of which they sprang." Jebb may have remembered this notice when, in reviewing the English translation of the book, he worked in a little slap at the "etherial" view of Troy.

To pass from the ancient to the modern world, in all its approaches to current affairs *The Times* showed, through its reviewers, hopefulness and confidence in the general common sense. In 1845 McCulloch's book on taxation roused a vehement protest against the notion of keeping the people down. The people must be helped to rise. Education was treated in the same spirit. A leading article on September 17, 1858, upheld Lord

Grey in his plea for public reading rooms and popular literature, in the belief that people, high or low, ought to be supplied with what they want to read, and not what they do not ; and several years before Samuel Phillips had demanded, with some warmth, that the publishers should have the courage and the sense to print more cheap books It was Phillips who suggested to Murray the "Reading for the Rail" series, of which early numbers were two volumes of *Essays from The Times* (1851 and 1854). The same spirit welcomed Knight's *English Cyclopaedia*, and (with a little banter from Lucas) his *Popular History of England*. The education and emancipation of women were also kindly looked upon. Even Dallas wrote with sympathy and admiration of Bessie Parkes's *Women's Work*; and Biome's objection to Josephine Butler's collection of papers on *Women's Work and Women's Culture* rested only on a preconceived idea that nothing needs doing until there is a general outcry for it, which put these ladies in the position of visionaries.

Such a spirit was not likely to be at home with Carlyle. The reviewer of *Past and Present* disliked his opinions as much as his "hideous" and "affected" vocabulary and style. Antagonism is our author's leading idea ; a man must have knocked something down in order to win his praise ; and this notion of strength only betrays "the incompetence of a man of letters to grapple with the terrible realities which . . . threaten destruction to our social system." Phillips, reviewing *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, was even severer. Mr. Carlyle is "a thoroughly unpractical man" ; he goes on raging against revolution while the real danger (in 1850) was now the opposite He had better stop writing now and "repose upon his greatness," and when the *Life of Sterling* showed, next year, that his advice had not been taken, Phillips drew a vigorous picture of Carlyle as a kind of Squeters :

He keeps a school in which scolding goes on from morning till night, but certainly no teaching. If the boys move, they are lashed ; if they sit still, they are lashed. They can do nothing right ; and what is worse they shall never have an inkling of what this cruelly-exacting pedagogue thinks right or necessary to be done.

There is little about Ireland. Aubrey de Vere's *English Misrule and Irish Misdeeds* (1848) was naturally cut up ; but the most notable pronouncement is that of O'Connor Morris, who, reviewing Lecky's *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland* (1872), denies that there is or ever was an Irish nation, and is profoundly pessimistic



THE "OVERGROWN BOY"

about his countrymen in general. The spot where the nerves of *The Times* were most exposed was not Ireland nor France, but America. The paper was touchy about Americans' opinion of England, and in 1841 took more than six columns to slaughter a "sad, washy, trashy, snivelling and drivelling publication" called *The Glory and Shame of England*, by an American, C. Edwards Lester, who afterwards represented *The Times* in New York. And although in 1845 Sir Charles Lyell's *Travels in North America* had suggested a plea for favourable opinion about the Yankees—scoundrels though they were—the reviewers seldom lost a chance of having a whack at whatever portion of the "overgrown boy" came uppermost. Dickens's *American Notes* in 1843 gave an early occasion, and the peak was reached when Lucas reviewed Russell's *American Diary* in December, 1862. "The United States have been a vast burlesque on the functions of national existence, and it was Mr. Russell's fate to behold this transformation scene, and to see the first tumbles of the clowns and pantaloons."

Travel is a subject always favoured by reviewers for daily newspapers, and the writers in *The Times* had some notable travel-books to review:—Ford's *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* and Borrow's *The Bible in Spain*; Melville's *Marquesas Islands* and *Omoo* (*The Times* enjoyed them both, but told the author pretty roundly that he was a liar); Curzon's *Monasteries in the Levant* and *Year at Erzeroum*; Oliphant's *Russian Shores of the Black Sea*; Vambery's *Travels in Asia*; H. M. Stanley's *How I found Livingstone*; Arthur Penrhyn Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*. There was Miss Eden's *Up the Country* too, concerning which Lord Clarendon wrote to Delane: "Bentley says that a favourable notice in *The Times*, however short, would be worth to her the sale of 1,000 copies"—with results that contradicted Thackeray's warning to another author: "They are awful and inscrutable, and a request for a notice might bring down a slasher upon you." It was often through books of travel, moreover, that the reviewers came into contact with the public affairs of their time. The "Russian Menace" comes into a review (November, 1856) of Jesse's translation of Ferrier's *Caravan Journeys in Persia*. In 1874 O'Connor Morris is found denying the "necessity" of a conflict between Russia and Great Britain; of the *Ride to Khiva* (1876) John Macdonell remarks that "the least important part of Captain Burnaby's book is his alarmist

predictions", and Jebb, Brackenbury, Brodrick, Gallenga and others in turn protest against any attempt to provoke animosity between two great nations. Only Dasent, getting hold of Freeman's attack on Disraeli and Derby in *The Ottoman Power*, shows a slight leaning towards Turkey. Of Italy a few glimpses are given. Someone, in 1842, enjoyed trouncing Mrs Trollope's *Visit to Italy*. By 1865, when Fleurière reviewed Frances Power Cobbe's *Italics*, the tone about the future of the country was hopeful; but in 1875, Shand, reviewing Gallenga's *Italy Revisited*, paints the picture very dark—poverty, taxes, fear of France, the Prisoner of the Vatican in the centre and the King nowhere. Of France herself very little is to be found in these literary columns, but one book demands mention for a personal reason. Henry Reeve's *Royal and Republican France* (1872), according to O'Connor Morris, was deficient in comprehensiveness and breadth of view, and apt to miss the main causes of events. That was bad enough; but what were Il Pomposo's feelings when he read that "his style, if not remarkable, is clear and pleasing, and occasionally is felicitous in expression"?

Theology received less attention from the reviewer than, in such a period, might have been expected; and in spite of John Walter's strong principles there is no plain drift of principle or opinion. But Newman's *Discourses to Mixed Congregations* and his *Present Position of Catholics in England* were reviewed, probably by Goldwin Smith, in 1851, the first with close argument, especially against mariolatry, the second with less urbanity. Two years later the *Prayer Book of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri* is bludgeoned through more than four columns; and in 1854 *The Idea of a University* is abused through more than three. Newman had to wait for ten years before the *Apologia* found, in J. B. Mozley, a critic both wise and urbane. Mozley notes that here is not the serenity of a memoir: the events in it might have happened yesterday. He is convinced of Newman's complete honesty in his relation to the Church of England; but he sees in him a love of change for its own sake. "One cause of his inclination for new religious ideas was that there was too short a passage in his mind from lively impression to conviction." In 1874 the *Grammar of Assent* found a worthy critic in Blakesley (Joseph Williams Blakesley,¹ who edited Herodotus and became Dean of Lincoln),

¹ Blakesley ("The Hertsfordshire Incumbent" of the correspondence columns) wrote the famous review of Brougham's *Demosthenes* (see Vol. I, p. 445).

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who called Newman "the fairest of partizans" (it may be mentioned that when Shand came to write the obituary notice of Charles Kingsley he made no reference to theology); and, after carefully and gently taking to pieces his "inference," "assent," "certitude" and other conceptions, concluded with admiration of his "outspoken candour and genuine reverence." The handling of the Newman-Gladstone-Duke of Norfolk discussion about Infallibility fell to Wace, a man of the centre, who had already had a hit at Newman ("not a Bible man") and at "so-called priests" in his review of McLeod Campbell's reminiscences, and in reviewing *Ecce Homo* had shown his poor opinion of liberal theology. Wace was at his best in his review of Farier's *Life of Christ*—"We could have wished his reasoning to have been more severe, he may sometimes escape under a brilliant cloud of rhetoric from a stern antagonist" But the book "will serve to enlarge enormously the field of view realized by great numbers of the Clergy . . . all the more effectually because it relegates to another arena the more troublesome difficulties to which we refer"

With J. B. Mozley to turn argument and irony on two books against Christianity, Blakesley and Malcolm MacColl to take a middle course over ecclesiastical history, Stanley called in to review Jowett's *St. Paul*, and finding him too much aware of the objections to his arguments and too indefinite to state his conclusions, and Max Müller on Renan's *Semitic Monotheism*, the readers of *The Times* were not subjected to violence; and fierce Anti-Ritualists or Anti-Papists (like Gallenga) found other channels for their opinions. Some of the regular hands did useful work: Lucas, almost as a matter of course; and Dallas, who showed a good knowledge of pulpit literature (though he does not mention Donne). Best of all the articles (perhaps after Mozley's own) are two on Mozley by Dean Church. Mozley was, to Church, "a man of genius." Before we leave theology, we may spare a glance at a novel of 1856, *Perversion, or, the Causes and Consequences of Infidelity*, the villain of which achieved the crowning infamy of becoming a writer on *The Times*. The reviewer enjoyed himself.

To Mozley the paper was indebted also for a shrewd and respectful discussion of Lecky's *Rationalism*. His *History of European Morals* was much more roughly treated by Shand. In

1851 and 1852 it was indebted to Goldwin Smith (literally so for many months, during which he remained unpaid) for a review of Mill's *Logic*, in which he objected strongly to Mill's ideas of the causation of human conduct ; and his firm foot may also be detected, perhaps, in the crushing of Comte's *Positivist Philosophy*, as translated by Harriet Martineau, a theory "as miserable in its consequences and as degrading to humanity as it is in itself unwarranted and absurd" Blakesley wrote well on Mill's *Liberty* ; and O'Connor Morris's review of Campbell Fraser's *Berkeley* showed a mind as well informed as it was sympathetic and perceptive. Jowett's *Plato*, in the same year, fell into the hands of Dasent. Warned by Delane to "make Plato easy to the average reader," whose ignorance it was impossible to overrate, and careful not to offend the religious principles of John Walter III, he was shocked at the *Symposium*, lamented the lack of Christianity in Dr Jowett's work, and sighed through six columns for "one half-hour of Aristotle, the systematic thinker"

The Times did much better with science than with philosophy, having, no doubt, more important matter to work upon. Its attitude was kindly but cautious. In 1845 the reviewer of Lyell's *Travels in North America* concedes that geologists are not necessarily subverters of truth and religion, and, on coming to Niagara, betrays keen interest. Ten years later, *The Plurality of Worlds* is slaughtered for being anti-Christian. The reviewing of *The Origin of Species* in 1859 fell to no professed man of science, but to Lucas, who, aware of his own ignorance of the subject, passed the book on to Huxley. The whole review, except the introductory paragraph, is Huxley's work.¹ Blakesley, musing over Lyell's *Antiquity of Man* in 1857, writes with the modern mind about the relation of religion and science, but thinks that the theory of the origin of species, as distinct from data, might have been avoided for fear of frightening away people who ask nervously "Where will this lead to ?" Later reviews are less courageous. Mozley in 1867 is induced by the Duke of Argyll's *Reign of Law* to declare (with warm approval from the Editor's diary) that "Natural selection is adaptation by chance, and therefore, not by design. . . . It is, moreover, a theory of waste. It bases the operations of nature on a principle of waste, and in that it does violence to nature, of which economy is a fundamental law." And in 1871, *The Descent of Man* left Wace angry and frightened. He clung

¹ See Thomas Henry Huxley, by Leonard Huxley, I, 176.

DELANE ON SHELLEY

his hardest to the argument of insufficient evidence, but felt that more was expected of him. Darwin was contradicted by "a kind of direct perception" of the difference between man and animal. And he has been reckless—see the effect of his doctrine in France—see our own loose philosophy and irrational religion. Arthur Locker, writing gracefully about several sciences, noticed in 1866 that the study of primitive man was now carried on by investigation, not by speculation, but he went back on himself in reviewing Lubbock's *Prehistoric Times*, in which "the new science" first named its "ages"—palaeolithic, neolithic, bronze, and iron. He does not like now to think that for untold myriads of years our ancestors were benighted savages. He prefers the chronology of Archbishop Ussher, and the beautiful Adam and Eve.

To pass from Science to "her sister Poetry" is to light upon a breach between Delane and one of his most industrious and efficient servants. On February 7, 1861, the Manager of *The Times*, Mowbray Morris, wrote to Lucas:

With respect to your standing disagreement with Delane, I have long abandoned all expectation of being able to interfere with advantage to either of you. Your temper and dispositions are so unlike that you will never be able to see the same thing in the same way.

On September 3, 1860, Robert Lytton ("Owen Meredith") wrote a letter to Robert Browning which goes a long way towards explaining what Mowbray Morris meant:

I have made the acquaintance of a Mr. Lucas, who (vice Philips [sic]) writes the literary articles in *The Times* (reviewed *The Arrest of the Five Members and Transformation*)¹. He is a great admirer of yours, and spoke to me much and well about your books. I asked him why he didn't write what he had said to me in *The Times*. But he answered that Delane won't hear of Poetry, and that when he wanted to review Shelley's life and works Delane cried, "Excrement! Excrement!"²

Early in September, 1862, Mowbray Morris wrote to Lucas:

You cannot be serious about leaving us. It is not good for old friends to part, & I refuse altogether to accept your resignation without further consideration on your part.³

¹ Both in 1860

² See *Letters from Owen Meredith to Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, edited by Aurelia Brooks Harlan and J. Lee Hurlan, Junr (Baylor University Press, Waco, Texas, 1936, p. 172). Thomas Barnes's attitude towards Shelley affords a contrast to his successor's. Barnes spent a long evening with the poet during the latter's brief sojourn at Oxford (1810-11), and received an impression of the "fianleness & uprightness of Shelley's character which I have retained ever since" [1835]. See *On Shelley*, By Edmund Blunden, Gavin de Beer, and Sylva Norman. (Oxford University Press, 1938, p. 33.)

³ P.H.S. Papers, IV.

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Lucas went on reviewing for *The Times* till 1865, but contemporary poetry had to get on without him.

When the period opened, Moore's poems were in course of publication, and the reviewer laughs at his politics but laughs with his political squibs ; approves his Irish melodies while jeering at his notion of the original Irish purity ; faintly curses his sacred songs and loudly his translations from the Greek. The poems of Lady Flora Hastings are warmly praised, the *Fugitive Verses* of Joanna Baillie less warmly ; and a tear is dropped on the remains of L E L. To damn Montgomery's *Luther* through more than two columns was, in 1842, to flog a dead horse.

The period is dominated by Tennyson. His name first appears in 1843, in a cool review of the fifth edition of Horne's *Orion* ; but the first work of his reviewed is *The Princess*, in October, 1848. The critic (it was too early to be Dallas) objects that Tennyson's faults remain unchanged ; the affected irregularities of style are more numerous than before. The poet does not work hard enough ; and "to disuse his talent is a crime in the possessor of it, and a wrong to the community." The notice of *In Memoriam* in 1851 may be described as stodgy ; Tennyson is told at great length that he is too feminine, too obscure, too sorry, too precious, and too diffuse. There is nothing stodgy about the review of *Maud* in 1855. The writer of it was Dallas—and was somehow known outside Printing House Square to be Dallas. A week or two after it appeared Mowbray Morris wrote to him :

The rough way in which you are handled by the provincial papers, from which I send you three extracts, shews, if any proof were needed, how wise is the rule of the *Times* that exacts secrecy from all its contributors. I believe your criticism of *Maud* to be just, and that of the provincials to be altogether wrong ; but I also believe that the weight that ought to attach to your article on account of its truth is materially diminished by its author being known.

The last words must have been gall to the eminent Dallas, though some years were still to pass before his *Gay Science* proclaimed him to the world a critic of poetry. And, indeed, he gave *Maud* a tremendous slating. He found in it all the faults of the "spasmodic" poetry. It was crude, shapeless, and commonplace ; it was sketchy without the vigour of a sketch, prosaic and metaphysical with the flatness and without the straightforwardness of prose. The imagery was conceited and far-fetched ; the metre had all the perplexities without the music of dactylics. And its

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"hysterical tears and melodramatic rage" drove the critic to fury with these "poets hiding themselves in holes and corners, and weaving interminable cobwebs out of their own bowels." If, as it seems certain, it was Dallas who wrote two months later the review of *Noctes Ambrosianae*, which called Christopher North "the manliest of the manly" and the dialogues "the finest dialogues that ever have been written, except those of Plato," it is easy to understand that he would have been ill at ease with *Maud*. He was happier with the *Idylls of the King* of 1859, in which he found simplicity and perfect workmanship, and praised Tennyson for sacrificing his youthful joy in colour to obtain the higher beauty. By the time of *Enoch Arden* (1864) Tennyson had become, for Dallas, the poetical dictator, like Pope, but a greater than Pope. He was never frankly criticized, because "Tennyson is Tennyson"; he continued to do small, "episodical" works, all different, and never challenged criticism with one big thing. *Luci etius* in 1868 found Dallas enthusiastic. Tennyson had earned the right to write about madness. This poem of "the philosopher drooping from his height" is compared with *Caliban upon Setebos*, the poem of the monster soaring. For the melody of verse Tennyson was unapproachable since Milton, with whom Dallas liked to compare and to contrast him. That was Dallas's last word on Tennyson in *The Times*. When *The Holy Grail* of 1869 appeared, it was Broome who reviewed it. The monarchy was a monarchy no longer, for Browning, Morris and Swinburne had taken away some of Tennyson's subjects. But the *Idylls* as a whole were the greatest thing done since *Paradise Lost*; and "the verse beginning 'Flower in the crannied wall,' which will be passed over by many and ridiculed by some, is worthy of careful comment." But Broome did not much like Tennyson. In 1872 he fell foul of *Gareth and Lynette* and *The Last Tournament*; being bored with the goodness of King Arthur and regretting that "such poets as Mr. Tennyson and Mr. Browning should have so little time or care for that minor music which makes up a large part of the fame and work of some of our greatest singers."

In the 'forties and 'fifties, indeed, *The Times* knew of few rivals to Tennyson. Mrs. Norton is moderately praised, and so is Mr. Julian Fane, and a review of the fifth edition of *Festus* finds room for praise of Gerald Massey's *Babe Christabel*. Aytoun's *Bothwell* was made the text in 1856 for a sermon against all poetry that is not meant to be popular, including Tennyson's. The

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reviewer holds that popularity is a negative test only, but safe. "The poetry of Scott may or may not endure; that of Words-worth cannot. Byron may or may not live, Shelley must inevitably be forgotten." That can hardly be Dallas, it might be Goldwin Smith, who three years before had introduced his readers, rather timorously, to a new poet, one "A," who had published *The Strayed Reveller* and *Empedocles on Etna*. Smith knew that "A" was Matthew Arnold; and he was afraid, in Arnold as in Tennyson, of "an attempt to gain too great an intellectual dominion for poetry, to the prejudice of its proper prerogative, which is to sway the fancy and the feelings." We hear no more of Matthew Arnold till 1867, when his *New Poems* were tackled by Stebbing, who at least understood the poet's desire to be alone and yet to have sympathy. Little of the sympathy was given him. Stebbing disliked his "intellectual morgue," his academical manner, his "want of spontaneity and naturalness, but especially of terseness," and he found *Merope* a "very undramatic drama" and much too long.

Other new names were being heard. When Dallas held all modern poetry in review at the beginning of 1865, he found in the gap that separated Byron, Shelley and Keats from his own epoch only Hood, Praed and Clough, who had all tried to catch the public ear by amusing it. But in 1865 Dallas had bigger names than these to oppose to the dictatorship of Tennyson. *Aurora Leigh* is "one of the greatest works of art which this century has produced," greater than anything that Tennyson had done. It might have been greater yet if Mrs. Browning had lived in England, not in Italy. Robert Browning's poetry had suffered still more from his exile. In Browning, Dallas found the materials of great poetry, the semblance of a great poet, but not the great poetry. Poetry, with Browning, was an occult science, a game of hide-and-seek. Yet, though he is not a poet, *A Death in the Desert* and *Caliban upon Setebos* prove him "a profound thinker, the dramatic thinker"; all his profoundest works are records of religious experience. In the same article Dallas calls Coventry Patmore the George Herbert of the nineteenth century, but an earthy Herbert, sharing only his sententiousness, conceits and elaboration, and his "tendency to overstrain sentiment to mawkishness"; and bids Jean Ingelow yield to Christina Rossetti, who is simpler, finer and deeper, and does "work which it would be difficult to mend."

BROWNING

Dallas unfortunately gave up reviewing poetry for *The Times* just before *The Ring and the Book* appeared. Blair Leighton, into whose hands it fell, could make very little of it. He said the usual things about obscurity, prosiness, the crude and jolting violence or "almost absence" of rhythm—"it were effrontery to call it verse," he cries, making verse himself through indignation. Leighton, moreover, had a theory that "realism" such as Browning's had not yet become "properly fused and malleable for art"—it was like the photography of those days. As this rather peevish and mincing notice did not appear till June, 1869, the writer had, or might have had, plenty of time for reading the poem; and there is small excuse for his entire misunderstanding of the motives of the Pope (whose portion of the poem he found below the average of the rest) in ordering the execution. *Balaustion's Adventure* received better treatment from Broome, but *Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau* and *Fifine* drew from him his old plea that poetry should please the people "and reflect the national life of England"; and these new poems of Browning's, being "pure metaphysics," made him praise by contrast the earlier work, even *Sordello*. The last word on Browning comes from Thursfield. *Aristophanes' Apology* shows the likeness between Browning and Euripides, and it is full of beauties; but it is uncouth and fantastic, with passages repulsive to the scholar and a hopeless stumbling-block to the unlearned.

Of Swinburne we hear nothing except when Arthur Locker in 1865 asked plaintively why he should have tied up his own legs by choosing for *Atalanta in Calydon* an ancient Greek subject and form, when modern England and modern English were at his command. William Morris was better treated. Jex Blake enjoyed *The Life and Death of Jason*. Morris, unlike Apollonius, had no humour, and his style dawdled, but the critic perceived the pictorial beauty of the poem and its vivid humanity. A. C. Steele found Morris's voice in *The Earthly Paradise* flute-like, but lamented his "simplicity approaching to baldness." The Lyttons, father and son, were not passed over. *The Times* of the 'forties did not like the elder Lytton, and the *New Timon* (published anonymously, but declared to be Lytton's) was unmercifully belaboured. In January, 1870, Broome fell fiercely upon *Walpole*, and then in November (we may suspect in this instance a hint from the centre) gave more than five columns to almost slavish admiration of *King Arthur*. Owen Meredith was not more than

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politely praised by Steele in 1868, and by Broome in 1874. Last on our list, George Eliot was always in favour. Dallas, reviewing *The Spanish Gipsy*, was glad to see young love—about which Mr. Thackeray had been making such a fuss—giving way before race; and though the poem, under Browning's influence, was prolix, it was not verbose.

On the whole, *The Times* did creditably but—in spite of Dallas—not more by the poetry of the period. With fiction it did a good deal better. At any point in the period it was capable of dropping into the old reviewers' habits, either of sneering at novels in general, or of filling a column or two with the story and saving the labour of criticism. Dasent in 1874 took more than two columns to tell the story of Anthony Trollope's *Lady Anne*. In telling it, he remarks complacently, “we have necessarily omitted much that makes all that Mr. Trollope writes so pleasant and so lively”; and he adds twenty lines (which was twenty more than he sometimes spared) to say that he doubts the probability of the tale. It must be admitted, too, that some of the reviewers of fiction were not of the first order. Mrs. Norton's standing on *The Times* has been exaggerated by rumour. She wrote very charming letters to Delane on lace-edged paper, but her contributions to the paper were not many. The novels of her cousin, Sheridan Le Fanu, were her preserve. Broome's wife, who kept her name of Lady Barker, sometimes reviewed a novel, and it was her misfortune to be given *The New Republic*, which left her bewildered. Yet, superficial and perfunctory as was some of the criticism, the better reviewers regarded fiction as a literary art that deserved serious treatment; and now and then they scored a bull's-eye.

The novels reviewed were few. They reached double figures in 1848, when someone put ten together as *Novels of the Season*, only to sink back again; but each book was given plenty of space—sometimes more than the reviewer knew that it deserved, as when Arthur Locker gave more than three columns to Lady Barrett Lennard's *Constance Rivers*. Mingled with the conventional sneers at women's fiction and at circulating libraries and some sensible objections to the issuing of novels in parts and to the three-volume novel, we may find a sincere attempt to keep the readers in touch with the best fiction of the time and to correct their taste for the less good. At the outset the popular novelists were Mrs. Trollope (vulgar, but amusing), Mrs. Gore (vulgar,

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ignorant, and in *The Débutante*, vicious), and Lady Georgiana Fullerton (approved). Theodore Hook's *Fathers and Sons* was a "neat novel" and W. H. G. Kingston's *The Prime Minister* (1845) gets an encouraging column.

The first considerable name is that of Disraeli. In 1844 *Coningsby*, through eight columns, is highly praised for its politics and its "young England." *Sybil* aroused equal admiration but at less length. The review of *Tancred* in 1847 is mostly an essay on contemporary Judaism in England and an attack on Disraeli's notion of it; and in 1870 *Lothair* stirs Shand to a fine piece of critical praise both for the art and the matter of Disraeli's best work of fiction, the only complaint being that the style starts by being bad and showy before it settles down. The year of *Coningsby* saw also the first of a series of queeily savage attacks on Dickens. *The Chimes* was blamed for stirring up discontent among the poor. *The Cricket on the Hearth* was "a twaddling manifestation of silliness almost from the first page to the last." The *Pictures from Italy* (by this time Dickens was editing an aggressive rival newspaper, the *Daily News*), the *Battle of Life* and *The Haunted Man* roused abuse *crescendo*. In 1857 the *Christmas Story* was rebuked by Lucas for being sentimental; but the enemy of the earlier years cannot have been Lucas; nor can it have been W. H. Stowe, whose review of *David Copperfield* and *Pendennis* in one article was a bull's-eye. Stowe inclined slightly towards Dickens, notwithstanding his distaste for the excess and the sentimentality in him. "The epic is greater than the satire"; and he found Dickens (as we should say now) optimistic, Thackeray rather darkly pessimistic. No one noticed *Bleak House*, *Little Dorrit* or *A Tale of Two Cities*; but *Great Expectations* brought Dickens into the hands of Dallas, who stuck to him for the next six years. *Great Expectations* Dallas condescended to; *Our Mutual Friend*, but for the "Social Chorus," he found a fine story, excellently told, and Bella Wilfer the best thing in it; he revelled in Mrs. Lirriper's language, and thought *Dr. Marigold's Prescription* masterly. In April, 1870, the first number of *Edwin Drood* was reviewed by Broome, who made the prophetic but then somewhat obvious remark: "We need hardly say that the mystery of *Edwin Drood* is a mystery still." Dickens died three months later, and "Halfactre" slipped into his column of the conventional criticism—"he was all nature," and so forth—a plea that Dickens was not vulgar and could draw a lady and a gentleman.

It must have been Dickens's early enemy who worked a slap at him into his praise of M. A. Titmarsh's *Our Street* in 1848, and a few months later *Vanity Fair* was hailed as proving that Thackeray could do the long, continuous work for which his early things had been preparation. Here was clear presentation of "the balance of opposite characteristics on which all truthfulness in the exhibition of human nature depends"; and the critic strangely missed his own good point when he saw in Rawdon Crawley nothing but "a most unlovable personage, a hulking mass of dull vice." It hardly reads like Stowe; it might have been Samuel Phillips, whose half-column about *The Kickleburys on the Rhine* stung Thackeray into writing the *Essay on Thunder and Small Beer* which made the preface to the second edition. Just or unjust as criticism, Phillips's article was a very ridiculous piece of pompous verbiage. After *Vanity Fair*, Thackeray was long out of favour with *The Times*. The reviewer of *Esmond* was not content to call it a bad *pastiche*, "a very questionable and cracked specimen of old China," Lady Castlewood jealous and hypocritical, and Esmond himself so far from a hero that he inspired "unaffected disgust"; he went out of his way to rail at Thackeray's previous work, his "partial and unpleasant view of men and things," "his disbelieving, disappointed, jealous eye," his dullness in delineation of hero and heroine. According to Thackeray the review "absolutely stopped" the sale of the book. *The Newcomes* got it almost as hot. The reviewers were kinder to the *Miscellanies*, approving their "truth to ordinary nature," and with Dallas's reviews of *The Virginians* and of *Philip*, we reach a more balanced judgment of Thackeray's strength and weakness. When he died in December, 1863, his short but kindly obituary notice said that he was a child at heart.

Anthony Trollope fared pretty well, while Dallas was there. He had no business, of course, to have written about the *Jupiter*, of which he knew nothing; but Dallas found *Barchester Towers* curious and interesting, in spite of a "tediousness of explanation which seems to be natural to the author as well as to his theme"; and, though he wanted more surprises and less obvious cause-and-effect, he admitted that in the earlier chronicles of Barchester and in *The Bertrams* Trollope had much to say and said it simply. *Orley Farm* he liked, but he missed the peculiar art of the book. The successors of Dallas were less favourable.

WELCOME TO MEREDITH

It was Lucas's luck to light on a "Mr George Eliot" whose *Scenes of Clerical Life* he praised for the combination of humour with pathos in depicting ordinary situations. Then—"Mr George Eliot" now—she passed to Dallas, who said that *Adam Bede* put the author at once among the masters of the art, enjoyed the "playfulness" of *The Mill on the Floss* (he knew the author's sex by then), found her "merry" in *Silas Marner*, a book in which "her moral purpose is mostly unconscious" (no "police-man in petticoats" for him!) and declared *Romola* at once the least perfect and the greatest of her works, imperfect because the history and the moral would not mix, and the history, raising the tone, had lowered the interest. *Felix Holt* he admired most of all. George Eliot "plays with torrents where Miss Austen played with rills", and he knew of no Englishwoman who could be placed near her as a writer of prose. When *Middlemarch* came, seven years later, it fell to Broome, who was hampered by a dread of admitting that there was anything wrong with the state of women, and thus could not see Dorothea straight. But he was impressed with the weighty sentences and the stately style; and Shand wrote wisely and well about *Daniel Deronda*.

Charles Kingsley fared ill. *Alton Locke* was savagely condemned. The critic had evidently expected a genuine biography, and found the story "utterly worthless as a hand-book for our guidance to the Chartist cause." *Westward Ho* was a good novel, to excellent purpose, but the portrait of the Jesuit of the sixteenth century was so unfair, so unlike Campion and Southwell that "we expunge him as an anachronism." Even Lucas was down on Kingsley, and "more amused than edified" by *Two Years Ago*, which sacrificed truth to didactics and exaggerated the distinction between the worker and the dreamer.

Lucas did not review many novels; but he has one notable review to his credit. In 1859 George Meredith, having published no fiction but *Shagpat* and *Farina*, brought out *Richard Feverel*, and Lucas gave it more than three columns. The book, he declared, was not impure, as some had said (it had been denounced in the *Spectator* and banned by Mudie's). It was original and powerful. It was now oracular and obscure, now crystalline and brilliant. The author was, like Rabelais, a humanist, who saw life from his inner consciousness; his characters were symbols and shades of his thoughts. But the development of the main purpose was weak. It was Meredith, not the system, that murdered Lucy,

"in pure wantonness of authorship—a barbarity like that for which Mr Charles Dickens is so often answerable." After that, it is surprising to find that the only other novel by Meredith reviewed during the period was *Beauchamp's Career*, which Shand found obscure, too clever, and improbable, though he showed that he understood what Meredith had aimed at in the character of Beauchamp. The last among the giants is first found in 1873, when *A Pair of Blue Eyes* is popped in among some other novels by Broome. He found it "readable," but the author was too much led away by a love of fine and difficult, not to say ridiculous phrases. Broome was much more inspired by *Far from the Madding Crowd*. His criticism of it brings out all its greatness and restraint, and objects only to Hardy's imitating the language of George Eliot. Shand also brought up George Eliot when he praised the plot and condemned the method of *The Hand of Ethelberta*. For some reason *Under the Greenwood Tree* was passed over till December, 1875, when the younger Mowbray Morris, giving it a few lines among the Christmas books, said that "as might be imagined from the author's past achievements" (*Far from the Madding Crowd*, for instance!) "it is a pretty little book."

The reviewers evidently kept their eyes open for new writers; but they had one blind spot—the Brontes. *Wuthering Heights* was never mentioned. *Jane Eyre* must wait till 1849 when the reviewer of *Shirley*, by Currer Bell ("whomsoever that name may represent") explained that, whereas *Jane Eyre*, though disfigured by coarseness, was a work of genius for two volumes and all bookseller's stuff in the third, *Shirley* was made up of third volumes and was "at once the most high-flown and the stalest of fictions." After that the Brontes' fiction got no more notice than their poetry had done. But the list of novelists who were seriously and watchfully reviewed is long and multifrom:—Samuel Warren, Charles Reade, Wilkie Collins, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Charlotte M. Yonge, Mrs. Beecher Stowe, Mrs. Henry Wood (*East Lynne*, wrote Mrs. Norton to Delane, is "a mere amplification of a story of mine ages ago, in Colburn's Monthly or some annual"), Miss Braddon, George MacDonald, James Payn, Hawley Smart, Whyte Melville (whom Dallas admired, but liked to banter about "the steady principles and the church-going habits of ruined spendthrifts and dashing Dragoons"), Mrs. Oliphant, Black, Blackmore (Shand found both *Lorna Doone* and *The Maid of Sker* dull and heavy), and Rhoda Broughton. One new writer

FEAR OF THE "GOODIES"

was barred by authority. On March 11, 1873, Delane wrote to Napier Broome :

Ewhon, I won't touch. It could not be reviewed as favourably as perhaps it deserves without alarming the "goodies"—and they are powerful.

Shand had high praise for Henry Kingsley ; and Henry Kingsley himself contributed a delightful article in November, 1871, in which, though enjoying the stories in Knatchbull-Hugessen's *Moonshine*, he rebukes him for "improving the occasion." There is no moral, he declared, in *Cinderella*. "The very *Band of Hope Review*, a paper which improves every occasion, could get nothing out of *Aladdin Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*—there is no moral in that. The whole of the wit comes from a persistent violation of every rule in logic ; every fallacy in Aldrich is brought suddenly on one . . . until one is dazed, and arrives at the feeling of incongruity, which Dr. Johnson tells us is the true source of laughter." Whreby amendments were made to "Alice" for some slighting by less nimble and gracious minds

Near the end of the period a good innovation was made by Shand. In 1866 O'Connor Morris had found fine "detached passages" in that "disjointed succession of the visions of a distempered fancy," *Les Travailleurs de la Mer*. Locker had praised About, and Eber had praised Erckmann-Chatrian. But there was no systematic attention to foreign novels before Shand in 1876 started his articles on "Lighter French Literature." He kept his eyes open also for good new German fiction.

Delane, it has been seen, though willing to see literature noticed, lacked a personal interest in books. He had from the first conducted *The Times* upon an apt compromise between Walter's broad academicism and an intensely enterprising political pragmatism of his own. Twenty-five years had only served to set their mark upon Delane's strictly political editorial routine. The work of literary, dramatic and music criticism he left, apart from a day to day supervision, to find its own development. Changes in the political world, however, had significant effects, as will be shown, upon the editorial staff in Delane's last years, which witnessed some decline from his earlier brilliant achievement, and also upon that direction of policy which the Editor had always regarded as predominantly his province.

XXIII

DELANE'S LAST YEARS

WHILE the years 1855-1860 were the most critical in the Victorian period of the paper considered as a business organization, the years from 1870-1877 were of parallel consequence to the staff. Changes then made in the personnel, though more gradual in their effect, were as far-reaching and lasting as the repeal of the advertisement tax and the abolition of the compulsory revenue stamp.

During the years which followed the ending of the taxes upon knowledge in 1855, Walter's attention was engrossed by the need of the mechanical departments and the problem of organizing them to meet the competition caused by the newspaper trade's newly discovered economic freedom. Realizing the imperative necessity for an active and progressive director in the printing office, he appointed in 1856 John Cameron MacDonald, whose detailed reporting for *The Times* of the machinery sections of the Great Exhibition had four years earlier won wide approval. Installing him as Chief Engineer, Walter proceeded, as has been recorded in the chapter on the "New Journalism," to spend lavishly upon new printing processes and new stereotyping plant.

Foreseeing the expansion of the business, Walter had regularly acquired properties adjoining Printing House Square. He built during 1857-58 a new publishing department, whose manager, Thomas Cope, appointed by Morris in 1848, retired in 1863, to be succeeded by Francis Goodlake. The new department was organized expressly for the new distributing system by which a large number of bulk parcels for dispatch were now forwarded nightly by rail—to the loss of the Post Office. Moreover, from 1863 to 1868, Walter and MacDonald were still more deeply engaged with the highly technical and expensive experiments leading up to the manufacture of the "Walter" press. These last experiments involved the creation at Printing House Square of a machine shop furnished with the necessary drawing office, jigs,

A COSTLY BUILDING

and tool-making devices. This new department of the business was required first for the manufacture of the new presses for Printing House Square; and secondly for the exploitation of the patent of the "Walter" press. Hence the department was laid out for the manufacture and sale of the press at remunerative prices to other newspapers—e.g., the *Scotsman* and the *Daily News*. In addition to the "Walter" press, the new department supplied stereo-moulding equipment. Thus in April, 1870, MacDonald accepted an order for a moulding machine on behalf of *The Times* from its New York namesake (founded in 1851). This manufacturing business meant the virtual creation of a subsidiary concern, and it required not only capital but time—nearly a decade—for its establishment.

There was another major consideration before the Chief Proprietor's mind. The premises at Printing House Square, built for Mark Baskett in 1740, and acquired by John Walter I in 1785, were, despite extensions, inconveniently small by 1840. The plan to manufacture the "Walter" press forced a decision to build a new printing house of which the basement floor should be devoted to the engineering shops. It is not known when Walter determined upon a complete rehousing of the paper and its plant, but as the "Walter" press was patented in 1866 and Walter went to the United States in that year, he probably adopted the scheme in that or the following year in preparation for the construction and use of the new models, which took place in 1868. While in America Walter visited, in some instances for the second time, the principal newspaper offices. Among them he investigated the building of the *New York Times*, which had been established by George Jones and H. J. Raymond at Nassau Street in the Wall Street district. In 1857 the journal removed to the neighbourhood of the City Hall and joined the *World*, the *Tribune*, the *Sun*, the *Albion*, &c., all of which were housed in handsome new buildings grouped on the south-east side of the City Hall Park, in that portion of Paik Row then known as "Printing House Square." The most conspicuous and solid of these buildings was that of the *New York Times*, the façade of which, carrying further the compliment implied by Messrs. Jones and Raymond's choice of their journal's title, carried a pediment in the style of the original over the King's Printing House of Mark Baskett. Thus, when Walter was in Printing House Square, New York, he saw more than one souvenir of Blackfriars. In 1866, it may safely be presumed, he was more

DELANE'S LAST YEARS

eager than before to secure at first hand intelligence of the many new mechanical enterprises then going forward in the newspaper offices of New York and Philadelphia, equally, too, of the design of the buildings. The execution of his own plan was so slow that the delay can only be explained by the cost of the enterprise, which was defrayed entirely by Walter and not by the general body of the proprietors. The 3,817,121 bricks were supplied from two kilns, one in Wokingham directed by Walter, and Walter was his own architect. The south elevation was naturally drawn in general accord with the City Corporation's plans in connexion with the new street being cut through to the Embankment. The progress of Queen Victoria Street gave Walter the opportunity to erect an imposing elevation. The street was opened in 1873, and in the following year the now rather familiar than magnificent public office of *The Times*, No 162, Queen Victoria Street, was completed. In 1874 the new building was regarded as the most handsome in the street ; unquestionably it ranked as the finest building yet designed for a London newspaper, and it was by no means inferior to its namesake's building in Printing House Square, New York. It is plain, however, that Walter had been strongly impressed by certain details in the American building, for the London façade of 1874 possesses a similar construction of the pediment and other points of similarity, as may be seen in Shannon's lithograph illustrating "Printing House Square," New York, in 1868.

Thus, for more than ten years, Walter's mind was preoccupied with the business of printing and building, the affairs of which thrust into the background of his mind the conclusion, arrived at as early as 1857, that the staffing of the editorial and managerial departments of *The Times* required reinforcement. Not merely had the organization of Delane's department as it existed after 1857 failed to keep pace with that of the printing office, but no change of any importance had occurred, or been made, in it. Provision for emergency in the editorial department had only been theoretically considered. But, on the other hand, there had been no emergency as yet. Walter, indeed, had instructed Delane that Dasent must not look forward to succeeding to his position, but the matter of editorial succession rested there. In the managerial department the same condition of affairs existed ; there had been thought of introducing and training a successor to Morris who should be ready in due time to follow him, but nothing had been done. The training of successors to the Editor and

THE SITE
as cleared in the year 1868-1870 for the erection of the
NEW OFFICES FOR *THE TIMES*
in Queen Victoria Street

From a water-colour in the collection of
Mr John Walter



WALTER'S RESERVE FUND

Manager had doubtless seemed less urgent than the provision of modern machinery ; both Delane and Morris were still comparatively young, being little over 50 In 1870 the Chief Proprietor himself was only 53, while Morris was 51 Whatever his engineering preoccupations, Walter's inaction may also have been due, in part, to certain private motives, some connected with the future of his sons, John, then coming of age, and Aithui ; others with the paramount necessity of watching the conduct of the paper more closely in the new trade situation.

Moreover, an unexpected, and to Walter somewhat humbling, difference of opinion with the proprietors occurred in 1867. At this time Walter took a step with unexpected consequences. It was not that he had failed to foresee, but that he could not credit, the blindness and obstinacy of what he flatteringly called "the general body of my Co-proprietors in *The Times*." In 1867 as Chief Proprietor of twenty years' standing he considered it his duty to render to the general body an account of the business as it then stood Accordingly he prepared a statement which, after prolonged consideration by himself and Dobie, the solicitor, was dispatched to all the proprietors. The statement rehearsed the precarious nature of a property possessing no capital but the goodwill of its name, *The Times* newspaper, the essential value of which depended upon "great knowledge, enterprise and unremitting vigilance and skill continually expended upon it." Even with these, he thought, popular favour was uncertain ; and hence every "reasonable precaution" should be taken to secure the prosperity of the concern. Walter then came to the point. He revealed to the whole body of the proprietors, what had hitherto been known to but a few and those his nearest kin, that "acting, as I fully believe, within the scope of the powers entrusted to me," he had, since the early years of his management, set aside a portion of the annual profits as a reserve against extraordinary contingencies. The reserve fund, held as a trust in the names of Walter, Carden and Dobie, had nearly reached in 1867 a figure "at which I could conscientiously recommend that it should stop." The fund had reached the sum of £190,000 in the Reduced 3%'s. Walter recommended that an additional £10,000 should be credited to the fund, bringing it to £200,000, and that it should close with this figure.

At this point the condition of Walter's surviving draft, much corrected by himself and Dobie, proves the existence of some uncertainty as to his right to initiate the fund without the prior

DELANE'S LAST YEARS

consent of the proprietors. He admitted that he had so far acted upon his own responsibility and sought ("I am anxious") to obtain a formal expression of their approval of the course he had pursued and his recommendation that the investment of £200,000 should not be available for dividend "except in the case of any extraordinary emergency, of which the Managing Proprietor or the Trustees of the Fund for the time being should be the sole judge."

Walter asked for the unanimous consent of the proprietors, warning them that "a single dissentient would paralyse the whole operation and render it impossible for me or my successors to carry it into effect." His conclusion—it now seems dangerously inviting—affirmed that in default of such a unanimous vote he should feel that he "had no alternative but to relieve myself of all further responsibility in the matter by at once dividing the 'Reserve Fund' among the proprietors in the proportion to which they are respectively entitled." To the Chief Proprietor's astonishment more than one proprietor voted against the Reserve, in effect for distribution. In April, 1868, the holding of £200,000 in the Reduced 3%'s was sold for £172,888 19s. 8d., which was divided among the proprietors.

Thus ended the fund which Walter began in 1850. His fellow-proprietors—they were short-sighted but they could not have been expected to foresee the "Parnell" losses—voted as they were permitted to do by the will of John Walter I. While it had been his will that the "several parties interested shall receive their dividends and shares of the profits half-yearly" and the Chief Proprietor was given "the most absolute power" in the direction of the newspaper and "of making allowance and payments," he did not provide in the "settling of accounts" for any deduction whatsoever from the sum certified as available for dividend and announced to the owners of the shares.

The incident was disagreeable, for, apart from other considerations, it increased Walter's feeling of personal responsibility for the paper. The circulation had declined, but did not give very serious cause for concern, and the reduction of the *Daily News* from 3d. to 1d in June, 1868, attracted only a few hundreds from *The Times*. The salaries of Delane, Dasent and Morris were raised on July 1, 1868, and Walter, writing to Delane on July 5, said: "I have just received your letter of yesterday. I intended to announce the increase in your salary myself, but Morris has fore-

THE NEW OFFICES OF *THE TIMES*
in Queen Victoria Street, completed 1874

From a water-colour in the collection of
Mr John Walter



RESIGNATION OF DASENT

stalled me. While our prosperity continues at the flood, it is but fair that those who bear the burden and heat of the day, and night too, should share it." Nevertheless, he added a caution which witnesses to his belief that the resources of the paper were likely to undergo reduction in the immediate future "But we must be prepared for an ebb, and the gradual decline in our circulation, which I attribute solely to the cheap Press, makes me contemplate the possibility of a reduction to 2d., at some future and not very distant date" *The Times*, which had a circulation of 62,641 on New Year's Day, 1868, began 1869 with 59,827.

Unexpectedly, also in 1869, Morris's health began to fail, and by the autumn his condition aroused the anxiety of his friends, particularly of his brother-in-law, Delane, who urged immediate application to Walter for an extensive period of leave. Morris, unfortunately, was in a highly restless condition, worried not only by office affairs, but still more acutely by private concerns. His son's extravagance not only adversely affected the boy's reputation but gravely strained his father's means Young Mowbray Morris, then in Australia, was always on his father's mind. In consequence, the notion which at one time presented itself of his retiring from Printing House Square was put aside by the Manager on account of his personal financial situation.

In the New Year (1870) a serious complication, vaguely foreseen by Delane, Morris, and Walter, but not expected by them to materialize just then, arose in Delane's department. On January 17 Gladstone, at the solicitation of Lowe, invited the assistant editor in "a most flattering letter" to fill a vacancy on the Civil Service Commission. "In resting his selection of me on the public interest," wrote Dasent to Delane, "he has chosen the only ground on which I should think it right to accept such an office." It was inevitable that he should give up the office of assistant editor. Nevertheless, it did not follow that, with Dasent a Civil Service Commissioner, the break need be complete. It was arranged that on leaving he should continue to assist *The Times* in the capacity of a contributor.

During the same January Morris's health rapidly worsened. The doctors took him off to a nursing home whence, in bed with his head in a cradle, he wrote thus to Walter on the 20th :

They say there is a reasonable probability of my being cured, but that my state at this moment is very serious.

DELANE'S LAST YEARS

Under the circumstances I crave your forbearance for a month. At the end of that time I shall know my fate & should it be what I myself anticipate, pray believe that I will not shrink from the painful duty of placing my resignation in your hands.

For your sympathy & kindness I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude & the consolation I have derived from them.

Gradually Morris was brought to the convalescent stage. An anxious office next witnessed Dasent yield up his post—on the night of Sunday, February 6, “feeling very miserable at leaving.”

William Stebbing (whose entry into the office is recorded in Chapter XXI) and had proved himself an exceptionally able and versatile writer of clear-cut views and strong convictions, was appointed Dasent's successor from February 1, 1870, at the rate of £1,200 a year. In his new position he became somewhat too anxious and voluble about detail to be practical as an editorial assistant—at least to a man constituted as Delane was and as Walter had, in part, made him. Delane, more pleased with the arrival of John Roche Dasent, his old colleague's young son, whom he brought in as a private secretary, faced the new year uneasily. Walter, although he had not promised the editorial succession to Stebbing, did not accept Delane's estimate of him. With his innate respect for scholarship, Walter was inclined to underestimate the ability, at least equally desirable in an editor, to think and express judgments clearly and quickly. Yet Stebbing was as devoted as any man to the paper and to Delane. In the Editor's privately expressed view, however, he was “no help at all.” Delane found it impossible, as he wrote in a letter to Dasent, “to deal with a man who won't take the trouble to sort his ideas before he endeavours to express them.” To increase the Editor's anxieties there next came the war panic which preceded Napoleon's declaration of hostilities against Germany.

In this situation Delane turned to Dasent not merely for contributions but for editorial assistance, and on many occasions during the late spring and early summer of 1870 his old colleague, now Civil Service Commissioner, voluntarily took charge of the paper in the Editor's absence. Later, in February, John Roche Dasent had been advanced from the position of Delane's private secretary and given the title of assistant editor. Hence, for a period in April, while Delane was absent, the paper was being edited by the two Dasents—*i.e.*, the office of *The Times* (as distinct from the printing house) was, counting Delane and Morris, worked in its principal positions by three brothers-in-law,

THE TRAGEDY AT BEAR WOOD

one of whom was assisted by his son. Stebbing does not yet seem to have succeeded in making even nominally secure his position as assistant editor, still less his prospect of succeeding Delane, for the interventions of George Dasent occurred not only in June and November, 1870, but also in April, 1871. Stebbing's handwriting does not appear in the Editor's Diary until June, 1871.

Thus, as far as the staff knew, the succession to the Editorial and Managerial chairs remained unprovided for. The Chief Proprietorship was destined, of course, to descend to the eldest of John Walter's nine sons, also named John, the fourth of the line. He had come down from Oxford in 1869. A first-hand knowledge of the world was regarded by his father as essential to the make-up of a future Proprietor of *The Times*. Accordingly young Walter had been sent travelling, and in the summer of 1870 was in the East. He reached America in the autumn with the plan of returning to Bear Wood in order to spend Christmas with the family. John landed from America on December 22 to the immense pleasure of his father, who welcomed him with a round of festivities. On Christmas Eve he went with a party of his brothers and other relatives to skate on the lake at Bear Wood. In the middle of the excitement the ice gave way and two of his brothers with a cousin were forthwith so deeply immersed that they were in obvious danger of drowning. John Walter Junior immediately dived to their rescue, but the shock of flinging himself into the icy water caused heart failure and he sank almost instantaneously.

Under this tragic blow, prostrating by its nature, cruel by its unexpectedness, agonizing in the circumstances of time and place, John Walter was sustained hardly less by the sympathy of his colleagues than by the devotion of his wife and family. Constitutionally undemonstrative, he was never afterwards quite the same. As a Christian he now experienced the truth he had hitherto only accepted as a pious opinion : that a man who had not trained himself to suffer, or had not been trained by suffering, must inevitably lack the one standard of judgment alone enabling him to penetrate into the meaning of human relations—domestic, social, professional, or other. One effect of Walter's loss was an increased consciousness of, and consideration for, the feelings, as distinct from the rights, of others. Although he had always regarded the office as in some sort an extension of his home, and had treated his colleagues with what was for a man of his reserve unusual

DELANE'S LAST YEARS

intimacy, he had frequently seemed to Delane, Dasent, and Morris unaccountably insensitive on occasion. No hint of anything similar is revealed in the office correspondence after the tragedy of Christmas Eve, 1870. Another of its consequences was that he ignored the world with increasing deliberation and sought even more consistently the consolations of religion. Henceforth he showed less curiosity about life in general, travelled less, wrote fewer letters to the paper, and visited the office a little less frequently. Nevertheless, he did not abate by a tittle his control of the organization—for that was a point of conscience with him—but he avoided personal responsibility for details to a greater degree than hitherto. Nor did he hurry in the matter of appointments in the managerial department.

The year 1871 passed uneventfully. The war, however, threw extra work upon Morris, who, at first, seemed equal to it. It was towards the latter part of the following year that the Manager suffered another and final breakdown. He was counselled by Delane to apply for a long leave of absence but determined to remain at his post. Nevertheless, as winter approached, it was settled that he was to go abroad. He was kept working, however, into the New Year by a morbid and baseless fear that if he went away for so long as two months he would be superseded in the management. His condition then became alarming and, accepting the instruction of the doctors, he prepared to go to Egypt.

In the middle of February, 1873, Mowbray Morris arrived at Cairo. Installed at the hotel with orders to rest until he was fit to travel up the Nile, he accidentally fell in with the Governor of the Bank of South Australia, Sir James Fergusson, who, in ignorance of Morris's condition, completely broke his health by revealing that Mowbray William Morris, who was appointed through Sir James's influence and at his father's request to a position in the Bank of Adelaide, had pledged Morris's credit with that bank for a sum exceeding £1,000. Morris, shocked by this news and haunted the more by his fear of supersession, forthwith abandoned his plan of going up the Nile and determined to make his way straight home by way of Naples and Rome. He was well when he called upon Wreford at Naples, but by the time he arrived in Rome, Hardman and Bayley recognized his condition to be desperate. Delane learnt by telegram and letter that Morris, in addition to suffering great physical pain, was also

DELANE'S ISOLATION

showing signs of such mental fatigue that he could not safely be allowed to proceed home for an unlimited period. His financial affairs were so disordered that Delane found it necessary to burden himself with much additional responsibility, professional and domestic, even having to take the trouble to send out new night and bed linen.

Delane's gloom was relieved by the trust he reposed in the Chief Engineer, MacDonald, who always deputized for the Manager, and was at this time, and in the future, uniquely in the confidence of Walter. Without "Mac," as Delane called him, the situation created by the resignation of George Dasent and the illness of Morris would have been rendered unbearable. The fact that Stebbing, for all his abilities, was not as agreeable a colleague as Dasent made all the difference. That isolation to which Delane confessed when Dasent retired from the assistant editorship ("I was lonely enough before and shall be more so than ever now") was deepened by the circumstance that Delane's mother, who was to him "not only the fondest of mothers but the best of advisers," had died in the previous year. During those months "Mac" was Delane's greatest support. Later Morris returned home, Delane standing by him in his financial and other needs, but he was scarcely fit for any consecutive work during the remainder of the year.

Towards the end of the year it was seen that the Manager's illness was not likely to be short. It became clear, too, that MacDonald's position, which carried with it special technical cares, could not be permanently combined with that of Manager of *The Times* in one department, and that the two departments could not be administered separately under one head. MacDonald felt the effects of overwork so much that, when Walter complained of typographical errors in the paper, he spoke of resignation. He wrote, on October 16, 1872, that "the strain begins to tell not only upon my health but also, as you will probably say, upon my temper." For reasons not now ascertainable, but which probably originated in a desire to spare Morris's feelings, Walter announced no plans, and, though Morris suspected it, only MacDonald was made aware of the Chief's intention to introduce, at a later and more suitable time, Arthur Fraser Walter, his eldest surviving son, as the permanent Manager in succession to Morris. But steps had to be taken to fill the Manager's position, if only temporarily. The office, Delane, and Morris witnessed the peculiar appointment

DELANE'S LAST YEARS

of a member of the reporting staff who had only lately given up practice at the Bar. Pembroke Scott Stephens entered upon his duties in November, 1872. He understood that he had only power to sign "On behalf of the Manager of *The Times*," and that his tenure of the position was not permanent. Nevertheless, with his very acceptable salary and in the absence of any other obvious successor to Morris, Stephens succumbed to the temptation of regarding himself as the future Manager, and, apart from other considerations, made this impossible by confiding his hopes to a few Dublin friends. One of these wrote a prophetic paragraph which was gladly printed by the *Irish Times* and copied therefrom by many English journals. It was at last seen by MacDonald. Stephens's resignation was immediately offered, though not accepted, but he did not continue as assistant or delegate to MacDonald after March, 1873. In the following month Morris returned to work, but none could doubt his complete and final unfitness. He conducted the correspondence for less than a fortnight and in the middle of April resigned. Walter's farewell letter to the Manager who had been his own first appointment is characteristic in feeling and in expression :

Bearwood, Wokingham,
April 19, 1873

My dear Morris,

It is with the deepest regret that I have received from MacDonald the painful intelligence that you find yourself no longer able to contend with the difficulties arising from your impaired health, and that you have therefore requested him to convey to me the resignation of your office.

Most deeply indeed do I regret that I cannot do otherwise than acquiesce in the propriety of your decision, for there are few events in life more painful than the sudden termination of relations so intimate and confidential as those which have subsisted between us for more than a quarter of a century.

It is some consolation to feel that on looking back through that long period, embracing as it does the most important years of our lives, I can recollect no occasion on which the cordiality of our personal relations has ever been for a moment disturbed, or on which I have had reason to find fault with the manner in which you have performed your official duties.

I will say nothing more at present beyond expressing my earnest wish that you should neither attempt to write, nor to see me, till you

DEATH OF MORRIS

feel yourself quite equal to that exertion. When you do, I will take the earliest opportunity of coming to see you, but in the meantime the quieter you can keep yourself, the better ; and I trust that in the course of a few days you will feel that relief to your mind which is generally produced by the adoption of a wise and necessary, however painful, resolution.

Believe me to remain,
Ever yours sincerely,

J. WALTER

Mowbray Morris Esq

Arthur Walter, who, while reading for the Bar, had been occupying himself in the printing department, was now introduced into the Manager's office, and is to be found signing, without title, letters sent out from April 22, 1873. Morris was now completely exhausted physically and mentally. In July he was, for a period, placed under restraint, and on April 27 of the following year, 1874, he died, aged 56, having served the paper with great versatility, extreme ability, perfect conscientiousness, and complete loyalty for twenty-seven years. The issue of *The Times* for May 4 inserted the barest announcement of the Manager's death. It was printed in the Deaths column on the front page, where it occupied correct alphabetical position and minimum space :

On the 27th April last, MOWBRAY MORRIS, Esq.
aged 56.

Despite the plain indications earlier given, at least it seems, to MacDonald, Walter did not at once proceed to the appointment, as Manager, of his second son Arthur. The reasons for his change of plan, or for the delay in its execution, are not disclosed in the surviving correspondence. On reflection, "the Chief," as MacDonald was accustomed to address him, may have seen that, MacDonald being 52 and Arthur only 28, the appointment of an experienced man was imperative at a time when the continued success of the cheap Press was likely to require changes in the economy of Printing House Square. There are slight indications that Delane's intervention in behalf of "Mac" may have turned the scale in his favour. In Walter's mind, however, the position of MacDonald was to differ in important respects from that of his predecessor. When Morris was inducted, the circular letters addressed to *The Times* correspondents and writers, e.g., to Woodham on September 8, 1847, conferred a distinct status upon the Manager : "I have transmitted your

DELANE'S LAST YEARS

memorandum for July & August to my friend Mr. Mowbray Morris, who officiates as my deputy in this establishment" MacDonald's appointment, however, though it was to cover the same duties, did not receive the same description. The new Manager's position was that of "assistant to Mr. Walter in the management." Action was taken and payments were made by MacDonald as by Morris, but there is revealed a new and increased frankness in the use of Walter's name as the authority for the correspondence. "I enclose Mr. Walter's cheque" was one of MacDonald's turns of phrase. Later, in connexion with a small dispute which looked like reaching the Courts, it was agreed that MacDonald should describe himself as "assistant to Mr. Walter in the Management of *The Times*." The change indicated that the new Manager, despite his many years of service, was to yield a degree of reliance and dependence upon Walter's judgment and direction greater than had been customary in Morris's time. In effect, the departure of Morris was made the occasion of a move by the Chief Proprietor to concentrate power in his own hands. To this centralizing programme the new Manager offered no opposition; indeed, he was not in any position, temperamentally or intellectually, to do so.

MacDonald was born at Fort William in 1822, the son of a factor on the estate of James Scarlett, Lord Abinger, counsel to *The Times* during Barnes's editorship. Introduced by Abinger, MacDonald joined the staff in 1842 in the capacity of reporter and soon rose to be a special writer, contributing a series of articles on Ireland in 1848. Besides accounts of the Great Exhibition, he also distinguished himself with the reporting of Wellington's funeral in 1852. He won Walter's praise for his articles written as correspondent with the Prince Consort on the occasion of the State visit to the Emperor at Boulogne in 1853, again for his work in the Crimea, and once more in 1854 in connexion with the Crystal Palace. He was intimate with Sir Joseph Paxton, who named him his executor. Hence, in 1852, soon after the death of John Joseph Lawson after thirty years' service in the office of printer, Walter, determined to modernize the printing office, turned to MacDonald. His ability as an organizer was respected inside the office and outside (Granville endeavoured to secure him as engineer to the Exhibition of 1861), and he was trusted absolutely by Walter and by Delane.

Already highly esteeming MacDonald as a reporter, and even more highly as an engineer, Walter's regard for him increased

" MOST FORTUNATE AMONG MEN "

after the success of the "Walter" press. MacDonald reciprocated his appreciation. That the relations between the two were most cordial is proved by such an entry in MacDonald's diary as the following :

J.W here & in settling with me for the week & month quite upset me by the liberality of his treatment. Such a Master should indeed command the best services of all whose privilege it is to be employed by him & I count myself most fortunate among men that my work is to me not only in itself, but for whom it is done, so much a labour of love (January 27, 1867)

As has been seen, these years were full of business and personal questions calling for decision from Walter. A more ominous matter cast its shadow when, early in the year of Morris's death, Delane himself had a grave illness. On his return to duty the office saw that his once stalwart figure had wilted. He was only 56, but he seemed already aged. His mind was as alert as ever and his spirit unbroken, but years of heavy responsibility and nocturnal toil had sapped his strength. Letter books and the Editor's diary reveal fatigue in the handwriting. Once so bold and clear, it was now often an illegible scrawl. It is true he was as active as ever during the Franco-German crisis of 1870. It was the kind of crisis that meant life to Delane. But on returning from a holiday at Cowes in the August of that year he inserted in *The Times* of August 11 a typical old man's lament over the social degeneracy of the age. He had called up the veteran Mozley, now living in retirement, to write it, although he himself referred to it as "my lay sermon." "People may sneer . . . but I feel every word of it, and have long been pondering over it." The article is written in the tone of "Ichabod," and, indeed, it may be just to say that about this time the solid and temperate virtues of the early Victorian age were in transition, and a more reckless, ostentatious, and arrogant social tone was taking their place. None the less, the character of this eloquently written article betrays the early senescence of the two men concerned.

Yet Delane that very year was to show the old flaming spirit—though for the last time. A big event had kindled it, as it had never failed to do. The spring had been marked by the War Scare letter from Blowitz¹; the winter brought another success. On November 26, 1875, the British public was startled to learn that the Government had decided to purchase the Khedive's shares in

¹ See page 464.

DELANE'S LAST YEARS

the Suez Canal. The measure originated with the financier Oppenheim, part-owner of the *Daily News*, and Frederick Greenwood, the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the decision of the Government was made on the evening of November 25. Only two papers published the news next morning. The bare fact was in the *Daily Telegraph*, a fuller account in *The Times*. Delane received his information from Ciump, the City Editor, who got it from the Egyptian Bank; going at once for confirmation to Lord Derby and Carnarvon, he was enabled to fill in some details. Disraeli nevertheless commented. " *The Times* has only got half the news and very inaccurate "¹

The *coup* sufficed to terminate the coolness which had marked the relations between the Government and *The Times* during the earlier part of the year 1875. Doubtless having in mind the contrast, of which he was perpetually conscious, between the methods of Lord Palmerston and those of his successors, Delane, in a private letter, expressed his gladness "to find that we have a Minister capable of an act of decision, for I had feared that race had died out."

At the beginning of the following year, 1876, Delane suffered another serious illness and Stebbing edited the paper for most of the month of February. On Delane's return Walter saw that the question of the Editor's retirement must soon be raised. The absence of any strong directing hand is apparent in the paper. For instance, the Royal Titles Bill, making the Queen Empress of India, provoked direct contradictions between the leader-writers. On February 9, the new title (Stebbing editing, Macdonell writing) was "a compliment to the people of India rather than an assertion of supremacy" and *The Times* recalled that it had itself hailed the Queen as Empress of India just after the Mutiny was suppressed. On March 17 (Delane editing, Courtney writing) the selfsame title is described as "threatening the Crown with the degradation of a tawdry Imperialism" and the alternative "Sovereign Lady" was suggested. The same internal dissension could be perceived in the treatment of the Eastern question that year.

Writing to Delane on July 11, 1876, Walter showed the uneasiness he felt about his Editor's condition. He enclosed a cheque for Delane's share in the profits of the half year, but

¹ *The Letters of Disraeli to Lady Bradford and Lady Chesterfield*, I, pp. 307-8. On the evening of the 26th Greenwood, in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, corrected some of these inaccuracies, as, being an originator of the scheme, he was well qualified to do

“BAD ACCOUNTS OF DELANE”

“for the first time” was “unable to indulge in those cheerful anticipations of many a similar pleasure.” “How long,” he asked, “can you go on burning the candle at both ends?” He continued :

Can you hope, at the present rate of expenditure of your vital energies, to attain even the moderate term of years at which not long ago you spoke of retiring? Do you even wish to do so? These are the questions which are constantly rising in my mind, and which I feel that the present is the proper time to ask. Mind—I am not suggesting that you should give up work a day sooner than your own inclination or your sense of duty prescribes; but, on the other hand, I feel I should be unworthy of all your past friendship and service, if I allowed my own convenience to stand in the way of any arrangement which might have the effect of prolonging your days, and enabling you to enjoy, if possible, a few years of well earned repose.

But the eloquence of the Chief Proprietor had no effect then on the indomitable Delane. Physical vitality had gone, but the old enormous self-reliance remained to sustain the Editor’s confidence that he could stand the strain. He continued at his post, but in September, just before he departed for his summer holiday, he gave a curious sign of declining powers. Disraeli at the end of the session had said to him : “I shall go to Osborne on the 12th and I shall not return to the House of Commons.” Delane failed to catch the hint that the Prime Minister was going to the Lords, and *The Times* missed a “scoop.” It was not a happy holiday. The leader-writers were out of control and were contradicting one another on the Turkish question. During Delane’s absence, James Macdonell succeeded in inserting leading articles which he hoped would commit *The Times* to a strongly Turkophobe line. But this led Delane to curtail his much needed holiday. He hurried south on October 5 from Dunrobin and forbade Macdonell to write again on the Eastern question. A letter of Disraeli’s to Lady Bradford on October 23, 1876, affords evidence of the confusion in the public mind caused by the vacillations of *The Times* at this period. He wrote :

I hear very bad accounts of Delane and that Walter is in America and that all the clever writers, who write nonsense when there is no political head to guide them, are greatly injuring the paper—by their shots that don’t hit the white.¹

¹ *The Letters of Disraeli to Lady Bradford and Lady Chesterfield*, edited by the Marquis of Zetland, Vol. II, 83.

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Delane's work was done. How he answered Walter's letter of July 11, 1876 (quoted above), is not known, but there exists the draft of a letter referring to it dated March 19, 1877, eight months later. It says that Walter's letter took him with as much surprise as "the physician's report is said to do those whom it is his duty to inform that they have not long to live." He acknowledged the kindness which "breathed through every sentence"; still, "it was a sentence of death and as such I have taken it, though my health has so far improved that I have been able to get through some months of particularly hard and anxious work since and feel myself no worse." Then follows something near a confession that the inevitable decision must soon be made. He felt, it would seem, that the fifties were too early for a man to admit defeat by age. He continues

Within a few months of 60 I cannot dispute that it is time to rest and that if I were to complete my 59th year I should deprive myself of the last Autumn I shall probably live to enjoy for no adequate advantage. . .

Stebbing knows every detail as well as myself . . .

I need not protest to you the great sacrifice this involves.

I may or may not live a few months, but my real life ends here. All that was worth having of it has been devoted to the paper and I do not repine. I have been most happy in my colleagues and leave the [one?] I should have chosen out of all the world to fill my place.

The Editor's condition was recognized by his colleagues. "Ah me!" wrote Russell in April, 1877, "how broken he is, to be sure; thin, old, bowed, speaking slowly, with glassy eye [*sic*]. My dear friend, how I wish I could get him away, but he is incarnate obstinacy." He believed himself to be alone capable of holding the threads of the Eastern question, but in the six months of office for which he held out he haunted Printing House Square like the ghost of his old self and the effective control was discreetly and informally assumed by other hands. Russell saw him on October 22 "in the old chair in the old room, but oh, so changed in everything else: no papers, no piles of proofs, no mass of letters, no editor's work in fact."

On that visit in October Russell saw Delane after the decision to depart had been taken. Delane had been prevailed upon by Walter and other friends to go. The date can be fixed from the office archives. On September 12, 1877, Walter could not avoid the conclusion that for his own sake the sick Delane must

RESIGNATION OF DELANE

leave, and he arranged a meeting at which Delane's retirement at the end of the year was settled. Chenery had already been interviewed by the Chief Proprietor and knew that he, not Stebbing, was to succeed Delane. The next day Walter wrote:

The object of my visit yesterday was to fulfil one of the most painful duties which has ever yet devolved upon me—that of proposing the early termination of one of the longest, most important, and most friendly connexions of my life.

It has long been apparent to me—and it must have been equally so to many members of your own family—that the state of your health had rendered it impossible for you to continue much longer at your post; or, in any case, to encounter the labour of another session; and that it had become my duty, to yourself as well as to the paper, rather to anticipate the period of your retirement, than to throw upon you the responsibility of terminating it yourself. With these impressions, I proposed to you the following arrangement, in which I understood you entirely to concur.

- (1) That at the end of the present year, you should retire from office.
- (2) That at the end of the present *month*, or as soon after as I can make the necessary arrangements with your successor you should be relieved from the duty of regular attendance, and should only render such assistance as may be necessary in order to smooth over the difficulties incident to such a change.

I have already informed you, and need therefore hardly repeat, that I have offered the Chair which you are about to relinquish to our old and much esteemed friend Chenery, as the ablest and most experienced member of our staff, and that he has accepted it.

- (3) That on your retirement from office, you should be entitled to receive a pension of Two Thousand Pounds a year, to be paid quarterly—the first payment being due on the 25th of March, 1878.

I will not attempt to convey to you in writing—what I could still less express by word of mouth—the sense I entertain of your long, faithful, and devoted services to the Paper and to myself—a career unparalleled in the annals of journalism. I can only hope that your life may be spared long enough to enable you to enjoy some measure of the repose you have so fully earned, and to look forward with as much confidence to the future fame and prosperity of the paper, as you can look back with pride to its past.

DELANE'S LAST YEARS

Delane's handwriting, quavering and nearly illegible, appears for the last time in the editorial diary of Friday, November 9, 1877. He retired too late to regain his powers of resistance and secured only two years of leisure—it cannot be said that he enjoyed them—as a country gentleman at the house he had built for himself twenty years before on a portion of barren heath near Ascot. It stood on ground which an enthusiast for free trade had bequeathed to Richard Cobden, who sold it to Delane. The land looked most unpromising, but Delane with his usual thoroughness reclaimed it, and grew fond of the joke of conferring with friends as "we agriculturists" and "we landed proprietors." But his strength was fast ebbing.

The Times of November 25, 1879, contained the following under the announcements of deaths :

On the 22nd November, at his residence, Ascot Hoath, Berks,
JOHN T. DELANE, Esq., aged 62.

The paper's obituary took the form of a balanced tribute by Tom Mozley published on the leader page, which went into mourning with thick black rules. The tone was affectionate, but, like all Mozley's work, analytical and meditative. The writer, while treating Delane as a statesman and his work as a work of statesmanship, emphasized the truth that he served the public, which had now lost one of "its own special servants." As a journalist, Delane is chiefly praised for the assiduity of his attention to duty and his unflagging zeal for revising the work of others. The special advantages and qualifications which Delane had for his position were not ignored, but the writer thought it added to his merits to acknowledge in him the existence of "deficiencies which some would think insurmountable." Among them were his lack of a thoroughly classical education and his being outside the "ring" which for a long time had claimed the monopoly of orthodox literature. It was admitted that Delane never was a writer—except of what "he wrote much better than most writers can do: reports and letters." While his staff were literary men and he was not, none of his writers "disputed the value of his criticisms, or failed to agree cordially in his revisions, alterations and suppressions." The personal note is frequently sounded: Mozley was not writing a formal tribute to a "public servant," but from long personal experience of Delane in full command of office.

DELANE'S CHARACTER

Delane's application to duty and his concentrated attention are dwelt upon with something like wonder. After hours of work

he had ample reserves of strength for critical emergencies. . . . He could always seize upon the main point at issue and lay his hand on that upon which the main issue depended. It seemed a kind of intuition that enabled him to foresee at once the impending fate of a course or the result of a campaign, but it was a practical and methodical power.

The obituary was not unmindful of the occasions when Delane was compelled to be decisive even to abruptness and to sacrifice the convenience of contributors and subordinates to what he considered the paramount interests of the public; but "he never lost the respect or affection of those who could sympathize with him in his work, make due allowance for his difficulties, and think less of themselves than of the great issues at stake."

This tribute in *The Times* and also those published in contemporaries dwelt insistently on his concern with the political scene, especially in its most vivid moments. Herein is his significance. Great issues were what he relished most. He lived for them, not as a politician, but as a journalist making his daily report to the public. In their absence the world was a tame spectacle. They constituted his life of action; to Delane the obligation to be positive was ever welcome.

In the impression of Delane's character, yielded by the correspondence which, by his own care, has survived in such singular completeness, the homely side is absent; and inevitably, for Delane had no home. A devoted Frenchman and his wife, indeed, attended upon the Editor at Serjeant's Inn, but to one so fortunate professionally the Fates had not been kind in a supremely important matter of his personal life. In 1842 Delane had married the widow of Francis Bacon, also his colleague when he first joined *The Times*. Mrs. Bacon, who was then about 25 years of age, was the only daughter of Horace Twiss by his first marriage, and she brought to her husband a small fortune. Delane once wrote to Dasent: "As I think of what she was in 1842 I am not ashamed of my choice," but Mrs. Delane developed "a deplorable mental failing," and in 1853 husband and wife separated, the lady being placed under medical care. She died in 1874. In such circumstances the materials for an intimate portrait of Delane are necessarily lacking. Only brief glimpses

DELANE'S LAST YEARS

of his human qualities may be given. In carrying out his duties he was exacting with his colleagues, though never domineering; but his will, dated November 28, 1873, reveals the most cordial sentiment towards them. After family bequests—sisters, brothers, nieces, and nephews—he left to John Walter, G. W. Dasent, J. C. MacDonald, Stebbing, T. Mozley, Wace, Courtney, Woodham and Cheshire £10 each in "token of my regard and affection for them." There were bequests to three of his servants, but to no one else outside his family and Printing House Square Courtney's acknowledgment to J. R. Dasent, one of the executors, aptly testifies to the affection which was reciprocated between the Editor and his closest colleagues. "It was altogether characteristic of him, and indeed it is evident that the wording of the legacy is wholly his own. It shows, what I believe to be the truth, that a real brotherhood had gathered up about him, and this would have been impossible but for the sincerity of his personal qualities attracting towards him those who worked with him."

Fortunately, a brief but penetrating estimate of Delane as he was seen within his family has survived. It was written by his mother in 1860 and pronounces upon the character and work of John Thadeus Delane a judgment at once critical and generous. The death of a relative had necessitated some divisions of property and provided an opportunity which she felt moved to take, of expressing "a few thoughts to be read by you hereafter." First, she blessed her son "for all the years of love, affection and kindness of all sorts that you have bestowed on me." She had always been proud of him, had depended upon his judgment from his youth—"I could & did often defer to you and was safe in your advice." She and his father had ever been thankful that Providence had directed their son's talents "to an office so peculiarly requiring those you possess." There follows an observation on Delane's talents, profound in its penetration: "No doubt there are cleverer men, but how rarely can be found united clear, sound judgment, tact, patience, peaceableness of temper and kindness"—qualities which she found her son possessed. "Learning of high degree, with languages & so forth," she continued, "you had not the opportunity of acquiring, or I daresay you would have done as well as others." But, she concluded, in words that may serve as her son's epitaph, "there you have been for twenty years guiding the affairs of nations, and your greatest enemy must allow that your work & labour have been for the good of mankind."

XXIV

THOMAS CHENERY, EDITOR 1878-1884

DELANE'S prospective retirement created a complex problem. Stebbing, while admitted to possess claims to the editorial succession, was, on reconsideration, thought to lack the experience and elasticity required. He had, moreover, an unfortunate defect in his speech which handicapped him in private and to an increased degree in public. By the spring of 1877 it was clear, at least to MacDonald, that Stebbing would never agree to confine himself to the drudgery of mere executive work. A younger man was needed without loss of time for training in the details of editorial work; to this end Frederick Clifford was brought from the Reporters' Gallery into the Editor's room. Clifford had been a writer for newspapers from his youth and, through the recommendation of his brother George, already on the Gallery staff of the paper, had joined *The Times* in 1852 as sessional reporter, thus earning the fees for his legal training. He entered the Middle Temple in 1856 and was called in 1859. During this period he also acted as London correspondent of the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*. In 1863 he joined William C. Leng in acquiring the property of that paper without relinquishing his connexion with *The Times*. Mowbray Morris, impressed with his combination of reporting power and legal competence, sent him to Jamaica in 1866 to report the Royal Commission into the conduct of Governor Eyre. "There can be no doubt," later wrote MacDonald to Walter, "that Clifford is the best available man." He was, therefore, confidently appointed to the Editor's room as assistant to Stebbing. His duties began on April 1, 1877.

From the first the two failed to agree. On April 3, in the words of MacDonald's report to Walter, they "had it out until from the details of their business they came to personal altercation. There can be no doubt that Stebbing is entirely in the wrong."

It was the Manager's conviction that Clifford was the abler man, "he understands his work thoroughly."

Other matters, not merely those of office jealousy, caused acute anxiety to MacDonald in the autumn of 1877. He had never shared the conviction of Morris and Walter that the new and cheap journalism could be ignored since the readers of *The Times* would never accept a less inclusive paper. MacDonald recognized that such readers were not immortal and that their places needed to be filled; he keenly realized the paper's need of efficient methods to renew and extend its circulation. In 1877 the adaptation of editorial routine to the need of catching the newspaper trains, then leaving earlier, increased the haste of all the operations of writing, composing, revising and printing. Inevitably there were gross blunders, and, no less inevitably, caustic comments from Walter. MacDonald was worn down by both. "While the present chaos in the Editorial department continues I fear no effectual remedy can be applied," he wrote on September 14. Country readers were being disappointed day after day, the anxiety wringing from MacDonald the lament: "My unceasing efforts, entreaties and expostulations seem quite vain and I am almost heartbroken about it."

The "chaos" continued for another six weeks, when Delane at last retired, leaving Stebbing with the responsibility of bringing out the paper—until the end of the year 1877. The Chief Proprietor decided to carry out the intention which he had formed in 1876, or perhaps earlier, of passing over Stebbing's claim to succeed Delane and appointing as Editor Thomas Chenery. He had not been trained as an assistant editor and consequently lacked the experience of making the numerous rapid decisions and verifying a mass of detail before seeing the paper to press at the right time. Nevertheless, with Stebbing and Clifford as assistants, both Walter and MacDonald considered the situation secure, and it was decided that Chenery's appointment as Editor of *The Times* should date from New Year's Day, 1878. Delane transferred his house at No. 16, Serjeant's Inn, to Chenery, who was unmarried. Stebbing, to the general surprise, then announced his unwillingness to serve as an assistant editor and asked to rejoin the ranks as a leader-writer. Clifford was thereupon appointed to Stebbing's place. His "presence even alone in the office is an assurance to you," MacDonald wrote to Walter, "that the work of the Paper



THOMAS CHENERY
Editor of *The Times*
1878-1884

THE NEW EDITOR'S EXPERIENCE

will always be done from night to night and done in a business-like way ”

Thus Thomas Chinery, then 51 years of age, entered upon his responsibilities as Editor with the assistance of Clifford, aged 49. He had already served the paper for almost a quarter of a century. Born in 1826 in Barbados, he had been educated at Eton and at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. In 1853 he came to London to follow a legal career, was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn and, being brought to the notice of Mowbray Morris, a fellow West Indian, was invited to join the literary staff of *The Times*, with the prospect of being sent abroad as correspondent. He began so well that this plan was nearly abandoned. “If C. should prove to be as good as he looks at present,” Walter wrote, “it would be a pity to let him go abroad, when he could do such good service at home.” In the spring of 1854, however, the paper’s need at the outbreak of the Crimean War for a correspondent at Constantinople was urgent. Several appointments had already proved unsatisfactory and this key position in the organization of the war correspondence was offered to Chenery. He solved the problem, quickly making himself at home in the Ottoman capital. During a period of some fifteen months, he ably wrote the diplomatic correspondence and sometimes, in order to relieve W. H. Russell, the war correspondence also. Chenery showed an extraordinary aptitude in the acquisition of vernacular tongues and, during his sojourn in the East, laid the foundation of a knowledge of Oriental languages, which later became his principal study and distinction.

At the same time he gave evidence of another characteristic—an occasional incapacity to handle officials diplomatically. Thus he failed to impress the British Embassy at Constantinople and Lord Stratford even wrote to Clarendon, October 18, 1855, that he had “not seen the article in *The Times*, though it is here. I am told that it is one of a series written by a travelling scribbler, named Chinnery (*sic*) who, having received civilities from me, went away in dudgeon because he was not invited to some diplomatic dinner.”¹ The statement that Chenery coveted a dinner may be rejected, for his shyness and consequent dislike of social life amounted to a defect—which was, however, not professionally objectionable in a leader-writer. When the growing tension with Reeve created a demand for a man able to take his place, Chenery

¹ Clarendon Papers.

was tried Delane and Dasent were fully satisfied with him and at the time of Reeve's retirement it was even agreed that "Chenery will more than supply his place as a writer." Delane wrote that he "seemed to me equal to anything" Walter himself held a very high opinion of Chenery's value as a writer and considered his judgment sound; indeed, during the 'sixties, when the Chief Proprietor began to lighten his own task of supervising Dasent, he enjoined him to consult Chenery. Chenery's articles, indeed, were always well-informed and judiciously phrased, while his ability to handle confidential matters was equally recognized and used. With Delane, who found his temperament somewhat heavy and his lack of vivacity uncongenial, there were occasional squalls, which, however, did not affect his standing in the office.¹

Meanwhile unusual philological acumen had brought Chenery into the front rank of Oriental studies. In 1867 he published a much admired translation of the *Assemblies of Al Harūf* and in the following year became Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic at Oxford. He was also invited to join the company for the revision of the Old Testament and for several years filled the office of Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society. He was no mere bookworm, however, having a wide range of practical interests. In 1869 he published his *Suggestions for a Railway Route to India*.

But it was the encyclopaedic range of Chenery's knowledge of European affairs, his ability to turn his mind freely to a new subject, his long period of service and his reputation for hard work that justified Walter's choice of him as Delane's successor. The Chief Proprietor also saw in him an Editor with whom his approaches could always be cordial while not ceasing to be authoritative. Chenery's recognized capacity for sustained work had, however, led him for twenty years to live virtually two lives of extreme labour, as a conscientious leader-writer and as an assiduous student. Delane had observed on his Crimean voyage that even before he had passed his thirtieth year Chenery had begun to show a tendency to stoutness. By middle age his short figure had become rotund. He appeared to the best advantage in print, for his speech was slow and grave, and in conversation he rarely exhibited the profounder resources of his mind.

¹ Chenery was once annoyed by Delane's "supercilious and bantering remarks" at a party at Wingrove Cooke's. His written expostulation (May 5, 1862) ended "Sir, I will be no man's butt."

THE NEW JOURNALISTIC SITUATION

Since the new Editor's instincts were not social, the paper anonymous and the office secretive, his journalistic activities were unknown. That the Oxford Professor of Arabic should be appointed Editor of *The Times* in succession to Delane was almost a sensation to the political world, to which he was a complete stranger. The contrast with Delane was too striking to escape observation. Lord Beaconsfield at once asked . " Who will look after the social side of the business ? " Walter could have replied that in the changed circumstances of the political world and the changed habits of newspaper readers Delane's methods, however effective during the previous thirty years, now needed revision. It was not supposed that the new Editor would secure Delane's social position, nor was it desired. Chereny, for his part, had come to believe that *The Times* as his predecessor had left it was somewhat narrow in its range of interest for contemporary readers.

Moreover, it was by no means certain to those intimately connected with newspapers that the " social side of the business " would ever again possess the significance that Delane gave it. The official attitude towards the Press had greatly changed and the leakage of information to newspapers prevented. The Lords of the Treasury, inspired principally by Gladstone, had determined to make it difficult for an editor to secure, by any means, " social " or other, confidential information derived from official sources. A letter addressed to Heads of Departments may be quoted :

Treasury Chambers, June, 1873.

I am directed by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to state . . . that their attention has been called to certain cases which have recently occurred in which information derived from official sources has been communicated without authority to the public press, apparently by members of the Civil Service.

My Lords have entire confidence that this irregular conveyance of information is a practice to which the great body of the Civil Service would not stoop. But however few may be the officers in fault, their acts cause extensive mischief by sowing suspicion and by discrediting the service.

My Lords are of opinion that such breaches of official confidence are offences of the very gravest character which a public officer can commit, and they will not hesitate, in any case where they themselves

possess the power of dismissal to visit such an offence with this extreme penalty. . . .¹

The effect upon *The Times* of such regulations and the spirit they represented was, in course of time, profound. Such relations as those which so long subsisted between *The Times* and *Reeve*, to take one instance—and with Lowe to take another—could never again have their analogies. Political writing as Delane had conceived it was bound to be different under his successors.

The Manager, too, was quick to see that a public whose attention had been caught, if only temporarily, by the new journals would not be content to pay for a higher priced journal that, however good its political intelligence, lacked variety. The problem of widening the scope of *The Times* was left to Chenery, and for him the professed scholar, as for Walter the travelled man of culture, it was natural to turn first to archaeology. Interest in excavations was fashionable in the 'seventies. The publication of the Revised Version, too, made Biblical studies a national interest, and Chenery did justice to a great occasion.² The Editor, however, indulging his personal tastes, risked the favourable attention of the general public by printing articles upon abstruse philological matters by his friends at Oxford and in the British Museum. Chenery did not see the point of a light touch in such articles because he doubted, as most scholars might, the desirability of putting levity into learning. Hence, during his six years as Editor, *The Times* became almost as much a learned periodical as a political newspaper. Professor E. H. Palmer discussed Persian literature and Arabian antiquities; Neubauer of the Bodleian wrote about Semitic inscriptions and Hebrew manuscripts. Among other contributors were Sayce on the Hittite Empire, and Boscawen on Assyriology. Chenery's scholarship, however, was not narrow. Sir Henry Maine described burial customs among primitive peoples, while the scientists Owen and Armstrong were drawn upon for articles on extinct birds in New Zealand, the nature of the elements, and the decomposition of chlorine. While Delane had admitted experts as occasional reviewers, his successor brought them in as frequent contributors. Despite his zeal for learning and his interest in European politics, Chenery

¹ Treasury Papers. Another minute dated February, 1875, forbade Civil servants to serve as directors, editors, or members of the staffs of newspapers.

² The New Testament was greeted on May 17, 1881, by a leading article (Thursfield), a review (Wace), and a special article (the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, a reviser).



"THE TIMES"

THE EDITOR TROUBLED

found space in which to deal with greater issues. Imperialist expansion, in which Walter was taking an interest, was discussed in many topographical and other articles, written by such authorities as J. Scott Kelte and Demetrius Boulger.

Minor interests, personal to the Editor, were occasionally given space. A special article, for instance, defended the rights of golfers on Wimbledon Common¹ (August 10, 1882) Chenery made another concession to the general reader. While it cannot be said that he initiated the short "light leader," he developed Delane's practice of devoting the fourth leading article to general or humorous subjects. Chenery called upon the novelist James Payn, his contemporary at Cambridge, for light essays. Two and a half columns were given to maidservants by Payn.² His humour might seem heavy going to a modern reader, but it was surely a welcome relief to one who had digested an equally long but solid article on the "Progress of Chinese Linguistic Discovery" by Professor Douglas which concluded that the identity of the Accadian word *umu*, mother, with the Chinese *mu* would appear to admit of little doubt.

Only for a year or two was Chenery granted a smooth course. In 1880 the expectations which Clifford's ability encouraged were suddenly disappointed. A painful disease reduced his effectiveness, and in 1882 he was forced to retire. Thus at the beginning of 1883 Chenery, who had always worked with extreme conscientiousness, was forced to cut down his holidays and he remained almost every night in the office to see the paper to press. Moreover, faced as he was throughout his brief career with major political crises, beginning with the Congress of Berlin and concluding with the British occupation of Egypt, the Editor was gradually worn down by the accumulated responsibilities of principle and detail. His temper grew shorter. That a man kindly by natural disposition should upset Stebbing is not remarkable; but his quarrels with Wace and Mackenzie Wallace are not easily explained otherwise than by the fact

¹ In the 'sixties Chenery had been in the habit of playing golf with Dallas and MacDonald.

² Payn's articles were not only looked out for in certain circles, but secured a measure of notoriety. There was one notable dissentient. Delane wrote thus to Arthur Walter on October 29, 187[8?]: "The public has always had some one who was reputed to write 'all the articles in *The Times*'. When I first remember it was Sterling, then it was Reeve, then it was Bayley; but it must have been puzzled when Sterling died, Bayley went to the Mauritius and Reeve retired but the paper went on just as usual. I don't know who is the public's present idol—it was Brodrick—but I hope it does not worship such trash as Payne (*sic.*)."

that Chenery's brain was thoroughly fatigued. By 1882, reported the efficiency-loving MacDonald, he began to get "very comatose during dinner and afterwards." Although drawing upon his reserves by staying at the office until 3 a.m., his supervision in the small hours tended to be fussily ineffective and delayed the paper, which then needed to be got to press earlier if the edition was to reach the country in time to compete with the other journals. Frequent entries in Chenery's diary—"Last proof, 3.9," "Latest 3rd column sent in *uncorrected* at 3 35"—show that he had to work with more than ordinary attention to the clock. MacDonald, continually agitated on the score of punctuality, was, no doubt, just if ungenerous when he reported to Walter that, as Chenery "was away, the Paper was in splendid time this morning." The increasing hurry of the work, the increased ill-health of Chenery, and the ineffectual efforts of untrained assistants combined to bring out papers that were not coordinated editorially.

It began to be realized outside the office that one underlying significance of the appointment of Professor Chenery was that Walter himself had assumed a more active part, with some decrease in editorial power resulting. These facts caused comment. Henry Labouchere remarked in *Truth*, though with much exaggeration, that "with Walter *père* writing articles and Walter *filis* fussing about the office, the result is that a journal previously well edited is becoming a positive disgrace to the metropolitan Press."¹ It is true that the retirement of Clifford was accompanied by a further step in the centralization of power in Walter's hands: Arthur Walter was then advanced and assumed important functions of managing editorship. MacDonald nevertheless retained "the Chief's" full confidence. To his position, indeed, a certain additional measure of internal authority was granted. The process of centralization which Walter undoubtedly began at the retirement of both Morris and Delane naturally contributed to the official importance of any man who, in a highly competitive period, accepted responsibility for the economic working of the paper. Hence MacDonald described Chenery to one correspondent as the "new Chief of the Literary Staff" and to another he wrote that he "is not quite Absolute—that other people have also their rights and their *locus standi* and their claims to a reference beyond him."

It was natural, therefore, that the home politics of *The Times* under Chenery, who was but slightly interested in the subject,

¹ *Truth*, October 10, 1878.

POLITICAL CROSS-CURRENTS

should tend to approximate to those of Walter, who was gradually moving over to the Conservative side of the House. *The Times* was observed at the same time to have become a sudden convert to the policy of Disraelian Imperialism. Thus, in the first year of Chereny's editorship, Stebbing wrote to Delane in December.

I am writing as usual for the Paper. But it has grown so Ministerial an organ that I cannot touch subjects of party character "J.W." you noticed, I dare say, was one of the two or three English Liberal Members who voted with the Government against Whitbread's Amendment. . . . All the bye elections seem to point to a reaction in the country in favour of Liberalism. It is a great mistake for the Paper to make itself a partisan of the Conservative Government. But what must be must be.

Earlier in the year a rumour had gained circulation that John Walter had been offered a pecuniage.¹ The offer may well have been made. There are not wanting signs that the Administration would gladly have ennobled Walter after Palmerston's death in 1865 if Delane could then have been dropped from *The Times*. It was recognized in 1878, when Delane had gone, that Walter was the more Conservative, Chereny the more Liberal, member of the group which conducted the paper. The Editor, in fact, was in touch with Abraham Hayward, and in May, 1880, Lord Acton informed Mary Gladstone that "Hayward will tell you what I learn from other sources, that Chereny really wishes to bring *The Times* round."² During the previous November the paper had expressed its hearty disapproval of Gladstone's Midlothian campaign. The approaching General Election and the evident signs that there would be a Liberal reaction, however, gave Chereny his opportunity to bring *The Times* back to a central position, with a bias towards Liberalism. Hayward acted as intermediary between the new Government and the paper. "It was a great point," he wrote to his sister, "to secure *The Times*, so, after being told the exact state of things [by Gladstone, Granville and Hartington], I went off in the middle of the night to *The Times* office, where I saw Chereny, the editor, an intimate friend of mine; and the first leading article in *The Times* of today was the result."³

¹ Lehouchele wrote: "I suspected something when *The Times*, after cursing the Government up hill and down dale, took to blessing Her Majesty's Ministers. *O tempora! O mores!*" (*Truth*, August 15, 1878.)

² *Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone*, edited by Herbert Paul, 1904, p. 13.

³ Hayward to Miss Hayward, April 24, 1880; *Hayward Correspondence*, edited by H. E. Cullis, 1886, II, p. 314.

With this beginning, a fairly close alliance was maintained between the Liberal Government and *The Times*, especially in questions of foreign policy—for in spite of Lord Acton's warning,¹ the management of the Press was left by Gladstone largely to Lord Granville. The new Foreign Secretary's friendship with Delane had been of long standing and he had had some notable successes in bringing the paper round to his views, but he himself distrusted his capacity to influence the Press—a judgment which Henry Reeve corroborated.²

Granville, however, was both convinced of the necessity of securing the support of *The Times* and acquainted with the method. His letters to Chenery were not so regular as Clarendon's to Delane, but he made it a point to send confidential information exclusively to *The Times* and to correspond with the Editor at length. Copies of dispatches which it was thought advisable to publish thus came into Chenery's hands, and as the Editor was an acknowledged authority on Eastern affairs the statesman and journalist exchanged opinions. Contact was especially close throughout the Egyptian crisis. Chenery's handling of this question was much admired; although himself a holder of Egyptian bonds, he maintained a balance so just that he won the praises even of such an extreme supporter of the Egyptian Nationalists as Wilfrid Scawen Blunt.

The correspondence of Granville and Chenery seldom touched other than foreign affairs. However, after 1880, a domestic question rapidly assumed an urgent and menacing complexion. On September 17, 1881, Chenery, never an extremist, gave in a letter to Granville his verdict that "Mr. Parnell is doing his worst." The rise of this new power in Ireland brought to a head in dramatic fashion those grievances that had not been settled by the measures which, with Delane's support, Gladstone had carried in his first administration. Chenery's Irish policy was that of moderate Liberals, somewhat to the right of Granville Parnell.

¹ Acton wrote: "Mr Gladstone dislikes thinking of these things, and allowed Delane to slip from him. Don't leave the whole thing to be done at No. 18" (*i.e.*, by Lord Granville) (*Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone*, p. 18.)

² Laughton, *Reeve*, II, p. 253. Reeve wrote, making an interesting comparison: "Lord Granville is so cautious and reserved a man that it is impossible to extract any definite opinion or advice from him. I have tried repeatedly, and I never got so much as a hint from him worth anything. How different from Lord Clarendon or Lord Aberdeen!" Granville thus expressed himself to Gladstone in October, 1880: "I am a bad hand at it, I am civil to some of the press, but what they want is constant information and briefs. I am always inclined to be reticent, and have no fertility. You, of course, have no time" (Paul Knaplund, *Gladstone's Foreign Policy*, 1935, p. 76.)

THE PHOENIX PARK MURDERS

was feared and *The Times*, in consequence, questioned Gladstone's policy of concession. Forster, who, following a firm policy, had imprisoned Parnell, was replaced as Chief Secretary in May, 1882, by Lord Frederick Cavendish. Gladstone then released Parnell and sought to come to terms with him. "We cannot confidently share the hope," *The Times* declared, that "concession will accomplish what coercion failed to achieve." Just grievances must be met but lawlessness was not to be tolerated (May 5, 1882.) Swiftly there occurred a double tragedy which justified these fears and hardened, as no other single event could, the policy of *The Times*. After four days of "concession," the new Chief Secretary and the Under-Secretary, Mr. Burke, were murdered in Phoenix Park, Dublin. On Monday, May 8, *The Times* stated that "the continuity of English politics has been broken" and a deep gulf fixed between the "shadowy policy" of concession and the "imperative duty of the Queen's Ministers." Parnell was blamed indirectly, though he could not then be directly implicated. "Even if Mr. Parnell were willing to lull the storm he has raised in the breasts of the Irish masses his power is more than doubtful." Nineteen months later, almost at the end of his career as Editor, Chenevry found an occasion to publish the warning not merely that Parnell was as much the servant as the master of the passions he had created, but also that "if we may judge him by his record in and out of Parliament, he is not the man to extricate himself from the whirlpool of Jacobinism by taking up the insecure and even dangerous position of a Girondin." (December 11, 1883.)

In the routine of editorship Chenevry, despite the official policy of declining relations with the newspapers, was by no means without some political successes. Newspapers had long endeavoured to print forecasts of the heads of the Royal Speech delivered at the opening of Parliament, and the task of securing the speech was traditionally regarded as a supreme test of journalistic ability. Generally speaking, official circles gave no encouragement to journalists in this matter. Certainly advance copies of the speech, or the heads of it, could never be counted upon by a journalist whose party was in opposition. *The Times* always expected to have the information whoever held office, a feat increasingly difficult to Delane after the death of Palmerston. In Delane's last years erroneous forecasts and even open admissions of defeat occurred more than once. The return of the Liberals, however, in

1880 enabled Chenery on several occasions to obtain (probably through Abraham Hayward) an advance copy, and thereby to maintain the reputation of *The Times*.

The most striking achievements of the paper, however, were made abroad. Chenery was conspicuously able in his handling of the problems of the Ottoman Empire, of vital importance throughout his term of office. With such correspondents as Blowitz and Mackenzie Wallace, *The Times* regained its supremacy in a department of which it had long been the acknowledged master, but in which, latterly, it had been forced to yield the palm to younger papers. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878 success was unqualified. MacDonald, determined that the correspondence of *The Times* from Berlin during the Congress should have the merit of speed above all others, passed over those members of the staff whose knowledge of the East gave them a claim to recognition but who were notoriously slow, and commissioned Blowitz to be the principal representative of *The Times*. His confidence was not misplaced. Blowitz, with the assistance of Eber, Mackenzie Wallace and Abel, managed with remarkable success to break through the exceptional discretion observed by Ministers and diplomatists at the Congress. On June 21, 1878, an official attached to the British mission wrote :

The three correspondents of that Paper (*The Times*), Ibar (*sic* for Eber), Blowitz and Abel meet here daily to concert their letters to *The Times*, but owing to the secrecy observed about the proceedings in the Congress the employment of correspondents is at a discount. They are all loafing about with nothing to do.¹

Hardly more than a week later, however, Blowitz succeeded, as no previous journalist had done, in obtaining an invitation to a quiet dinner and an evening's conversation with Bismarck at the height of his power and reputation. The dinner in Bismarck's apartment, whither he was conducted by Prince Hohenlohe, then German Ambassador in Paris and afterwards himself Chancellor, and where he was welcomed by Princess Bismarck, took place on July 2, and some account of the statesman's conversation appeared in *The Times* of July 4, 1878, while other portions were reserved for subsequent telegrams. Naturally, Blowitz's position at the Congress was enormously improved by this attention paid

¹ F. L. Bertie to Lord Tenterden, Berlin, June 21, 1878. (Tenterden Papers, P.R.O., F.O. 363(1).)



SUCCESSES ABROAD

him by its President, and it may well have been on that account that one of the plenipotentiaries promised to give him the text of the treaty before the end of the Congress¹. It was not, however, enough to have the treaty. It was necessary to get the text through to London in time, and to prevent any one else from obtaining a copy in advance. The Congress was to end on Saturday the 13th, and Blowitz was to have the text on Friday the 12th. "It was necessary at all costs" that it should appear on the 13th, as Monday the 15th would be too late. Obviously he could not telegraph the treaty from Berlin, and Paris was too far, so he made arrangements for telegraphing from Brussels.

I called on Baron Nothomb, the Belgian Minister in Berlin. I told him there was an idea of organizing a nightly telegraphic service between Brussels and London. I then asked him to give me a letter for M. Vincent, the Director General in Brussels, urging him to telegraph immediately a long message which I might have to forward to London, to prove the speed with which Brussels and London could communicate. He readily gave me the letter².

Blowitz then, formally, through Prince Hohenlohe and the Comte de St. Vallier (the French Ambassador in Berlin as well as a delegate to the Conference), asked Bismarck to give him the treaty, reasoning thus:

The Prince says I have rendered a service to peace. I ask him to reward me by giving me the treaty. If he gives it all will be well; he is not a man to do things by halves. As it is to reward me, he will not give it to anyone else. . . . If he refuses me, I am certain he will refuse others. In either case I shall not be forestalled.³

Bismarck's answer was to be given on the morning of the 12th. By the time it reached Blowitz he had already received from his diplomatic friend the text of the treaty, except the last two articles, not yet adopted, and the preamble, not yet drawn up. The Chancellor, as Blowitz probably expected, refused his request, giving as his reason his unwillingness to irritate further the German Press:

Thereupon I pretended to be very angry. I ordered my luggage to be packed, I asked for my hotel bill, I engaged a compartment in the

¹ He never told who his informant was, but it is generally assumed to have been one of the French representatives, probably M. Waddington.

² H. S. de Blowitz, *My Memoirs*, p. 147.

³ Blowitz, p. 148.

12.30 train, & announced that I was leaving without waiting for the last sitting next day. One of my fellow-correspondents, the most talkative of them all, asked the reason of my sudden departure. I confided to him that I was enraged—that Prince Bismarck, in spite of the service rendered by me, as he himself had described it, to peace, had just refused to give me the treaty. I showed him Prince Hohenlohe's letter [conveying Bismarck's refusal], & I said that I considered this shameful, & that I would not stop an hour longer in a city where I was treated in such a fashion.¹

Before going to the station he called to take leave of St. Vallier, who, he mentions, had hitherto "never ventured to give me information." By showing him in confidence that he already had the treaty, he coaxed him into reading aloud slowly the preamble just drawn up "Now is the time," said the Ambassador, "to justify your reputation for a wonderful memory." At the station Blowitz met his secretary with the luggage, and Mackenzie Wallace, his assistant, whom he had asked to leave with him.

Blowitz, in the privacy of his compartment, dictated from memory the preamble to his secretary, then pulled out the treaty from his pocket, and, producing needles and thread, proceeded with his friends' assistance to sew up the preamble, the treaty, and Baron Nothomb's letter to M. Vincent in the lining of Wallace's coat. Wallace's instructions were to move at the next important station to another compartment and ignore Blowitz for the remainder of the journey, to change at Cologne into the train for Brussels, where he should arrive at 5 in the morning; to go straight to the telegraph office and, if he found any difficulty, to wake up M. Vincent, present Baron Nothomb's letter, and obtain the order for transmission. At midday on Saturday a special edition of *The Times* was published containing the text and translation of a treaty which was being formally signed at the time in Berlin.

After the Berlin Congress there were several changes among the foreign Correspondents of *The Times*. Mackenzie Wallace did not return to St. Petersburg, where the immense knowledge of the country possessed by the author of *Russia* was rendered useless for the readers of *The Times* by Governmental restrictions. He went to Constantinople and established another high reputation. Arrangements for sending Russian news were made with G. Dobson. Throughout Delane's editorship *The Times* had no

¹ Blowitz, p. 149.

DIFFICULTIES IN RUSSIA

regular correspondent at St Petersburg "Specials" were sent for great occasions—e.g., W H. Russell for the Coronation of the Czar in 1856, Sutherland Edwards on his way to Poland in 1863; Napier Broome for the marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh in 1874. In October, 1876, however, MacDonald informed Abel at Berlin "We have a new correspondent at St Petersburg named G Dobson whose address there is the American Legation." Dobson himself was instructed to preserve his incognito and to use a code whenever occasion demanded. MacDonald insisted that his status should be that of an "occasional" correspondent, and refused to give him a regular salary. "All our experience of the Russian capital as a point from whence authentic news could be regularly transmitted was unfavourable to such an arrangement." At Berlin, Dr Abel was succeeded by Charles Lowe. Light is thrown on these appointments and on *The Times* policy by the following letter from MacDonald to Lowe, dated May 13, 1879:

Dr. Abel has been flooding the *Standard* with sensational statements about Russian politics & I am not sorry to see him following with his new connexion the course which in some degree led to the severance of his engagement with us. A mad fear leading to absurd exaggeration of events in a country with the govt of which we are & hope to remain at peace is quite as fatal to the reputation of a correspondent as it would be to that of an ambassador.

To Dobson the Manager wrote on January 24, 1880:

I do not see any change in the treatment of the foreign press by the Russian authorities which would warrant us in repeating the experiment made by us with Mr Wallace. As I explained to you personally the hopes then entertained of fair play being given to our representative so that he might discharge his duties in a manner satisfactory to himself & to us were not fulfilled. He was dogged by detectives at every turn & the he knew the country well he could not make his knowledge & experience available for us as he desired

I see no reason to think that if you were to-morrow appointed our regular correspondent with full authority to use the telegraph on our behalf the result would be at all different. Nor do I believe that any amount of extra expenditure would be followed by results much if at all beyond what we obtain under the existing system. The rivalry of the other papers & any priority of intelligence which they may seem to gain does not trouble me. Without exception what they get by their efforts is distorted & exaggerated in a fashion which would be simply injurious to the reputation & credit of *The Times*. Really important

THOMAS CHENERY, EDITOR 1878-1884

events come to us at once thro Reuter either from St. Petersburg direct or indirectly thro Berlin & for the rest we are perfectly content with your impartial & well informed letters.

An event of the greatest significance in the history of *The Times* was the appointment in 1882 of Charles Frederick Moberly Bell as Correspondent in Cairo. Bell's value as an observer of Egyptian affairs was not fully recognized until after Chenery's death, but he quickly made a reputation in the office as an indefatigable worker.¹

The staff at home remained unchanged under Chenery, except in one important respect. It was clear to Walter that the arrangement of the editorial room effected at the beginning of 1878, however satisfactory for the moment, might not last very long, and that, as he himself was 60, it would be advisable to prepare for future contingencies. The ill-health of Clifford alone suggested immediate action. His age, too, reminded Walter that John Walter II, Barnes, Delane, Dasent, Mowbray Morris had all been young, some in the early twenties, when they began their notable work.

In 1878, when Chenery succeeded to the Chair, of the principal servants of *The Times* on the editorial side hardly any were less than middle-aged, many considerably older. It was necessary, therefore, if youth was to be introduced into the editorial room, to look outside the office. In December, 1878, James Brauner Capper, aged 23, who was introduced to MacDonald by Charles Cooper, editor of the *Scotsman*, was appointed to the Gallery staff of *The Times*. Shortly afterwards he came into the office as a sub-editor and quickly proved his capacity as an untiring and resourceful worker. There was need, however, for another man. Walter himself, his father, John Walter II, and his son and heir, Arthur Walter, were all Oxford men; and, though Fraser, Barnes, Woodham, Courtney and Chenery came from Cambridge, Delane and the majority of his writers had also been Oxford men. Indeed, it used to be said, in Victorian days, that a man who had taken a First Class in Greats was qualified to do, without further training, one thing (one only detractors suggested), and that was to write a leading article for *The Times*. It was natural, at any rate for

¹ Bell, originally appointed by Morris *The Times* agent at Alexandria in 1866 in succession to his brother, J. L. Bell, became correspondent from 1867 until 1875, from 1876-82 he was an occasional correspondent only, supplementing the nominal agent, Judge Scott. Bell's Egyptian and other services will be treated in Volume III of this work

GEORGE EARLE BUCKLE

Walter, to make inquiries in Oxford for a likely young graduate In the May term, 1880, R. W. Raper, the famous Trinity tutor, was consulted by Arthur Walter, and Raper as naturally turned for a suggestion to his close friend, Sir William Anson, of All Souls, but not yet its Warden ; the Common Room at All Souls being then, as now, a link between the University and the world of London Anson strongly recommended application to one of the junior Fellows who had just taken his master's degree, and was about to be called to the Bar—George Earle Buckle.

The post which Walter offered Buckle was that of one of the assistant-editors, a confidential position, he explained, in immediate relation with the Editor, and carrying a salary decidedly higher than an Oxford graduate with a good degree could reasonably hope to gain in a few years in any of the regular professions. Walter also intimated that if, as he hoped, the new recruit proved on trial to have the qualifications necessary for success in the work, his future was secure. He entered the office in June, 1880, as second assistant-editor, and Clifford initiated him into the technicalities of journalism. He sent him for a short time into the sub-editors' room to work at preparing copy for the printer, and, in his own high standard of duty and conduct, set an inspiring example for his young colleague to follow.

Buckle had been two years and a half in Printing House Square learning the craft of editorship and writing occasional articles when Clifford broke down. Chenery's health at the time of Clifford's illness was also causing the Manager some anxiety. "To make matters quite safe" MacDonald wrote to Walter on September 28, "I have prevailed on Chenery to try Buckle and Capper at bringing out the Paper—he standing alongside." In MacDonald's judgment Chenery's health made a decision in the matter of his successor urgent. Buckle, who had been appointed principal assistant editor in Clifford's place, had not yet been given thorough trial. "It is really necessary now," wrote the Manager, "to ascertain what Buckle's capabilities are in an Editorial sense. His scholarship I do not for a moment doubt, but to edit *The Times* is a very different thing & until the existence of that capacity in him is proved it cannot be assumed." Buckle worked in intimate association with Chenery, taking his place and himself editing the paper during Chenery's long holiday in the autumn and his casual absences at other

THOMAS CHENERY, EDITOR 1878-1884

times on account of health, or, on occasion, for reasons of scholarship, as, for example, when he attended the meeting of the International Congress of Orientalists at Leyden in the autumn of 1883.

Chenery's vigour began to lessen in the winter of 1883, and soon after the opening of the new year he showed signs of suffering, the importance of which he was reluctant to recognize. Seriously ill in January, he was absent nearly the whole month, but, still suffering, returned to duty on the night of the 30th. After a full night's work on Friday, February 1, he went home as usual but was too unwell to rise on the following day. He rallied during the week, but on Sunday he submitted to an operation, from which he did not make a good recovery, and on February 11, 1884, he died. He was buried in Brompton Cemetery, where his grave is marked with a stone inscribed: "To the memory of Thomas Chenery, M.A., Editor of *The Times* and a Member of the Old Testament Revision Company, died February 11th, 1884, aged 59."

END OF VOLUME II

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

I. *Use of the Press by the French Government*

1. Despatch of Ambassador Count Walewski to the Prince-President, 1852.
2. Recommendation to the Sûreté Générale to expel *The Times* Correspondent, 1858.

I. USE OF THE PRESS BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT

[See Chapter VIII, pp. 151-2]

1 DESPATCH OF AMBASSADOR COUNT WALEWSKI TO THE PRINCE-PRESIDENT [1852]

Londres, le 30 Janvier 1852.

PRINCE,

M. Seigneur me dit que vous désirez connaître mon avis sur l'opportunité d'une lettre qui serait écrite par vous à Lord Anglesey dans le but de rectifier les erreurs répandues par les journaux anglais sur vos desseins, et afin d'éclairer l'opinion de la Grande-Bretagne sur les principes qui président à votre politique.

Il n'est pas douteux qu'un semblable exposé, à l'intention du public anglais, ne flatte excessivement l'amour-propre britannique et n'excite à la fois la plus vive curiosité et l'intérêt le plus général. Mais permettez-moi de vous demander si vous ne trouveriez pas de grands inconvénients à ce que le chef de la Nation Française vienne expliquer ses actes, pour ainsi dire, devant le tribunal anglais, et, par là même, soumettre ses explications à la polémique subtile, injurieuse et malveillante de la presse de Londres. Car, quelle que soit la noble franchise qui aurait inspiré votre démarche, quelle que soit la satisfaction d'amour-propre qu'elle produirait ici, ne croyez pas, Prince, qu'elle désarmerait ceux qui se sont faits vos détracteurs, qu'elle les empêcherait d'analyser, de scruter, de critiquer les termes de la lettre que vous auriez daigné livrer à leurs commentaires.

Il y a des moments, Prince, où l'opinion publique, aveuglée par une excitation irréfléchie, tourne tout ce qui lui est offert dans le sens de ses préventions et où les voix de la raison et de la justice sont impuissantes sur elle. Il faut alors attendre que l'accès ait atteint son apogée et saisir le moment de la réaction pour agir avec efficacité. Ce moment n'est point encore arrivé. Mon dévouement sincère et mon devoir m'obligent à ne rien vous dissimuler de la vérité, les décrets du 23 Janvier ont produit ici une fâcheuse impression ; vos ennemis s'en sont réjouis, vos détracteurs ont chanté victoire et vos amis s'en sont vivement attristés. Les plus sincères, tels que les Palmerston par exemple, qui se trouvent en quelque sorte solidaires de vos actes politiques, sans avoir changé en rien leurs sentiments à votre égard, ni leur opinion du service immense que vous avez rendu à la société, ne peuvent s'empêcher de déplorer en silence une décision dont ils n'apprécient pas bien les motifs, n'admettant pas un seul instant que ces motifs soient puisés ailleurs que dans l'inflexible raison d'Etat.

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Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire, Prince, que personne ne s'est permis, car je n'ai permis à personne de jeter le moindre blâme en ma présence sur vos actes, mais l'impression dont je viens de parler est dans l'air, elle perce partout et il est impossible de ne pas la ressentir quand on est dans ce pays

On avoit cru avoir un moment l'indice que vous reviendriez sur les décrets du 23 Janvier ou que vous les soumettriez à des corps délibérants, et cet indice avait produit une impression très favorable

Malgré ce que je viens d'avoir l'honneur de vous exposer, je ne doute pas un instant qu'aussitôt que le Corps Légititatif sera nommé, que les nouvelles institutions fonctionneront régulièrement et qu'il ne sera plus question de mesures exceptionnelles, l'opinion des gens sensés dans ce pays ne vous revienne peu à peu. Le bon sens du public britannique appréciera à leur juste valeur et les calomnies dont vous êtes l'objet et les rrigueurs momentanées dont la nécessité vous a fait une loi, et il vous sera tenu compte des services que vous avez rendus à la civilisation entière et de la prospérité que votre Gouvernement aura procurée à la France. Alors les efforts des journaux seront impuissants et ils changeront de voie eux-mêmes, car, dans ce pays, les journaux importants, comme le *Times* et le *Morning Chronicle*, ne peuvent pas impunément lutter contre l'opinion de la partie saine, éclairée et raisonnable du pays.

On vous a dit, Prince, que l'hostilité du *Times* et celle du *Morning Chronicle* était provoquée par des subventions pécuniaires. Rien n'est plus faux que cette assertion et veuillez croire que, sur un sujet aussi important, je n'avancerai rien dont je n'aie la complète certitude. Que des journaux de troisième ordre comme le *Sun*, le *Standard*, etc., puissent être achetés, c'est possible. Mais les entreprises du *Times* et du *Morning Chronicle* reposent sur de trop gros capitaux, la Direction politique est entre trop de mains, pour qu'il soit possible de l'acheter par une somme quelconque, surtout à l'occasion d'une question qui touche d'aussi prêt à l'intérêt national que celle dont il s'agit. La fortune du *Times* est fondée sur son très grand nombre de lecteurs, qui lui donnent plus d'annonces qu'à aucun autre journal. Or, c'est un axiome, parmi les fondateurs de cette feuille, que de conserver un grand nombre de lecteurs, c'est de pressentir l'opinion publique, de la nourrir, de la vivifier, mais de ne jamais rompre en visière avec elle et de céder toutes les fois qu'elle s'est prononcée dans un sens ou même, lorsqu'elle change de direction, de changer avec elle. Dans d'autres temps, Prince, et à plusieurs reprises, des efforts inouïs ont été faits pour empêcher le *Times* et le *Morning Chronicle* d'attaquer le Roi Louis-Philippe. En 1840, entre autres, il ne s'agissait pas de faire subir à la polémique de ces journaux une conversion complète ; il s'agissait seulement d'amortir les attaques contre la personne du Roi. Des hommes très habiles ont été employés à cette négociation : un

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crédit a été mis à leur disposition et tous ces efforts n'ont abouti absolument à rien. Des articles dans le *Times*, signés *Chamoul*, ont causé à Louis-Philippe le plus grand chagrin sans qu'il ait jamais été possible de les empêcher de paraître. Les hommes politiques en Angleterre se préoccupent assez, quoique beaucoup moins qu'en France, de la polémique des journaux pour avoir souvent tenté d'acheter un organe aussi répandu que le *Times*, ils ont toujours échoué. Quelquefois, par des influences personnelles, par des places ou autres appâts, on est parvenu à influencer sa polémique, mais, par de l'argent, jamais, et cela par cette simple raison, c'est que, pour donner cet argent avec efficacité, il n'y aurait qu'un moyen : c'est de le faire accepter par la société du journal, ce qui n'est pas praticable, et, si on en faisait accepter par des individualités, on serait dupe, car elles auraient vendu ce dont elles ne pouvaient pas disposer. Je sais bien qu'il y a des rédacteurs de journaux, même, entre autres, celui du *Morning Post*, qui ne cessent de répéter que le *Times* est vénal, vénal, en ce sens qu'il n'a pas de conviction politique, qu'il ne songe qu'à la boutique et qu'il n'est dirigé ni par l'intérêt du pays, ni par le désir de faire triompher ses opinions, mais seulement par ce qu'il croit être profitable à son affaire commerciale ; oui, sans doute ! Mais vénal, en ce sens qu'on peut, avec de l'argent, donner une direction à sa polémique, c'est absolument faux, et je défierai qui que ce soit d'obtenir ce résultat avec une somme d'argent même considérable.

Le Gouvernement anglais témoigne jusqu'à présent le plus sincère désir de maintenir avec nous, non seulement de bonnes relations, mais même des relations intimes. Cette disposition du cabinet n'est pas sans avoir une influence assez grande sur l'opinion publique et, si nous consentions à ce que propose le cabinet anglais, de concerter en commun une proposition aux Etats-Unis de renoncer à la possession de Cuba, cette action conjointe et, on peut le dire, de haute moralité politique, ferait sur les esprits en Angleterre une plus salutaire impression que quoi que ce soit et serait de nature, plus qu'aucune chose au monde, de les faire revenir des préventions fausses qui les égarent.

Je vous supplie, Prince, de vous faire rendre compte de ma dépêche politique en date d'hier, N° 66, ainsi que de celle sur le même sujet, N° 63, et de vouloir bien apprécier vous-même les raisons d'intérêt particulier et d'intérêt général qui militent pour ne pas rejeter, ainsi que semble vouloir le faire le Département des Affaires Etrangères, les avances du Gouvernement anglais à ce sujet. On repousserait ces avances uniquement en vue de ménager autre mesure la susceptibilité exagérée du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis. Je ne suis pas certain que cette susceptibilité soit mise en jeu par la proposition dont il s'agit, mais le serait-elle, veuillez peser, Prince, dans votre sagesse et au point de vue général et élevé, si l'on doit mettre en balance la crainte d'éveiller

APPENDIX I

cette susceptibilité avec les résultats d'un ordre supérieur que l'on doit attendre de la démarche faite en commun que nous proposer l'Angleterre¹

2. RECOMMENDATION TO THE SÛRETÉ GÉNÉRALE TO EXPEL THE TIMES CORRESPONDENT [1858]

(NOTE —The original, barely legible, is on the official paper of the Ministère de l'Intérieur)

le 1er Mai 1858

Rapport à S E. le M de l'Intérieur & de la Sûreté Générale

Le *Times* est l'organe le plus important de la Presse Anglaise, il est le plus riche, le plus indépendant et en même temps celui qui exploite le mieux son immense publicité, au profit exclusif de ses intérêts matériels. Le Produit approximatif de ses annonces payées est à lui seul d'environ 7,500,000 francs. Son tirage est supérieur à lui seul à toute la Presse Anglaise réunie. Il ne doit du reste cette force énorme qu'à l'absence de tout patronage politique absolu—fidèle à son titre il suit le *temps*, le courant, l'opinion. Au dedans Whig, Libre échangiste, très Anglican.

Au dehors, hostile à la France & depuis 1849 au Prince Président aussi plus tard à S M. L'Empereur. C'est surtout dans ses correspondances Parisiennes que son hostilité est agressive. Il n'y a pas de jour qu'il ne publie quelque nouvelle fausse ou vraie, amoindrie à dessein ou exagérée pour attaquer les actes ou les hommes du gouvernement—insinuations, calomnies, injures, tout lui est bon pour égarer l'opinion publique en Angleterre et en Europe et entretenir l'animosité aveugle des masses contre la France. Depuis le 14 janvier par exemple, il n'a pas cessé un instant de donner les détails les plus mensongers sur le caractère, les circonstances, les causes et les conséquences de l'attentat, sur les assassins dont il a pris plaisir à raconter la biographie, en mettant au lumière avec un soin perfide le côté romanesque de leur existence, ici se placent naturellement une foule d'articles écrits dans cet esprit détestable.

Pour organiser le système de diffamation systématique et de conspiration permanente contre le gouvernement de l'Empereur le *Times* a installé à Paris un *office central* de correspondance à la tête

¹ Transcribed by permission of M Poisson, from the minute of the original in the Archives of the Walckski family.

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duquel il a placé un homme habilement choisi à cause de ses antécédents, et qui reçoit une très forte subvention pour en faire l'emploi le moins scrupuleux

Mr O'Meagher, Principal correspondant du *Times* (rue Lepelletier 1) est un ancien payeur des Légions Anglaises en Espagne, successivement employé par le *Times* à Barcelonne, à Madrid & ailleurs, et plus tard il avait à ses gages des employés même du gouvernement—de mieux encore, lorsque la Brochure Laguéronnière (?) était encore en épreuves chez fumé Didot, il offrait 1500 frs à un ouvrier pour se la procurer

Ainsi indépendamment de ses relations personnelles, Diplomatiques, ou autres, des informations qu'il fait régulièrement acheter à tels ou tels ou recevoir les ennemis du Gouvernement qui frequentent assidument son office, Mr O'Meagher ne se fait pas scrupule de corrompre les gens qui peuvent, en haut ou en bas, lui procurer des communications importantes.

Invité plusieurs fois, soit par la Division de la Presse, soit par le Ministre d'Etat à venir se renseigner exactement à l'avance sur les faits recueillis, sur les nouvelles transmises, sur les bruits repandus, Mr O'Meagher s'y refuse constamment

Mandé pour recevoir des avertissements officieux et des observations toujours bienveillantes dans la forme, il n'obéit pas ou obéit mal.

Plein de confiance dans la modération du gouvernement et jusqu'ici malheureusement trop sûr de l'impunité, quand on le menace d'arrêter le *Times* comme l'*Indépendance Belge*, il répond : "Arrêtez-le."—Si on lui parle de sa position personnelle il répond : "Renvoyez-moi"—Et dans le monde Diplomatique, dans les Bureaux des journaux français qu'il visite régulièrement, dans les cercles, dans les salons partout, comme dans son journal, Mr O'Meagher semble ainsi braver le gouvernement de l'Empereur, en violant les lois de l'hospitalité généreuse que la France lui accorde

Par tous les motifs et à raison de l'hostilité systématique que Le Correspondant principal du *Times* accuse dans toute les correspondances Parisiennes qu'il adresse à ce journal

Proposition de lui appliquer les mesures de Sûreté Générale qui ont été prises déjà contre plusieurs autres correspondants de feuilles allemandes et de l'expulser de France.¹

(unsigned)

¹ Paris, Archives Nationales, F 18. 544 b, Angleterre

APPENDIX II: SOURCES

The following tables, supplementing the references to the authorities quoted in the footnotes to the chapters, are designed to assist the reader to control, and at certain points to amplify, the statements made in the text.

A E =Affaires Etrangères, Paris, A N =Archives Nationales, Paris, B M =British Museum, B N =Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, P H S =Printing House Square, P O =Post Office Archives, P R O =Public Record Office, London

The principal manuscript authority for this volume is provided by the collections in P H S, which are more extensive than for the period covered by Volume I. The following classes may be distinguished

I Diaries John Thadeus Delane began the practice of keeping an office diary in 1857, this was continued by his deputies and successors. The information recorded, though meagre, has been of value, the handwriting, moreover, affords evidence of the Editor's presence in or absence from the office. Mowbray Morris kept a similar diary from 1848 to 1872, here he occasionally noted official interviews, addresses, and financial details. John Cameron MacDonald kept a diary, of which the volumes remain for 1857, 1860, 1862-68, which contain notes of mechanical interest and occasional personal details. Volumes of the same series to 1874 exist, but contain only weekly composition and press charges, &c.

II Delane's Correspondence The main collection of Delane's correspondence is the property of Mr John Walter. This is the material principally used by Mr A. I. Dasent for his *Life of Delane*. The letters are bound in 27 numbered demy-quarto volumes. The first 22 contain the general correspondence in approximate and sometimes conjectural order of date. Volumes 23 and 24 contain letters to Delane from John Walter III, but a number of his letters are included in the general series. Volumes 25-7 contain letters thought at the time of binding to be of minor importance, or to which not even an approximate date could be assigned. The collection includes letters sent to Dasent as Delane's substitute, among these, letters from Delane and Walter preponderate. A card-index of this correspondence has been prepared.

III The Manager's Letter-Books From his appointment as Manager in 1847 Mowbray Morris kept copies of the letters he wrote, a practice continued by his successor MacDonald. In the earlier years the collection appears to be very incomplete, and there are gaps later on, since during the Manager's holidays letters written by his substitute were not preserved in the same volumes, and have since been lost. Such letters as survive for the years 1847 to 1849 are in two small exercise books, afterwards there is a series of bound and numbered volumes.

IV A number of letters to Delane and from Delane to W H Russell have been acquired by The Times Publishing Company. These are unbound but a card-index has been made. A part of the Russell correspondence was used by Mr J B Atkins in his *Life of W H Russell*. A selection by C W. B[rodribb] from these letters was published in 1920 in *Notes and Queries*, twelfth series, vols. 6 and 7, under the title "Printing House Square Papers" (two articles on the Queen, Lord Torrington and Delane, three on Delane's American Journal, three more printed letters from Palmerston on Ministerial changes in 1863, from Disraeli on the formation of Derby's 1858 Cabinet, and from the leader-writers C. P. Chrétien, who resigned in 1850, and H A. Woodham).

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V A large collection of letters from Delane to Dasent, acquired later than the principal collection described (in II), has provided information upon routine matters. These also are unbound.

VI Certain letters to Mowbray Morris, from members of the staff and others, have survived at P H S , representing a small fragment of the Manager's official correspondence.

VII Walter Papers A collection of letters, principally between the Chief Proprietor and members of the staff A calendar of these has been made

References to these collections in footnotes are (ii) Delane Correspondence, or D with the volume and folio number added, (iii) M with number of volume and page added, (vii) Walter Papers The other series are generally indicated by the letters P H S

The principal printed works used are

Dasent, A I *John Thadeus Delane, Editor of The Times His Life and Correspondence* (London, 1908, 2 vols)

A representative and permanently valuable selection from the Delane Correspondence now in P H S and from Delane's personal diary, now lost To Delane's official diary Mr Dasent had not access Letters printed wholly or in part by Mr Dasent, and reproduced here, have been compared with the originals, a few errors of date, &c , have been corrected and omissions inserted or indicated About 80 letters from the Delane Correspondence, not used by Mr Dasent, are printed in the present volume

Cook, Sir Edward *Delane of The Times* (London, 1915)

A short but permanently valuable biography based upon such printed sources as were available at the time, and upon useful researches in the files of *The Times* As a study of one editor by another, the most valuable passages in the book are those describing and judging Delane's methods

The principal contemporary morning newspapers read include the *Morning Chronicle*, *Morning Post*, *Morning Herald*, *Daily News*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Morning Star*, the *Standard*, evening, the *Globe*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *St. James's Gazette*, weekly, the *Examiner*, *Saturday Review*, *Spectator*, the *Press*, the *Free Press*

I. AFTER BARNES

The support given by the Chartists to John Walter II in his first election campaign at Nottingham (April, 1841, see p 7) excited comment, for the paper had, e g , advocated the severe punishment of John Frost in 1839, and at best admitted only that "some decent fellows have, indeed, been induced to join the Chartists" (November 25, 1842) On their side the Chartist organs declared that "the bloody old *Times*" (the *Northern Star* revived Cobbett's phrase) had such a reputation for "unmitigated falsehood and scurrility" that the phrase "I'll *Times* you" was equivalent to "I'll grossly abuse you." (The *English Chartist Circular*, No. 100.) In March, 1841, the Chartists flooded an anti-Poor Law meeting convened by John Walter and turned it into a Universal Suffrage meeting—"one of the most disgusting and disgraceful scenes it has ever been our lot to witness" (*The Times*, March 21, 1841), the "most glorious of all glorious victories of the glorious Chartists" (*The Northern Star*, March 20, 1841.) The simple explanation of the support of the Chartists at Nottingham a month later was given by Thomas Cooper to Walter "Sir, don't have a wrong idea of the reason why you are to have Chartist support. We mean to use your party to cut the throats of the Whigs, and then we mean to cut your throats also!" (*The Life of Thomas Cooper*, 1872, p. 149.) At the election of August, 1842, the Chartists, uniting with middle-class radicals in the Complete Suffrage Union, put up their own candidate against Walter.

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Bribery was rife in Nottingham borough Sir I C Hobhouse observed after his defeat in 1847 "I did not feel angry, knowing that the election had been won because I had refused to do what I had before done, viz *bribe the voters*" (Broughton *Recollections of a Long Life*, Vol 6) After the General Election of 1841 the defeated Walter petitioned against the return of Hobhouse and Larpent, a compromise was arranged with difficulty (Cf Broughton diary for 1842, B M , MSS Addl 43744) In his turn Walter, returned in place of Larpent, was ejected upon bribery being proved against his agent Dobie, Walter's solicitor, approached Hobhouse and asked that (in Hobhouse's words) "arrangements might be made for carrying into effect the agreement of the 4th of last May—that is to say for my paying Walter £4,000 because he is not M P for Nottingham The cool impudence of this application is worthy of old Walter but I do not understand how Mr Dobie, a respectable solicitor, would lend himself to so nefarious an attempt, yet it is possible this man and his *Times* may give me much annoyance . I am fully prepared for a violent assault upon my character in every way which may lie open to the vulgar malignity of a disappointed rogue " (B M , MSS Addl 43745, Broughton diary for April 7, 1843) Walter took the matter into a Court of law, but failed to get the money This explains Hobhouse's belief that he was attacked by *The Times* in 1846 for personal reasons Walter's hostility to Peel and Graham arose from the same affair His unseating in 1843 had been accomplished by the casting vote of James Weir Hogg, director of the East India Company and the representative of Leadenhall Street in the House of Commons, chairman of the Committee which investigated Walter's case The demeanour of Peel and Graham during the affair (the latter was accused in the House of having corrupted Hogg, cf R E. Leader, *Life and Letters of J A Roebuck*, p 197) convinced Walter that their motive for ejecting him was his views on the Poor Law When John Walter III was elected for Nottingham in 1847, Tyas declared in a speech that "if it had been possible for the late Premier and his admirable colleague, Sir James Graham—(a laugh)—to have foreseen an event like this, you may depend upon it that Mr Roebuck would never have moved his celebrated compromise committee, Mr Walter would not have lost his seat, and Sir James Weare (*sic*) Hogg would not have gained his baronetcy " (The *Nottingham Guardian*, August 12, 1847) These details throw light upon the draft of a letter in which Delane described to Walter an attempt to regain the favour of *The Times* by propitiating the Chief Proprietor (Delane Correspondence, 1/72) .

Sunday December 22 [1844]

My dear Sir,

I received the enclosed note [not now to be traced] from the Earl [of Aberdeen] on Friday evening and went accordingly to Argyll House yesterday, puzzled to account for so sudden a summons, as at my last interview I had promised to call either on Monday or Tuesday. It soon appeared however that no event in foreign politics had occasioned my being sent for, for the Earl after talking a little about the state of the Church, the Bishop of Exeter's letter and the proceedings at Huist minded me of a conversation we had had about this time last year and asked if there were no means of bringing about a better understanding between yourself and the Government. I told him, very truly, that I was altogether unprepared to answer such a question, that since my return from abroad I had seen very little of you and that great as the difficulties were in the way of an accommodation at the period he referred to they had since very greatly increased.

He said that he was fully aware of this, that his opinion of the expediency as well as the duty of endeavouring to discharge the obligation under which the government lay to you had been always unchanged, but that the quarrel being a personal one he could not, without offence, say as much to his colleagues upon it as he wished. That of late, and especially since the Church question began to be agitated

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the importance of establishing better relations with you had occurred to Sir R Peel and Sir J Graham as well as himself and that he was commissioned by them to make this communication to me

I received it as coolly as I could, spoke of the ill success, or rather utter unfruitfulness of our former conversation and suggested as explicitly as civility would allow, my doubts of the sincerity of his colleagues in this as in the former proposal, and as if piqued at its failure and indifferent as to its result, declined taking any further part. He however, pressed me to suggest some means of removing the misunderstanding between Peel, Graham and yourself, and I then told him, as much as I could in the very words in which you have often instructed me to speak, the history of your several contests, enlarging much upon the extreme importance of your first return for Nottingham, and the certainty that no one who did not, like yourself, combine some popular opinions with the profession of mere Conservatism, could succeed.

I spoke then of the neglect which you had experienced from those whom you had so greatly obliged, and after relating the particulars of the Compromise case and Peel's sudden display of favour for Roebuck, told at some length all that had taken place as to the third election, your conversation with Lord G Somerset as to the choice of a chairman, the appointment of Hogg, his unprecedented and unjust conduct, his report to the House, and especially the circumstance of the cheering with which that report was received. Upon this I took much pains to elaborate, and then in good strong terms explained how impossible it was for you to meet or act with men whose conduct had been so vilely ungrateful — so disgraceful if it had been directed against a violent political opponent, much more so when the object of all this malignity was the man to whom they owed the power thus to oppress him.

He said that he had never so perfectly understood the facts before, and admitted that however much some of them might be capable of explanation, the conclusion at which you had arrived was entirely warranted, and your feelings with respect to his colleagues fairly accounted for. What course should they then adopt?

I replied, still talking as if an accommodation were impossible, that the first step they should take was as much incumbent upon them for the sake of their own characters as men of honour, as due to you, who, however the case might be explained, had been greatly wronged — that they should each write to you and explicitly deny, if they could, the fact of the cheering and should add any explanation that would make their general conduct more reconcilable to justice and good faith. That this was absolutely necessary before you could consent to meet them or receive any species of overture, that after such a letter, the parties being fairly in communication, there could be no pretext for requiring my services as a mediator, an office to which my former failure had by no means prepossessed me.

He said this was only fair and reasonable, that he could see no difficulty in his colleagues adopting this course, and that he should strongly recommend it to them. He then talked a good deal about the paper [*The Times*], with whose general support (independent of his own department) he professed himself well satisfied, especially praising our Irish articles, and spoke with gratitude of our support in the O'Connell prosecution. I then took the opportunity of reminding him how much they had lost since this time last year, and how many of the disasters of last Session might have been avoided if they had acted under better advice, instancing particularly the Factory Bill and its series of defects. [The following passages in italics are crossed out by the writer] *I spoke also of your great experience and your many popular qualities and my regret that the Govt had not had your advice and support, still however expressing a fear that matters had gone too far now for a reconciliation. He hoped not and then . . .* After some conversation upon foreign affairs our interview then ended, he repeating that he would not fail to press what I had said upon his colleagues and that I should know the result in a day or two. I again however advised that the communication

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should be direct . . and declined in my position to the paper acting as a mediator, explaining that all I had said was only from consideration for his Lordship and as your friend Thus we parted and the next you are likely to hear of the matter will I suppose be from the culprits themselves, i.e., if they are really sincere If not, you will, I think, stand in respect to them in the best possible position

I cannot, of course, presume to offer any advice on such a subject and have only to add that as his Lordship imposed upon me a promise of secrecy I trust you will not communicate upon this matter with any but the most discreet and confidential of your friends.

Believe me

Delane had his own complaints against Government departments, apart from the Foreign Office In October, 1841, Edward Drummond, Peel's private secretary, refused facilities to a reporter from *The Times* (Delane Correspondence, 1/43, letter endorsed "very unsatisfactory") In February, 1842, Fremantle would not supply Delane with an advance copy of the Royal Speech (*Ibid.*, 1/46) In 1843 and 1844 Delane secured the Speech from the Lord Chancellor's secretary In June, 1842, Sir James Graham refused Delane a routine favour (D 1/48) The activities of Sir Thomas Fremantle with respect to *The Times* and other newspapers are revealed in his correspondence with Peel (B M , MSS Addl 40476)

The statement of J D Powles (p 19) that he recollects the beginning of the City article in *The Times* may be amplified A weekly account of financial activities became a regular feature of Sunday papers (the *Observer* and the *Englishman*) from 1818 About the same time the [evening] *Courier* began to publish notes ("from the City, one o'clock.") giving not only market prices but also some explanation of the day's business Thus City rumours became "news"—e.g., on March 31, 1818, the *Courier* stated that "the great monied interests of the City, who for a length of time have been using every effort to depress the Funds, and were the occasion of the last decline, were believed to be purchasing at the low rate of 78½ for Consols" The *Morning Chronicle* soon afterwards occasionally used a City correspondent In 1821 its new owner, W I. Clement, of the *Observer*, persuaded presumably by his Sunday journal experience, made the money article a daily feature in the *Chronicle* and was quickly imitated The articles in the *Morning Herald* were of a popular, even sensational nature—in harmony with its general policy of gaining the public eye with highly coloured matter *The Times* waited until 1825 before it followed the lead of the other morning papers in publishing a money article There are reasonable grounds for supposing that *The Times* opened a City office earlier, in 1821. Alsager appears in 1820 in Robson's Directory as "T M Alsager, cloth-setter, Hoisemonger Lane, Boro'" (Robson's *Improved London Directory*, 1820) In the following year his occupation and address are given as "T. M. Alsager, agent, 22 Change Alley, Cornhill" (Robson's *Classification of Trade, London Commercial Directory, Street Guide and Carriers' List for 1821*.) Since a brass plate inscribed "The Times City Office" would have been inconceivable in Burnes's time, Alsager's appearance in the City as an "agent" may justly be taken to mean that between 1820 and 1821 he had founded *The Times* City Office Nevertheless, *The Times* seems to have avoided the explicit money article until the end of 1825, when the public interest could no longer be ignored and the rapidity of changes and the frequency of failures during the great financial crisis necessitated a daily record of City events

Alsager's policy was uniformly conservative from 1825 He strenuously opposed the prevailing speculation, until 1845, when he conducted the great campaign against the railway mania He deprecated foreign investment (making in 1825 even the austere assertion that "no loan can fail to be injurious which is not raised within the country for whose use it is intended"), demanded more publicity from the Bank of England ("The Treasury itself has as good a title to the

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secrecy enjoyed by a private house of commerce as has the Bank of England , even private bankers " wield such a power as ought to be closely watched "), and uphold the principle of basing the currency firmly upon gold He was slow to support that revolutionary innovation, the joint stock bank So intimate was his knowledge of the City that such a financial journal as the *Circular to Bankers*, published from Lombard Street itself, frequently drew upon the City article of *The Times* (alone of all the newspapers) for information about activities in the money market Under Alsager the paper's views, said the *Circular to Bankers*, embodied "the opinions of a considerable part of the mercantile interests of the City " (August 15, 1838) This judgment was naturally caught up by the revolutionaries of the period The Chartist newspapers repeatedly abused *The Times* as " a money-mongering publication," subservient to the interests of rich and influential Jews (*The National Reformer*, February 6, 1847 , *Bronterre's National Reformer*, March 11, 1837 , the *Southern Star*, March 8, 1840 , also March 1, 1840 "The Jews, whose favourite organ is *The Times*") These journals closely watched the doings of *The Times*, and especially of the City office A few weeks after Alsager's resignation and suicide the *Charter* published the news that M B Sampson, secretary for many years to the Treasury Committee of the Bank of England, had been appointed City Correspondent to *The Times* with a salary of £1,000 per annum (*The Charter*, December 9, 1846) For further details of the City office under Sampson see Sources, Chapter XXI, *infra*

The inquest on Thomas Massa Alsager, of 6, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, took place on November 16, 1846 The longest notices of the death and the inquest occur in the *Daily News* (1 column, November 16 , 2 columns, November 17, 1846). Alsager's will is dated November 7, 1846 Alsager's interest in *The Times* Newspaper was left to Herbert Harold Cannan, of Tulse Hill, and his nephew John Oxenford and Alexander Dobie *upon trust* for Thomas Hicks Alsager, his son.

II. THE DEATH OF JOHN WALTER II; III. THE NEW RÉGIME

Indentures, &c.

- 1841 Release dated December 31, preventing the opening or disputing of the Accounts of *The Times* signed by the several persons whose hands and seals are hereunto subscribed, &c
- 1844 Assignment dated May 20, by John Walter the elder to John Walter the younger absolutely, of 1/32 share in *The Times*, formerly the property of the late James Murray, in consideration of the sum of £1,450 paid John Walter the younger as from December 25, 1843
- 1846 Assignment by John Walter, Esq , Senior, of certain shares in the printing business of *The Times* and *Evening Mail*, formerly the property of the late Thomas Barnes, purchased from Dinah Maria Mondot for £1,842, to John Walter, Esq , Junior.
- 1846 Indenture dated November 5 between the several persons connected with *The Times* Newspaper constituting Mr. John Walter the younger Manager thereof jointly with his father and sole Manager thereof after his decease for his whole life.
- Whereas the said John Walter the elder is desirous of appointing his son the said John Walter the younger to act with him the said John Walter the elder in the management of the said *Times* newspaper during the remainder of his life and

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is desirous that after his decease his said Son should continue and have the entire management and control of the said paper during the remainder of his life and the said several persons parties hereto of the second part are desirous that the said John Walter the younger should be appointed such manager as aforesaid they have agreed to concur in such appointment in manner hereinafter expressed now THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH that in consideration of the covenant hereinafter contained on the part of the said John Walter the younger He the said John Walter the elder with the privity and approbation of the said several persons parties hereto of the second part testified by their being parties to and sealing and delivering these presents doth by these presents nominate constitute and appoint the said John Walter the younger And the said several persons parties hereto of the second part do hereby ratify and confirm the said appointment to be during the joint lives of himself and his Father the said John Walter the elder joint manager of the said *Times* newspaper with him the said John Walter the elder with the same powers and authorities as by the said recited Will of the said Testator John Walter are given to him the said John Walter the elder and in the event of the decease of the said John Walter the elder in the lifetime of the said John Walter the younger then the said John Walter the younger to be in like manner the sole manager of the said newspaper and with the same powers authorities and privileges as by the said Will are given to the said John Walter the elder in such and the same manner as if the said John Walter the younger had been by the said Will appointed manager of the said newspaper in the place of the said John Walter the elder AND the said several persons parties hereto of the first and second parts do hereby further agree that it shall be lawful for the said John Walter the younger during such time as he shall act as such manager as aforesaid either in conjunction with his said Father or solely as the case may be to receive and take for his own use and benefit if he think proper so to do such salary as by the said Will is directed to be paid to or received by the said John Walter the elder during the time he shall act as such manager as aforesaid AND the said John Walter the younger doth hereby for himself his heirs executors and administrators covenant promise and agree with and to the said parties hereto of the first and second parts respectively and their respective executors administrators and assigns that he the said John Walter the younger shall and will well and truly attend to the duties of manager of the said Paper and conduct the same according to the best of his skill and ability for the benefit of the proprietors of the said Paper IN WITNESS whereof the said parties to these presents have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written &c

1847 Abstract of Release and Assignment dated July 20, as to share of William Frederick Augustus Delane in the printing of *The Times* and *Evening Mail* newspapers

Recites that differences and disputes had arisen and been for some time pending between John Walter and W F A Delane in relation to said partnership and the business thereof and that the basis and terms on which such differences and disputes should be settled or arranged had been ultimately agreed between them ; that the partnership subsisting should be considered to have been determined on the 27th February, 1847, and that Walter should pay to Delane £1,300 in satisfaction and discharge of all claims and demands which he might have against Walter

1847 Will of John Walter II made February 9, 1847, probate of which was granted September 6, 1847.

The Testator devised all his freehold messuages, buildings, coachhouses, hereditaments and premises situate in Printing House Square with the appurtenances unto, and to the use of, his son John Walter the Younger his heirs and assigns for ever He devised all his freehold and copyhold messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments in the several Counties of Berks and Wilts, including his right

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to the Patronage of St Catherine's Church, Bearwood, with the appurtenances thereto belonging to the Trustees or Trustee of the Indenture of Settlement executed previously to the marriage of his son John Walter and the Testator declared that if the several limitations in the Settlement contained in favour of male issue of his said son John Walter should fail he bequeathed all the freehold and leasehold property comprised in the Settlement to the uses in the Settlement. He devised the residue of his Estate to his wife Mary and he appointed his wife sole Executrix.

The address at the funeral of John Walter II was preached by the Rev R E A. Willmot (1809-63), a man of letters, the first incumbent of St Catherine's, Bear Wood, a church erected by Walter. The sermon was reprinted in 1847 (B M , 10855c 20/3) The *Daily News* gave a leading article to the memory of John Walter, applauding his substitution of public for private patronage of newspapers. It added "We cannot admit, however, that this was the result of any huge disinterestedness, or of Roman virtue. On the contrary, we look upon it to have been a very sound and very shrewd calculation, dictated by self-interest and common-sense. We will go even further, however reluctant at such a moment to detract from acknowledged merits, and observe that there may be quite as little independence, and as much servility, in courting a people, as in supporting a minister or serving a prince" (July 30, 1847) A *Morning Herald* reporter at Nottingham gave another side of John Walter's character "A worn-down mechanic exclaimed to a companion, 'Poor Mr Walter, what a deal of gratitude we owe him, and yet how badly he was treated' The reply was 'Yes, but I wish he could have lived to see this result [his son's Nottingham victory], I am sure he'd have considered it an ample recompense' The death of the gentleman alluded to has been a constant source of regret during the whole day by all classes, who have found time, even amidst the excitement of a violent contest, to canvass over his many excellent qualities." (The *Morning Herald*, July 30, 1847)

Walter III took the position not only by virtue of the indenture signed by his father on November 5, 1846, but by a second indenture of the same date signed by twenty owners of shares or parts of shares, these together gave the third Walter absolute legal authority as "sole Manager" for the complete control he exercised after his father's death. The third Walter's shares in *The Times*, after the administration of his father's will made February 9, 1847, and his mother's subsequent conveyance, consisted of two of the sixteen shares into which the property had been divided by the will of John Walter I. The holders of the largest shares in 1847 were, first, the family of Mary Walter, afterwards Carden, who owned three-sixteenths; Fanny Walter, afterwards Knox, afterwards Wright, who owned two-sixteenths; Catherine Walter, afterwards Winslow, who owned two-sixteenths, and Anna Walter, afterwards Brodie, who also owned two-sixteenths. Thus when John Walter III became Chief Proprietor in 1847 the shares in *The Times* were distributed as follows

[The shares are referred to the individual, whether or not they were split up between the children, and whether or not they predeceased John Walter II]

	16ths		16ths
John Walter III	-	-	Mrs. Anna Walter Brodie 2
Henry Fraser Walter	-	-	Edward Sterling - 1
Edward Walter	-	-	John Joseph Lawson - 1
Mrs. Mary Walter Carden	-	3	Mrs. George Hicks - 1
Mrs. Fanny Walter Knox Wright	2		The late T. M. Alsager +
Mrs. Catherine Walter Winslow	2		Mrs. Barnes - - +

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In the printing business the new Chief Proprietor owned not only all his father's shares but the separate, contingent and limited leases of profits made over in 1827 and 1836 to Hicks, Alsager, Barnes, and W Delane. In addition, under his father's will, he owned all the freeholds and hereditaments. Thus ownership and responsibility for the printing business, and its profits, and the management of all the commercial and editorial departments at Printing House Square was centralized in the hands of the new Chief from the day he came into office on July 1, 1847. The leading member of the technical management of P H S at the moment of the succession of John Walter III in 1847 was John Joseph Lawson, the Printer. The young Chief Proprietor's control of the commercial side of the paper from the end of 1846 was complete, for the combined activities of editing and publishing *The Times* and *Evening Mail* were a simple concern conducted as a wholesale manufacturing business. The papers were written on one floor of the building under the supervision of Walter's Editor and his staff, manufactured on another under the direction of Walter's printer, his compositors, and enginemen, and dispatched in quantity from a ground floor to wholesale town and country distributors against cash or contracts made under the authority of Walter's publisher and his six clerks. There was a counting house, but no publicity department. Also there was no separate advertising department, but a clerk, George Street (d 1869, succeeded by Knight), in the counting house, who had the matter in hand. No credit was given. In consequence, the advertising agents, first established in the middle of the previous century, increased in number. Their most important function was to provide credit facilities to advertisers, for, clearly, *The Times* could not undertake to investigate the stability of its innumerable advertising clients. The "agent" did this, and still does. George Street in his private capacity as a resident at Serle Street, Lincoln's Inn, used to give credit for advertisements in *The Times* and later established himself independently in the now well-known agency of Street's, still in Serle Street and with a branch in Cornhill.

1848. Conveyance to John Walter III of a freehold messuage and premises situate in Playhouse Yard and Glasshouse Yard, Blackfriars, in the City of London by James Stocker and others with the Master Wardens and Society of the Apothecaries

1852 Will of Dinah Maria Mondet, dated September 25, 1852, proved January 15, 1853, devising her share in *The Times* to William Henry Rough, £200 to Alexander Dobie, an annuity of £100 to William Frederick Augustus Delane, £50 a year to the Rev George Wodsworth and to his two sisters and brother an equal annuity, a similar annuity to her goddaughter Mary Nicholls

1852. The will of Peter Fraser proved December 23, 1852, devised. "To my friend John Walter of Bearwood Esquire the sum of £100 3% Consols in testimony of my regard for him, To my godsons Henry Fiske Walter and Fraser Ottley (the son of my dear old friend and schoolfellow William Young Ottley) and to Brook Taylor Ottley of the City of Dublin Esquire I bequeath the sum of £50 3% Consols each, My best gold watch and chain I give to John Walter Junior Esquire the son of the said John Walter "

IV. SPEEDING UP THE NEWS

Manuscript

W. F. A. Delane's correspondence with Viscount Canning on the subject of *The Times* courier Marseilles-Boulogne begins in November, 1841, in F.O. 146/238 and F.O. 27/642. With these papers there have been used F.O. 27/621, Aberdeen to Cowley, December 3, 1841, enclosing copy of W Delane's remonstrance; 27/647, Cowley to Aberdeen, December 8, 1841, with copy of Cowley's letter to

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Guizot , 27/660, W Delane, January 26, 1842, to Canning (" For some months measures have been resorted to by the Paris agents of three of the London morning papers, not merely to obtain similar intelligence for themselves, but to impede by all possible means the arrival of the Courier with dispatches for *The Times* ") , also the opinion of Châtel d'Est Ange, barrister and senator, that *The Times* could legally have extraordinary dispatches conveyed by couriers , 27/645, Aberdeen to Cowley, February 4, 1842 , 27/600, J T. Delane to Canning, March 1, 1842 , 27/648, Cowley to Aberdeen, March 4, 1842, with copy of Humann's letter to Guizot of February 28, 1842. A portion of Aberdeen's letter reads

".....as to the thanks which it is stated the French Post Office Authorities have frequently received from Her Majesty's Post Master General, it would appear from a reference which I have caused to be made to the General Post Office, that this Statement must refer to the seizure of Mr Waghorn's Express containing a collection of *Letters* addressed to various Persons in this Country which took place in July 1840, a transaction which was as much opposed to the Interests of the Post Office Revenue of the United Kingdom, as it was to those of France, and which if the facts could have been substantiated in a Court of Law in this country would in all probability have been followed by the Prosecution of the Parties concerned "

The measures taken to delay *The Times* publication of the Mail are indicated in the report of the Boulogne agent to the Paris correspondent of *The Times* in P R O , F O 27/645, as enclosed with Aberdeen's letter to Cowley, March 5, 1842

" At Boulogne to M₁ O'Reilly, [January, 1842]

I beg to inform you that instructions have been sent to the Commissaire de Police by the *Administration de la Poste* in Paris to prevent the E I Mail from leaving the Port of Boulogne either by a Sailing Boat or by Steam Every person going on Board including the Captain and sailors are to undergo a strict search, to such an extent that nothing less than stripping everybody will do And if the telegraphic dispatch is brought down the Commissaire de Police has order to open every letter and parcel to see if under the Cloak of a telegraphic dispatch it is not the Mail itself brought from Marseilles Porché and Lemaître are both signalled to the Authorities as having brought the last Mail down The former is stated to have given over his dispatches to the latter at Chantilly Both the Police and the Douanier have refused to accept the foregoing orders, as they cannot recognize the *Administration de la Poste* as their *Master* , but will attend to any order emanating from the Ministre de l'Intérieur which is expected every day. The dispatch of the Post master general says these strict orders are given upon the *Réclamation* of the other 3 papers [*Morning Post*, *Morning Herald* and *Morning Chronicle*]

In F.O. 27/660, Aberdeen tells Delane, March 11, 1842 that . " Under these circumstances Lord Aberdeen does not see that he can with propriety press this matter any further upon the French Govt. at present." The applications of W. Delane and O'Reilly, however, secured in April, 1842, that the couriers of the other three journals were stopped equally with those of *The Times*. The grievance was remedied towards the end of the year (see P.R.O , F.O. 27/652, No 324 , Cowley to Aberdeen, September 16, 1842 , *supra*, pp 71-72). O'Reilly was well known at the French Foreign Ministry and Henry Reeve was Guizot's friend. These postal differences did not at first react unfavourably upon the relations between *The Times* and the French Government. (*C/* Cowley's letter of May 10, 1844, *infra*, p. 550) The Warspite letters of August, 1844, and the war over routes made a difference ; Guizot became more friendly towards

APPENDIX II

Honan, the *Herald's* correspondent (in 1845 he recommended him to Aberdeen, B M , MSS Addl 43134/122) Cf the conversation between Guizot and O'Reilly, January, 1845, recorded by Greville (*supra*, p 99) Honan was afterwards in Spain and Italy for *The Times*

Printed

No monograph upon Waghorn's important enterprise exists, no correspondence between him and *The Times* survives. There have been used Waghorn, Thomas, Letters to the Editor of *The Times*, printed on February 6, 1846, November 6, 1845, December 31, 1845, Cf the leading article of December 31, 1845, and the letter of Joseph Frigelmuller, Austrian Lloyd's courier in charge of Waghorn's mail, printed February 7, 1846, and *The Times* of February 17, 1846, for the report of the *Augsburg Gazette* For the life of Waghorn, see *D N B* For a reference to British Post Office jealousy of Waghorn in 1840 see Aberdeen's letter to Cowley, F O 27/645, quoted *supra*

Clunn, P E *Lieutenant Thomas Waghorn, Pioneer of the Overland Route* (London, 1894)

A short sketch of Waghorn's career, emphasizing his connexion with the firm of G W Wheatley and Co , of which he was the founder

Hoskins, H L *British Routes to India* (London, 1928)

Chapters IV, " Steam and All-Sea Routes to India," and IX, " Establishment of the Overland Route," present the best available account of Waghorn's efforts and successes

Lowe, Robson *Handstruck Postage Stamps of the Empire, 1680, 1900* (London, 1937)

Careful description (pp 79-83) with map and illustrations of Waghorn's overland routes, 1829-1845

The history of communications by pigeons in modern times has not been scientifically written and the literature consequently requires cautious handling The best work is Félix Bogaerts *Histoire Civile & Religieuse de la Colombe*, Chapter IX (Paris, 1847) " *La Colombe au XIX siècle* "

" Avant 1828 les colombophiles étaient en si petit nombre, qu'ils formaient à peine sept ou huit sociétés dans la ville d'Anvers où l'on en compte au moins trente aujourd'hui, y compris celles qui sont établies dans les faubourgs C'est en 1828, on le sait, que les fluctuations des fonds espagnols, exploitées par un agiotage astucieux et déhonté, donnèrent naissance à un fatal et irrénégiable espoir de s'enrichir du jour au lendemain. . Pour se procurer cet inappréciable avantage, plusieurs spéculateurs eurent recours aux pigeons ; chaque jour ils en faisaient porter à Bruxelles, à Londres, à Paris, et ce fut ainsi que notre oiseau acquit tout-à-coup une importance extraordinaire, dont nos colombophiles surent profiter habilement, en vendant ou en louant leurs pigeons, à des prix très élevés " (p. 269) Bogaerts estimates that Antwerp alone had 25,000 carrier pigeons by 1846 It is commonly believed that the Rothschilds organized a private pigeon service to which they were indebted for prior information leading to important coups, but there is no direct evidence available Cf S Reinach in *Revue Critique*, January 1, 1922, on an alleged London Stock Exchange coup by the Rothschilds " C'est une anecdote imaginée longtemps après et dont il n'y a pas, que je sache, trace à l'époque " *L'Intermédiaire*, February-April, 1922, contains many references to pigeon posts and the Rothschilds.

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The development of transport in France may be traced in Vie George d'Avenel : *L'Evolution des moyens de transport, &c* (Paris, 1919)

" In 1775 it took 5 days in summer and 6 days in winter to travel from Lyons to Paris In 1810 this was reduced to 4 days and by the time the railway was opened in Louis-Philippe's reign this had been reduced to 75 hours by diligences running day and night "The railway reduced the journey to 8 hours" (p 54) "To go to Lyons, for example, the public now has 6,000 seats available daily on the railway, instead of 44 in 1850, 16 in 1810 and 7 in 1790" (p 102) Reference has also been made to *Larousse 19eme siècle*, vol III, p 1132, Henri Lambert *Réseau du Nord, précis historique* (Paris, 1909), Alfred Picard *Les Chemins de fer, aperçu historique* (Paris, 1918), "Le Développement Ferroviasse en France" in Dollfus et de Geoffroy *Hist de la Locomotion Terrestre, Les Chemins de Fer* (Paris, 1935), pp 156ff, with maps of the French systems in 1837, 1846, 1851, 1856, &c

The Constructions authorized by Government were as follows 1832, Several short lines—namely, Montroudi-Montbrison, Saint-Etienne-Lyon , 1837, Paris to St Germain , 1842, General system, Law of July 11, Paris to Belgian frontier (*via* Lille and Valenciennes), Paris to German frontier (*via* Nancy and Strasbourg), Paris to Spanish frontier (*via* Tours, Bordeaux, Bayonne), through centre of France (*via* Bourges), From Mediterranean to Rhine (*via* Lyons, Dijon, Mulhouse), from Atlantic to Mediterranean (*via* Bordeaux, Toulouse, Marseilles) These schemes were greatly retarded by financial crisis of 1847 and the revolution of 1848 The Reseau du Nord concession dates from 1845 The company was headed by the French Rothschilds, but according to *The Times* (August 29, 1845), there were among the London allottees of shares such names, intimately known to the paper, as J D Powles, who spoke so highly in favour of Alsace at the City Dinner (see p 20), William Magnay, whose family had inter-married with the Delanes See L H Jenks's valuable *Migration of British Capital* (New York, 1927, V and pp 378ff.) The Lille-Valenciennes Company was founded 1864, went bankrupt in 1878 and taken over by Nord Company ; in 1876 the Reseau Philipart also taken over by Nord Company. The sections of Nord Line opened to the public, according to *Larousse*, were 1846, Paris to Arras , 1846, Arras to Douai and Lille ; 1848, Lille to Hazebrouck and Dunkirk ; 1847, Amiens to Abbeville , 1847, Rouen to Havre , 1847, Abbeville to Neuchatel , 1848, Neuchatel to Boulogne-sui-Mer , 1847/48, Paris to Belgian frontier (*via* Lille and Valenciennes) ; 1842/48, Lille to Calais and Dunkirk , 1839, Amiens to Boulogne ; Lille to Dunkirk , 1867/68, Boulogne-sui-Mer to Calais and connexions. By 1859 the main lines from Paris to frontiers in all directions were mostly completed, but vast inland districts were still unconnected, and in 1863 Government contracts were made with Companies Est, Ouest, Orleans, P.L.M. and Midi Despite these activities, in 1870 no proper strategical railways existed or military organization for transporting troops

The early history of Reuter is sparsely documented. Henry M Collins's *From Pigeon Post to Wireless* (London, 1925), is a popular work of no scientific pretensions, but the author, born in 1844, served under Baron Julius de Reuter, founder of the agency The book contains a few useful details in Chapter II, "The Early Days of Reuter's" pp. 24-48, and Bismarck's use of Reuter to discredit Russell's telegram in *The Times*, for which see pp 99-100.

A. W. : "Who is Mr Reuter ?" in *Once a Week*, February 23, 1861, pp. 243-6.
This is a slight article but contains a few early details.

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Théry, Edmond "Agence Havas" in *La Grande Encyclopédie*

Excellent account of the growth of the news, publicity and typographic services, relations with Reuter and Wolff, and capitalization of the company. For criticisms of Havas, see Andie Lajeune Vilar *Les Coulisses de la Presse* (Paris, 1895), and C M Vicard *Le Mythe de la Démocratie* (Paris, 1934)

V. THE TIMES AND LORD ABERDEEN; XII. DELANE MEETS PALMERSTON

Manuscript

Aberdeen, Fourth Earl of. Papers in the B M

Shortly before Barnes's death Aberdeen was engaged in attempting to secure the support of *The Times* for his ecclesiastical policy in Scotland. (Cf. privately printed correspondence of Lord Aberdeen, a volume of letters concerning the Scottish Church, 1838-45) "Were I in London, I would see Barnes, but I do not like to open a correspondence with him on the subject" Aberdeen to the Dean of Faculty, January 3, 1841 "I have copied myself so much of the article as I think suited for insertion in *The Times*, and have sent it to Barnes. What he may do with it, I cannot tell"—the same to the same, February 17, 1841. Aberdeen suggests the writing of "a series of articles, for which I could probably obtain admission in *The Times*"—the same to the same, April 3, 1841.

The only letter from Barnes in the collection is one to D C Wrangham, dated December 14, 1830.

"I recollect when I last saw Lord Aberdeen that his lordship mentioned some very considerable reductions which he had effected in the diplomatic expenditure. He did not however mention the exact amount nor the details. Can you furnish me with the amount of these reductions? It will really give me more than ordinary pleasure to seize an opportunity of doing justice to Lord Aberdeen, whose courtesy and kindness I shall not easily forget" (43235/320)

The rivalry between *The Times* and the official Tory organs (the *Standard* and *Herald*) was at its greatest in the years 1841-45 (cf Chapter IV) and found expression in competition for political connexions. Thus, on April 21, 1842, W G. Ouseley wrote to Peel.

"*The Times* has occasionally opposed certain measures brought forward by Sir R. Peel, especially parts of the income Tax—and even shewn some degree of personal hostility. I have incidentally traced this feeling to a Jealousy of another morning paper [the writer means the *Morning Herald*] which has from time to time been furnished with information of importance from a Govt. Dept. If it were thought worth while,—thus Tendency to oppose Sir Robt. Peel might be at once prevented by occasionally allowing *The Times* to have such information as might be thought expedient." (43127/6)

Two years later Peel himself informed Aberdeen, July 6, 1844:

"I think you should seriously consider whether it is fitting that any sort of friendly connection should be continued between *The Times* and the foreign office. It is hardly fair towards those newspapers that support the Government and all the departments of the Government—that *The Times* should appear to the world to receive information from the foreign office—or to stand in any sort of amicable Relation to the foreign office. For myself I care very little about *The Times* or its abuse—but the Language of *The Times*, inspired by personal Enemies in the House of Commons—is scandalous towards Graham.

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I think the discontinuance of all Communication from the foreign Office with *The Times*—and the transference of the existing Relation with that paper to some others—would do more to keep *The Times* in order than the showing it any favour" (43063/275) With this should be read Delane's letter to Walter dated December 22, 1844, printed at pp 540-1 of this volume

Aberdeen, after similar representations, had already instructed (43130/53) Lord Cowley not to favour *The Times* at the expense of the *Herald* Cowley replied, May 10, 1844

"I am surprised at the complaint of the Editor of the *Morning Herald* and *Standard* which must I conclude have originated with his Correspondent at Paris, a gentleman of the name of Honan, who was formerly in the same situation at Madrid, and is well known to Lord William Hervey. Lord William has called upon him several times, and has told him that he shall be glad to see him at the Embassy at all times when he might desire to communicate with him, but he has not availed himself more than once or twice of this invitation As to his intercourse with the French Foreign Office it must certainly be known that Guizot has now, and has had for many years, a preference for *The Times* and that he frequently sends articles to be inserted in that paper It is not therefore surprising that the correspondent of *The Times*, who is an active clever man, should obtain earlier intelligence of telegraphic communications, and of any news which may reach the Foreign Office than any of the other Correspondents of the English Papers The Proprietors of *The Times* likewise, pay largely for intelligence and often by paying for them, procure copies of intercepted dispatches and correspondence, in proof of which I enclose to your Lordship the copy of a dispatch lately communicated to us by the Correspondent of that paper, who often comes to the embassy. I will endeavour however to obtain for Mr. Honan a more confidential intercourse with the Foreign Office, although I am persuaded that no such impression as that alluded to by Your Lordship has been created by this Embassy, and that no obstacle has been thrown in the way by any person or persons belonging to it of the communication between Mr Honan and the Foreign Office" (43130/55)

A similar situation arose when the Whigs returned to power in 1846, and the *Chronicle* found that *The Times*, which it regarded as an interloper, was closer to the Government than itself This jealousy was observed by Greville, the Diary, July 14, 1846 " . . . and they [the new Govt] have concluded an alliance with the Leviathan of the Press *The Times*, which gives them a temperate judicious but very useful support The *Ms. Chronicle* is furious at seeing the position of *The Times* vis-à-vis of the Govt, & the Edt went to J R. to remonstrate, but he got no satisfaction—he merely replied he did not wish to have any Govt paper, but could not repudiate the support of *The Times* He remembers that the *M. Chronicle* was the paper of Palmerston, devoted exclusively to him and not that of the Govt . . ." (Addl 41115/92; Strachey and Fulford, V, 333)

The following extract from Greville (August 13, 1846) indicates how Press rivalries ran parallel to political animosities. As Aberdeen saw Palmerston's hand in the *Chronicle's* attacks, so Palmerston suspected his colleague, Clarendon, of aiming at the Foreign Office and to this end responsible for attacks upon himself in *The Times*. Greville wrote: "Easthope, who is jealous of *The Times* and of its connexion with the Government, strove with all his might to make this out. It is pretty clear that he has had Clarendon watched and that it is he who tells Palmerston that C. sends information to the paper" Five days later (August 18) he added "I have since learnt that Easthope gave the Government the information, and he got his from somebody in *The Times* office. Clarendon, however, was authorised by John

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R himself to impart what he did to *The Times* and it is not pretended that any blame attaches to him—G” Further material upon these rivalries and the relations between *The Times* and the Peel and Whig Governments will be found in the Sources to Chapter I, *supra*

The effect of the Warspite letters upon the French public was thus described by Cowley in a letter to Aberdeen, August 26, 1844

“ Your Lordship can form no idea of the degree of irritation produced among all classes here (in Paris) by that most mischievous publication in *The Times* of the letters stated to have been written by Officers of the Warspite, reflecting not only upon the skill but the courage of the French in their attack upon the Moorish Batteries. Guizot told me that he was seriously apprehensive that the officers of the French ships might be induced in consequence of these letters, to call upon the Officers of the Warspite for an explanation ” (43130/134)

In 1855, letters to and from J W Croker (43196), from Brougham (43194/262), and Stanley (43072/145), 1857, letter from Ellice (43200/117). The volumes of the privately printed selection from the Aberdeen Papers are not numbered, but the arrangement (with few exceptions) is chronological 1849, letters from and to Mme de Lieven and from Metternich, 1850, letter from Delane, 1853, from Lord John Russell and to W E Gladstone, 1855 from Sir James Graham

The omitted paragraphs of Brougham's letter of August 25, 1855, printed in part on page 265, are

“ I recollect being personally attacked in a city Govt paper, while in office and still more after I left it, & I know that these attacks all proceeded from Macculloch whom I had prevented from being put—instead of Capt. Nichol at the head of the Poor Law Board (which with the clamour then existing agt. M. I knew would have made the storm against any great measure a hurricane, when it was only a tempest) Pou [lett] Thomson, whom I had prevented from being the last put into our Cabinet, got the fact from one of the Cabinet whom I had thwarted in an attempt to take another's place—and he conveyed it to M

“ So there is now in the all but defunct *Morning Chronicle*, a constant attack on Pam. & the treasury—this proceeds from an Irishman¹ of the grossest dishonesty, if he be not insane, who offered a bribe to Shadwell & Ripon in order to obtain an Indian Judgeship—& he is now proprietor of that paper. He had fulsomely praised Pam and Co up to a certain day, when the Treasury refused to pay a bill he brought in for Government advertisement which had never been ordered, but had been copied by him from other papers on speculation His claim was refused of course—and from that day his abuse has been incessant All this clearly makes in favour of the plan that all writings should be signed & under some penalty on false statement Arago² told me that their law was very effectual even directly, but indirectly it produced the greatest effect. He said—We know that the man of straw whom the concerted authors set up becomes so exgent when he can disclose the secret authorship. & subject the parties to penalty, that in fact the real author signs in most cases—But whether he does or not the effect is very great of course.

“ I sounded one or two people on the subject before I left town, & found fear predominated—or similar feelings. For instance I plainly saw that Derby

¹ Serjeant William Glover, who acquired the paper in 1854.

² The French scientific writer. Brougham refers to the French “ Loi de la Signature ” of 1850. This law still obliges every author of articles of philosophical, political, or personal criticism published in newspapers to sign them with their proper names (*e.g.*, *W. d'Ormesson*) or identifiable pseudonyms (*e.g.*, *Pertinax*)!

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shrunk from the question, and no doubt his ally *Dizzy* weekly writes or causes to be written in *The Press* understood to be his paper I suspect too that the love of praise would tempt some, the desire of support others, as much as fear would deter I know at all events the subject requires to be discussed even if we do not see our way to a solution of the problem and possibly the discussion may make those more cautious who at present are misconducting themselves with the Newspaper 'interest'

Brougham wrote in a similar strain to Lord John Russell, whose reply of August 21, 1855, is in Gooch, *Later Correspondence*, II, 213. Russell replied that "Molesworth, a Cabinet Minister and not a very discreet one, is an intimate friend of Mr Delane whom he invites to dinner constantly Mr Lowe, a Privy Councillor, an able but an unsafe man, has been hitherto a paid contributor, and conveys to Mr Delane (unfaithfully it is said) a report of every conversation he hears in the House of Commons, or in Clubs" Russell saw no remedy in requiring writers to sign their articles

Broughton, Lord Diaries in the B M , MSS Addl , 43744-43765

The Diaries of Sir John Cam Hobhouse, later Lord Broughton, provide information on Delane's relations with the Whig Government, 1846-1852, of which Hobhouse was a member. The selection made in *Recollections of a Long Life* (London, 1909-11, 6 vols.) omits everything of value to the present purpose. Although formerly a privileged correspondent of Thomas Barnes, Hobhouse became severely critical of *The Times* after his personal quarrel with John Walter II "The account given of his [Palmerston's] reception in *The Times* is false and unfair in the extreme—the other papers reported honestly" (May 23, 1850 , 43754/45) "I saw Delane of *The Times* and complained to him of the injustice done to Lord John Russell in his paper—and told him how handsomely all the late Cabinet had behaved in seconding his attempt to bring Graham and his friends to join him Delane said he believed they had—nevertheless *The Times* continued to hint that Russell himself was the chief obstacle to a union of the parties" (February 27, 1851 , 43755/84) About 1850 he made Delane's acquaintance and rode and corresponded with him for many years, but by this time his public career was almost over and his observations after 1852 cease to be important.

Clarendon, Fourth Earl of Papers in the private possession of the Earl of Clarendon
Letters from Aberdeen, Palmerston, Russell, Stratford, Cowley, Greville, and Reeve, and letters to Reeve

In September, 1853, the Peelite members of the Cabinet, who owned the *Chronicle*, organized an effort to save their property by making it into what would in fact have been a semi-official organ. Hitherto neglected, the paper came under the active direction of Sidney Herbert, who introduced Cook to Clarendon and hoped thereby to obtain for him access to Foreign Office information. Clarendon wrote Cook a note, to which the editor of the *Chronicle* replied saying he would "gladly avail himself, from time to time, of the permission which Lord Clarendon has had the kindness to grant him, to make inquiries respecting the progress of the Eastern question, if his Lordship will be good enough to inform him whether he would prefer such inquiries being made by letter, or personally, by calling on Lord Clarendon at the Foreign Office." (J. D. Cook to Clarendon, September 2, 1853.) The Foreign Secretary, however, was no Peelite, nor was the *Chronicle* a force comparable with *The Times*. In consequence, whether or not Cook had the skill to use his opportunity as Delane would have used it, the plan worked ill. Only a month later W. V. Harcourt, a contributor to the *Chronicle*, and next-door neighbour to Delane in Serjeant's Inn, wrote to Clarendon to complain that *The Times* was "made the exclusive vehicle for information communicated to the public by

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the Government" He argued "If the other papers supporting the Govt equally enjoyed the benefit of Foreign Office information, the fact of their holding a language on the subject of Turkey more in accordance with the rights of nations & (I believe) with the policy of the Cabinet, it would then become apparent that the contrary tone on the part of *The Times* is a private view of their own & not dictated by the Govt whose confidence they have now the appearance of exclusively enjoying" (Harcourt to Clarendon, October 10, 1853; another part of this letter is printed by Maxwell, *Clarendon*, I, 366)

Delane, J T Papers in P H S

Letters from Aberdeen (beginning in the year 1844 and continuing to the statesman's death), a few also from his Parliamentary Under-Secretaries at the Foreign Office, Viscount Canning (whose letter of May 26, 1842, reveals that in his earliest years Delane submitted leading articles on foreign affairs to the Foreign Office for its opinion) and Lord Stratford. Delane's correspondence with Clarendon began in 1846, but did not attain its greatest volume until after Reeve's retirement. The letters of Greville to Delane and Dasent in the autumn of 1846 illustrate the part he played during the Spanish Marriages controversy. Letters from Sir Charles Wood and Sir Denis Le Marchant, to and from leader-writers, from John Walter III to Dasent, and from Delane to Dasent and Reeve have also been used.

Foreign Office Archives in the P R O

These have been consulted at certain points, especially the collection of drafts and memoranda (F.O. 96), also the private papers of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe (F.O. 352), principally for letters from Clarendon, 1853-55 (F.O. 352/36-42).

France, Foreign Office Archives in A E, Paris.

The alliance between Delane and Palmerston in 1855 was not seriously regarded by the French Embassy in London. The earliest report to the French Foreign Office that has been traced is dated December 4, 1857 (Paris, A.E., F.185546), addressed by M. G. Mitchell, then in London, to Isidore Salle, Chef de la Division de la Presse ". J'affirme hardiment que ce journal est aujourd'hui l'organe de Lord Palmerston exclusivement. Il est complètement sous le contrôle de Sa Seigneurie et Mr Delane, son principal éditeur, est à tout égard (en ce qui concerne le journal) un des secrétaires privés de Lord Palmerston. Assurément, si notre Premier Ministre était sincère dans ses louanges de l'Empereur, Mr Delane n'oseraient pas attaquer Sa Majesté et les institutions françaises aussi souvent qu'il le fait. Cette servilité du *Times* vis-à-vis de Lord Palmerston fait beaucoup de tort à ce journal dans l'esprit des Anglais. Jadis (quoiqu'on ait pu l'accuser d'inconsistance politique), une certaine portion des Anglais aimait l'indépendance du *Times*, car, attaquer des personnages d'un rang élevé est considéré par beaucoup de personnes comme un acte d'indépendance . . .".

Greville, Charles: The Diaries, 1841-1855 (B.M., MSS. Addl. 41112-41121), and Correspondence with Henry Reeve (*ibid.* 41184-41185); *vide infra*, Publications.

Layard, A. H.: Papers in the B M.

Useful especially for the Crimean period, the time of the greatest intimacy between Layard and Delane. Letters from Delane, 1855 (MSS. Addl. 38983/16, 49, 181, 331, 38984/147, 215). The attitude of the young Opposition group, which was supposed to have influence with *The Times* in the first half of 1855, towards Lowe's acceptance of office under Palmerston, is indicated by the following letter from Lord Goderich, a member of the group, to Layard,

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August 25, 1855 "Lowe has, as you will have seen, got his reward and dodged himself into a Privy Councillorship. He has certainly played his cards well for his purpose. How far that has been a high one I will not pronounce" (38984/159)

Peel, Sir Robert · Papers in the B M

In 1843, Delane to Aberdeen, asking for a Customs appointment for his brother (July 22, 40453/402), 1844, Draft to the Queen (MSS Addl 40439/51), letter from Aberdeen (August 22) "The letters published in *The Times* from officers on board the *Waspire* in which not only the lubberly conduct of the French squadron is criticised, but the personal courage of the Prince is assailed, are likely to excite much indignation in France, and are surely very reprehensible. The truth is, that if war, the greatest of all calamities is to be endured, it will be brought upon us chiefly by the press of the two countries. I still trust that we shall not play into the hands of these firebrands" (40454/229). This should be compared with Lord Cowley's letter above and with his report of a conversation with Louis Philippe. "Although he had all along confided in the wisdom and moderation of the two governments, for the maintenance of the friendly relations between Great Britain and France, yet he could not deny that there had been a moment when so great a degree of irritation and excitement had been produced in both countries by the misrepresentations and insane violence of the Press, particularly of that of France, as to make him almost doubtful of the probability that a rupture could be avoided" (September 9, 1844, FO 27/700) 1845, from Aberdeen. (40455/216) 1846, letter from Aberdeen (June 19) enclosing two from Delane (June 18), also a letter from J Tyas to Delane, and a third from Delane to Aberdeen (June 19), all bearing upon a suspected falsification of a speech in Hansard (40455/361-366 and 370). Aberdeen sent Delane Peel's note of thanks for his assistance (June 20, now in P.H.S.), 1849, from Aberdeen (January 15; 40455/466). "There is an article in *The Times* today, evidently containing the Government version of the affair" (*i.e.*, Russell's offer of a place in the Government to Sir James Graham), from Graham on the same subject (January 16, 40452/17).

Russell, Lord John · Papers in the P.R.O

The 1847 letter from Palmerston (G and D 22/6), 1854 from Clarendon (22/11), 1855 from Greville (22/10), to Minto (22/12), Clarke's report to Gilbert Elliot (22/12). Of the condolences received by Russell from his partisans among the old Whigs at the time of his resignation, July, 1855, the following from Lord Fortescue, his former colleague, Viceroy of Ireland under Melbourne, is typical :

"The dregs of the Tory party headed by D'Israeli in the hope of making your ruin their own stepping stone into power, and the Roebucks and Layards and scaremongers, with a view of decrying and preventing every possible Government have with the aid of the rascally *Times* laboured not without effect to prejudice the Public against you" (July 20, 1855, 22/12.)

Clarendon wrote with the utmost circumspection and pointed out that the elevation of Delane's ally, Molesworth, into Russell's place was not by his advice (July 22).

"Palmerston in writing to me one day upon other matters said 'I have recommended Molesworth to the Queen for the Colonies' and that is all I know about the matter, I did not even answer him for I could not say I thought the appointment a good one and I expect that the Colonial bubble Molesworth will not be long before it bursts. I am sure however that it will be for the comfort of us all not to fash ourselves about the inscrutable ways and the rascally motives of *The Times*, otherwise one may get entangled in suspicions

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and be led into error. As one cannot horsewhip Delane & Co., the best way is to go on never minding them. I long ago determined not to read any abuse of myself or of those who are dear to me and with the exception of half an article on the first day I am entirely ignorant of what *The Times* wrote against you" (22/12)

Windsor Archives

Palmerston's letter to the Queen, October 19, 1855, is partially printed by the Marquis of Loine, *Viscount Palmerston*, 1892, pp. 173-174, without date or name of the addressee, the original is preserved at Windsor Castle (G 39 55)

" Viscount Palmerston presents his humble Duty to your Majesty and has had the honour to receive your Majesty's communication of the 6th instant. Viscount Palmerston was as disgusted as your Majesty was, at the articles in *The Times* to which your Majesty adverts, and he shewn (*sic*) to his colleagues in London your Majesty's letter With Regard however to any practical Remedy there is much difficulty in finding any that would be immediately effectual. There is no Doubt some inconvenience in the admission of Editors and writers of newspapers into general society, but if they happen to be in a Position in Life which would naturally lead to their being invited, it would not be easy to exclude them merely on account of their Connection with a newspaper; and if they were not to be excluded entirely it is obvious that it would not be advisable to make their admission or exclusion depend upon the character of the last article in the Paper with which they may be understood or known to be connected. With regard moreover to *The Times* it is further to be considered that there is no one Person who writes or is answerable for all the leading articles in that Paper. There are many Hands employed in writing articles, and those only who are in the Confidence of the Editor can know who any given article was written by. The Person connected with *The Times* who is the most frequently seen in general society is Mr Delane, but Viscount Palmerston has been informed within the last Two Days that Mr Delane is at present abroad, and could not therefore have been the writer of the articles on which your Majesty so justly animadverts. But though *The Times* both does and intends to do mischief, yet that mischief is often very temporary and much limited. That Paper often takes a Line in Hopes of being followed by public opinion, but when it finds that public opinion goes another way, it changes its course and follows public opinion. What the Managers aim at above all is to get a great circulation for their Paper, and that is not to be obtained by running long against the Feelings and opinions of the mass of the nation. Thus it was that *The Times* having begun by taking the Part of Russia has now become one of the most violent antagonists of Russia; and there have been many other instances of similar changes of language as to Men and Things. Viscount Palmerston has had as much reason as most Persons to complain of *The Times*, for from the time when he first went to the Foreign Office for some Reasons or other which he never could discover *The Times* has been animated by undeviating Hostility personal and political towards him, and he has never known from whom or from whence that Hostility proceeded—within the last Fortnight *The Times* has in some Degree changed its Tone, with apologies for doing so, mainly because the capture of Sebastopol has turned public opinion strongly in Favor of the existing Government; But before long the Paper will probably revert more or less to its former Course. . . ."

The account given in the text of Palmerston's relations with the Press, 1840-1855, may be amplified. He was known to have influence with the *Chronicle*, the *Globe* and other papers, in which he advocated policies with which his colleagues disagreed. In 1840, Russell complained of the *Chronicle* to Melbourne and

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Ellice complained of the *Observer* (*Melbourne Papers*, 1890, pp. 462 and 472) To Russell, Melbourne wrote "You are right about the press. If it is, as it is, part of the management of foreign affairs, it ought to be determined as a general question. But I have long since given it up in despair . . ." (*Ibid.*, 486) This is a reply to Russell's letter, printed by Gooch, I, 18.) Cf. also Melbourne's reply to a complaint of the *Chronicle* from the Queen (Q V L, 1908, I, 374) Russell's feelings were bitter, he wrote to Melbourne on October 2, 1840 "I conclude by the article in this day's *Chronicle* that it is Palmerston's object to drive me out of office. If this is so, surely my resignation may as well be given at once?" (Russell Papers, G and D 22/3) The quarrel continued through 1841, Palmerston writing diplomatically to Russell on September 18 "I can assure you that Easthope has no disposition to separate action, on the contrary, he came to me two days ago saying he wished me to ask you whether you thought it would be useful that the *Chronicle* should begin to press Peel . . . He said that he was quite sensible that it would answer no Purpose that the *Chronicle* should take one line, and you in Parliament another. That it is essential that the Party should be kept together and that there should be unity of course" (G and D 22/4) The matter came to a head after the fall of the Whig Government, since Palmerston continued to control the *Chronicle's* foreign policy (Greville recognized in one article "word for word what Palmerston said to me at Broadlands", *Diary* September 19, 1842) In November, 1842, the Russell party believed that Palmerston was trying to direct the party and public opinion through the newspapers (Cf. Gooch, *Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell*, I, 61-62) "A sort of consultation" between Clarendon, Lansdowne and Russell, supported by Bedford, Spencer and others, took place at Bowood (Greville, December 20, 1842). afterwards Russell wrote a remonstrance to Palmerston, who, believing "that Russell's opinions were often Ellice's, filtered through the Duke of Bedford and Lord Spencer and Lord Fitzwilliam" (Broughton, *Recollections*, VI, 81)¹, replied, November 14, 1842.

"The Bear [Ellice] it seems is now caballing to get up in the Party an Expression of Dissatisfaction at the line taken upon Foreign Affairs by the *Morning Chronicle*. This is not new, nor wonderful. He is always plotting against those who will not let him manage them; and Easthope & his Coadjutors in the *Chronicle* not happening to entertain the same exalted opinion of Ellice's Sagacity, which seems to be felt by our Whig aristocracy, have for a long Time past declined to place themselves under his guidance. Hinc illae Insidiae. He had as you know some small share in the Paper, I have Reason to believe that on Macgillivray's² Death he tried by indirect means to increase his Interest in it, Easthope I believe, at some pecuniary Sacrifice maintained his own Independence as Proprietor of the Paper. Ellice has on various occasions & especially at Paris in 1840 boasted that he would make the Paper do this, or abstain from doing that. He has generally failed, and instead of standing corrected thereby, has only been the more spiteful. The Theme on which he now preaches is, that the Tone of the Paper is too hostile to foreign Powers, too offensive to the United States & too warlike; and it seems he has persuaded Lansdowne & Spencer to say they agree with him in so thinking. It is easy to make these vague & sweeping assertions, but People who make them should point out the particular article or Passage to which such assertions relate. For

¹ Palmerston added, according to Broughton: "Ellice writes to these people, they write to Russell, but do not say who has written to them. Russell thinks the advice their own, and follows it." Palmerston was correct in seeing the Bear's hand in it, but Ellice also wrote direct to Russell (*vide* Russell Papers, G. and D. 22/4 for Ellice's letter of November 6, 1842).

² One of the City backers of Easthope on his purchase of the *Chronicle* in 1834. See Vol. I, pp. 304 and 462 for Ellice's participation in Easthope's syndicate.

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my Part I read the *Chronicle* every Day with great attention, and all I can say is, that I have seen no article or Passage in it to which these assertions with the slightest Degree of Justice apply. . . . With regard to the *Chronicle* I am inclined to doubt the expediency of endeavouring to exercise too minute a control over a Paper whose general Tendencies are right, a Hoise sometimes goes the safer for having his Head given him; But I do not recollect having seen any articles in it about France to which full objection could be taken & while all the French Papers are teeming every Day with abuse of England, it can not be surprising if now & then a newspaper writer's Blood should boil over & his Indignation at unjust attacks on his Country should vent itself in some few Remarks, nor, I confess, does it appear to me that such little occasional Raps on the Knuckles, even if they were given, would have an injurious Effect upon our International Relations" (G and D 22/4)

According to Greville "Lord John wrote again, temperately, remonstrating against the tone he had adopted, and telling him that the persons whose sentiments he had expressed were very competent to form opinions for themselves, without the influence or aid of Ellice. This letter elicited one much more temperate from Palmerston, in which he expressed his readiness to cooperate with the party, and to consult for the common advantage, but that he must in the course of the session take an opportunity of expressing his own opinions upon the questions of foreign policy which would arise." (*Diary*, December 20, 1842) Greville's account must be read with caution, since neither he nor Clarendon, his informant, were completely impartial, but where checking is possible, his facts have been found accurate.

After Palmerston's return to the Foreign Office in 1846 his hand continued to be recognized in the *Chronicle* (cf. Aberdeen to Peel, December 4, 1846; B.M., MSS. Addl. 40455) and Lansdowne among his colleagues complained of it (Cf. Gooch, I, 130) Russell was, therefore, not sorry to maintain good relations with *The Times*. His father-in-law, Lord Minto, however, wrote on November 25, 1847 "Easthope does all that is right and proper about the *Chronicle*" (G, and D 22/6) That paper was then sinking fast; on July 26, 1847, it was reduced from 5d. to 4d and Easthope's losses increased. He was glad to sell it to a group of Peelitea at the beginning of the following year (*vide supra*). Palmerston then sought an understanding with *The Times*, as Greville reported to Clarendon, February 24, 1848 (Clarendon Papers) After describing what he had heard respecting the sale of the *Chronicle* the writer added:

"So much for the M.C. Now for what touches me more nearly. Yesterday Lansdowne said to me 'Pray do you know if Reeve ever writes in *The Times*? ' I said I really did not know that he did. 'Because,' he added, 'there have been from time to time some very bitter articles against Palmerston, and he suspects Reeve is the author of them. Do you know, or have you any reason to think such to be the case? ' I replied, that R. was a very old friend of Delane's, that he might for all I knew write occasionally in yo paper, but that if he ever wrote such articles as he alluded to, it was pretty certain that he would not reveal the fact to me or any body else, and therefore I could say nothing on ye matter, but did not believe it. He then said something about putting him on his guard, and to my enquiry whether he wished me to speak to R, he said he would speak to him himself. After some more talk, he asked me a good deal about Delane, my opinion of him, etc., and when I told him I saw a good deal of him, liked him, and had a good opinion of him, it was settled that the first time he came into the office when Lord L. was there, I should take him in and present him.

"This morning I imparted what had passed to R. who is as you may suppose considerably flabbergasted. Soon after, Delane arrived, to whom I mentioned what had passed, when he in his turn told me as follows. Doyle

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(late of ye *M Chron*)¹ came to him yesterday or the day before, and told him he was come from Palmerston to ask him if he was disposed to enter into an alliance with the F O , offering information and regular communication (Doyle told him P used to write in the *M Chron*) Delane said it was out of the question Doyle then said, would he call on P, who would like to see him—certainly he would—so this morning he went, when P. again made the proposal to him, offered all sorts of information and suggested, if he was disposed to accept, that *it would be better if he would put the gentleman who conducted his foreign business into immediate communication with him* Delane very civilly declined—said that he himself had for some years past turned his especial attention to these subjects and was personally and exclusively responsible for all the articles upon them—that he did not think such a connection as had existed between Ld P and the *M Chron* would be either advantageous to him or to the paper—that he had thought so in reference to the *M Chron*, many articles there having been injurious to the Govt and injurious to Ld P, because attributed probably without any reason to him—he professed to have no hostility to P, and reminded him that on many occasions they had supported his policy, and defended his acts, and if on some others, on which they could not approve or defend them, they had written with some asperity, it was no more than every Minister must occasionally expect. This was the gist of the conversation, which was very civil P shook hands with him & so they parted, not I think on the whole, on a bad footing, neither D or R. will bind themselves on any account to P, but I don't think D is at all indisposed to amicable but independant relations with him, and this I have encouraged by all the arguments I could think of I suggested that it must not appear by any *sudden turn*, as if the hit at R had driven home, so that P might conclude he had by terrifying R muzzled *The Times*, but on the other hand, what had passed between P and D was sufficient to warrant a more mitigated and less hostile tone towards him, and I begged that the articles might be written with the view of steering betwixt the two considerations D is well inclined to this, and as R is frightened I shall be able to keep him to it. I really would rather reform Palmerston than punish him—if he will be less flippant, and in short cure himself of the faults which so unhappily neutralize his great power and impair his efficiency, he will be an excellent Minister, and my war is with his errors and misdeeds, not with himself I told Delane therefore—if he will behave well, you don't want to attack him—he said certainly not—well then, nothing will conduce more to moderate him than the support of *The Times* and his knowledge that he must obtain it, and can only obtain it, by reasonable conduct

"Here is a long story which I have scuttled down after dinner, but which will not be without interest to you, so I will not apologise for its length. It is curious on the whole, and it always amuses me to think what a *machine* this paper is, and how and by whom the strings of it are pulled."

Palmerston's failure to win over *The Times* stiffened his hostility against it. He now coupled *The Times* and *Peele's Chronicle* together as publishers of "idle trash" (to Russell, November 27, 1847, G and D. 22/8), and wrote to Ponsonby, October 19, 1849 (*ibid.*).

"I think it right to tell you that I hear from several quarters that Mr. Samuel your Secretary is one of the Correspondents of *The Times*, a newspaper peculiarly and pointedly hostile to me individually & politically and whose language on all foreign affairs is un-english, whilst it makes itself on every occasion the subservient apologist and defender of everything that is arbitrary and tyrannical and hostile to England in the conduct of any foreign govern-

¹ Andrew Doyle, editor of the *Morning Chronicle* and son-in-law of Sir John Easthope, Bt.

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ment, great or small, in any part of the world. It is not fitting that any person connected with the British Embassy at Vienna, or with any Mission anywhere else, should be in communication direct or indirect with *The Times*"

The allegation that Samuel corresponded with *The Times* was denied by Ponsonby. On the position of the *Globe*, cf Palmerston to John Russell, May 18, 1850 (P R O , G and D 22/8)

"I do not write the *Globe*, nor indeed do I always read it. I see the People who write the Foreign articles, when they come to me to ask to be kept right as to Facts & Events, & that is very seldom, scarcely once in 3 weeks or a month, but they take their own time & write their own articles, but I am no more answerable for their political opinions than the Treasury is for the abuse of me in *The Times*. But I will send for one of Them and give him a Hint. But the Paper has within the last few months passed from Ridgway into other Hands, & it may be, that it is written according to the opinions of its new managing Proprietor. But I thought that there was a sort of Committee at the Treasury for Communication with Newspapers that support the Government."

Apart from this slight connexion with the *Globe*, Palmerston was left without a paper, a situation which was lamented by Delane in a letter to Reeve, September 27, 1848

" . . . It is really a public loss here that Palmerston should have no organ in which one could find an explanation of his policy. The profound secrecy in which every move of the Foreign Office is veiled puts the Press in a most ridiculous position. We go on speculating what France will do and what Austria will do, and, I believe, now and then arrive pretty nearly at the truth, but no one ventures a guess at what Palmerston is about. We might be committed to the most extravagant line of policy without any body having an idea of it until the explosion came. The inconvenience of such a state of things is obvious enough upon public grounds, but upon us of the Press gang the evil is intolerable . . . "

Delane's "inconvenience" was removed when Crompton, the paper maker, reinvigorated the *Morning Post* and put Boothwick in as editor. Thenceforth it became Palmerston's personal organ, while the *Globe* continued to be used by the Foreign Office.

The sources of Delane's information of the British Government's secret ultimatum to Russia are touched upon at the end of Chapter V. The following additional documents support the view that Delane's source was Napier. Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Napier, who owed his appointment to the command of the Baltic Fleet in part to Delane's influence, dined with the Editor at Serjeants' Inn on January 14, 1854 (See Daseen, I, 167). Napier accepted the Baltic command on February 24, 1854. (See Graham to Napier, P R O , G D 16/12) The following are the paragraphs of the first leading article in *The Times* of Tuesday, February 28, 1854, to which Aberdeen, Russell, Derby, &c., objected

" . . . The Governments of England [the Cabinet came to this decision on February 26] and France have therefore resolved to address to the Emperor of RUSSIA a formal summons, calling upon him to give within six days from the receipt of that communication a solemn promise and engagement that he will cause his troops to evacuate the Principalities of the Danube on or before the 30th of April. The couriers who are the bearers of this despatch from London and Paris started on their journey yesterday morning. They will pass through Berlin and Vienna, whence it is understood that similar demands will be forwarded at the same time by the Cabinets of Prussia and Austria. The refusal on the part of Russia to comply with this just demand or to return a fitting answer will be regarded by the Powers as a declaration of war."

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The second paragraph of the same leader includes the following reference to the Aland Islands

"Upon the arrival from the Tagus of Admiral Corry's squadron, which was seen yesterday evening outside the Isle of Wight, and has now cast anchor at Spithead, Sir Charles Napier, the Commander of the fleet, transfers his flag to the Duke of Wellington. The Isles of Aland, which were seized by Russia when she effected the conquest and annexation of Finland in 1809, are also an important naval station, as they command the Gulf of Bothnia, and threaten even the capital of Sweden, to which kingdom they ought rightfully to belong. It would be a wise and politic measure, well calculated to check the immoderate ascendancy of Russia, if the events of the war enabled the allied Powers to restore these islands to the Scandinavian monarchies, with which they are intimately connected by race, religion, past traditions, and national spirit, and we cannot but hope that the gallant people of Sweden may take advantage of this conjuncture in affairs to recover the province which was so shamefully wrested from them nearly half a century ago."

On the day of the publication (February 28, 1854) of this leading article Aberdeen wrote (MSS Addl 43188, f 412) to Clarendon

"I had not seen *The Times* before going down to the House of Lords to-day, where I was told of a leading article which had appeared this morning, detailing the whole of our proceedings at the Cabinet on Sunday. Not only is the summons to the Emperor of Russia mentioned, but the delay of six days allowed for an answer, as well as the date fixed for the total evacuation of the Principalities! Now, this is really too bad, and is highly discreditable to the Government. At a time when I was protesting in the House of Lords against revealing the intentions of the Government, our most secret decisions are made public! I can conceive nothing more mischievous than such disclosures, and it is quite necessary that somehow or other this evil should be corrected. Unfortunately it is believed that *The Times* is especially my organ, although in fact there is very seldom an article in it from which I do not entirely dissent. It can only be from the Foreign Office that this information is obtained; and it seems to me very essential that the practice should be entirely discontinued. I hope you will exert yourself to correct this evil which has become a scandal not to be endured."

Upon receipt of this, Clarendon wrote (MSS Addl 43188, 414; printed in Lady Frances Balfour, *Life of Aberdeen*, II, 195) on February 28, 1854.

"The newspapers are among the many curses of one's official existence & I never was more disgusted than in reading the art in *The Times* this morn- but I am at a loss to imagine why you say that it can only be from the F.O. that this informⁿ. is obtained unless you suppose that I furnished it. I really don't believe that there is any one base or stupid enough in the F.O. to commit such an outrage & the art moreover contains an announcement of our Naval operations in the Baltic about wh^t nothing is known in the F.O. I have not much doubt however as to how the informⁿ was obtained & before I got yr. note I had determined to bring the matter before the Cab^t tomorrow tho' of course without saying on whom my suspicion falls. I met Delane in West^t Hall as I was going to the H. of Ld^s. this evens^t and asked him where he got the information he wd^t not tell me but he promised that the subject shd not be adverted to again . . ."

In the meantime the Editor remained in touch with the Admiral (cf. Delane's Diary for March 8, 1854, Dasent, I, 172): "Charley Napier called to take leave on going to command the Baltic Fleet." Russell had already made up his mind to exclude *The Times* from all sources of information and wrote (MSS. Addl. 43067, 310) thus to Aberdeen on March 14, 1854

"I think both you & I are bound to require from the Members of the Cabinet that no communications should be made to the press not authorized by

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you, as the head of the Government Such articles as have appeared in *The Times* for some time past are damaging to the character of the Government, & I must also say most disrespectful to Parl^t. Papers & information are withheld from Members of Parl^t who ask for them, & are then scattered about by the Editors of the Newspapers, broadcast—Let bygones be bygones, but let the future be honourable to our station & character”

The note met with the following acknowledgment (P R O , G D 22/11), March 15, 1854 .

“I entirely agree with you in wishing we could establish some effectual check over the intelligence communicated to *The Times* Newspaper It is really very discreditable to the Govt and as you observe, disrespectful to Parliament that such articles should appear as those of which complaint has recently been made ”

In the meantime the Queen was meditating upon the misdeeds of *The Times* and thus wrote (MSS Addl 43067, 322, 2nd sheet) to Russell from Osborne, March 15, 1854

“The Queen thanks Lord John Russell for his letter received this morning She is glad to see that Lord Palmerston and Sir J Graham got into some difficulty on account of their speeches at the Reform Club dinner, for she thinks dinners of that description with boastings of victories not yet achieved very bad taste and unworthy of this great country which has hitherto been distinguished in not partaking of that swaggering which our French allies are so famous for The Queen entirely agrees in Lord John’s observation respecting the information obtained by *The Times* which she thinks he and the Cabinet ought positively not to tolerate any longer ”

Russell promptly forwarded (MSS Addl 43067, 319) the Queen’s letter to Aberdeen .

“I send you a note from the Queen, just received, in which I entirely agree The only way at present is for Clarendon not to communicate at all while Parl^t is sitting At other times it may be necessary to confute calumnies I shd hardly believe Mr. Delane’s account of his Saturday’s article [Saturday, March 11], were it not that if he had seen my dispatch he could hardly have described it as an indignant one The article [Tuesday, February 28] relating to our summons to Petersburg, and intentions in Aland still remains the greatest wonder. I suspect our Admiral, tho’ that wd be very strange too ”

Aberdeen replied (MSS Addl 43067, 322) under date March 16, 1854 .

“I return the Queen’s letter in which I also fully agree, as well as yourself The Reform Club dinner, as well as the mode of its celebration, was an affair of bad taste With respect to *The Times* we may do something , but after the appearance of the article announcing our summons to Russia, it seems almost hopeless This is the most wonderful, and certainly the most mischievous communication that has been made If your suspicions are correct, it does not say much for the boasted discretion of our Admiral ”

The probability indeed does appear to be that at dinner with the Editor in January and February the Admiral, without intending to inform him, gave indications of his immediate movements—and the reasons for them—which were sufficient basis for one of Delane’s shrewdest intuitions, and that he accordingly embodied them in the sensational leader of February 28, 1854.

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has a violent article against the government framed precisely as it had itself advised a few days ago. But the omission of Layard has enraged it, and it rails against aristocracy'" (I, 536.)

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"Ce gens la dénigrent tout, veulent tout brouiller pourvu qu'ils arrivent Ils disent publiquement qu'il faut un Ministre compose d'hommes qui n'ont jamais vu de portefeuilles Ils tiennent des meetings a part et comptent parmi leurs rangs Layard, Roebuck, Horsman, Lord Gooderick (*sic*), Lowe, et propagent leurs idées par les colonnes du *Times*. Ils déclarent Lord Palmerston trop vieux pour le temps (*sic*) actuel, l'aristocratie inépte et la représentation national incomplète Ce parti agitateur et inquiet peut-être n'est pas encore trop dangereux mais il peut le devenir."

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A Selection from the Russell Papers in the P.R.O.; few references to *The Times*

Greville, Charles *Memoirs*, edited by Lytton Strachey and Roger Fulford (London, 1938, 6 vols.)

To this, the first complete transcript of the Diary with the notes of Reeve, the editors have added annotations of their own. The following entries supplement the text on Palmerston's resignation in December, 1853 "Delane went to Aberdeen, and asked him for his version of the affair, when he said at once he had no hesitation in saying that the Eastern Question was the sole and only cause of P.'s resignation; that he had all along been opposing what was done, and might have resigned upon it any time for months past, and that but for that question he would have swallowed the Reform Bill. Delane observed, if this was true, P had acted a very high-minded and disinterested part. It has been imprudent of the Government Papers to insist so strenuously that P. resigned solely on account of Reform, and that there was no difference on Foreign policy, because this elicited a violent article in the *Morning Post*, insisting in turn that the E.Q. was the real cause of his retirement, and every-

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body will believe that this was inserted or dictated by himself" (December 21, 1853) "Delane . . . said he was now satisfied that *The Times* had done much mischief by its hasty publication , which I confirmed, and asked him why he had done it. He said it was no use keeping back intelligence which was sure to get out , and as I knew he never did publish what he desired to keep back, and that on this occasion the *Morning Chronicle* had published it likewise, so *The Times* was not alone in the notification " (December 22)

Greville, Charles, and Reeve, Henry *The Letters of*, edited by A H Johnson (London, 1924)

Errors of editorship have necessitated recourse to the originals in the B M

Laughton, J K . *Memoirs of the Life of Henry Reeve* (London, 1898, 2 vols)
Vide infra, under sources for Chapter XI, " Il Pomposo "

Martin, B Kingsley *The Triumph of Lord Palmerston* (London, 1924)

Merk, Frederick " British Government Propaganda and the Oregon Treaty " (*American Historical Review*, XL (i), October, 1934)

Based upon manuscripts in the B M and in the library of Congress.

Parry, E Jones *The Spanish Marriages* (London, 1936)

Reid, T. W. *The Life, Letters and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton* (London, 1920, 2 vols).

Letter to C J McCarthy (June 26, 1845) " *The Times* has gone into open opposition to the Government on all points except foreign policy , it is conducted with spiteful ability, and made good use of, by Disraeli " (I, 356) The rumour of Disraeli's influence over *The Times* was current gossip throughout Peel's Ministry (Cf Bonham to Peel, August 2, 1841, B.M., MSS. Addl 40486/7 , also C S. Parker, *Sir Robert Peel*, II, 478, for Disraeli's denial of responsibility for the attack of 1841.) Delane was acquainted with Disraeli (who wrote on May 15, 1844, to complain of the review of *Coningsby*, Dasent, I, 44-45) and also with George Smythe (Lord Strangford), and the paper favoured Young England, whose creed bore much resemblance to John Walter II's opinions and was embraced entire in a leading article of October 17, 1844. There were, however, other reasons for the attacks on Peel. (*Vide supra*, pp. 328 and 406, for Disraeli's later relations with Delane)

Stanmore, Arthur Hamilton Gordon, Lord . *Lord Aberdeen* (London, 1893).

Ignores Aberdeen's relations with Delane

Temperley, Harold *England and the Near East, The Crimea* (London, 1936)

After the rejection of the Vienna Note by the Turks, August, 1853, Clarendon " did not openly blame Stratford, still less ask him to resign. He told Greville in private that Stratford ' has not bona fide striven ' for the ' Note,' but the cabinet had no case against him. He told Henry Reeve, ' I believe that he (Stratford) honourably endeavoured to get the note accepted.' This was for the benefit of *The Times* Thus Clarendon, a sincere and honourable man, was being tangled in a web of deceit " (348-349.) The curious effect of Clarendon's intercourse with both Reeve and Delane is to be observed in the fact that, while he wrote, as Professor Temperley says, in defence of Stratford to the leader-writer, he nevertheless a few days before informed Delane that he thought Stratford had not exerted all his influence , he added " upon that however nothing must be said till we know more " (Letter of August 26, 1853, in P.H.S.). When he was prepared for " something to be said," Clarendon wrote direct to Reeve to give him his line.

Periodicals

Lord Brougham's " few lines of announcement in the *Law Review* " (*vide p 264*) are in Volume 22, August, 1855, p. 453. It was proposed to establish a weekly journal to be entitled the *Statesman* and to supply carefully digested records

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of debates, abstracts of Parliamentary Papers, succinct accounts of changes made or proposed in Statute law, political and social statistics, diplomatic and State papers with explanatory notes, and other information necessary or useful to persons engaged in political matters, together with original articles "written with a view rather to the dissemination of sound and useful political knowledge, as materials for the formation of opinion, than the theories of parties or individuals." Nothing came of this project.

The *Daily Telegraph and Courier* (July 24, 1855) A letter from "a sincere administrative Reformer" "The Times gave us a push forward when we started, but it has since pulled us back several times, and that shrewd personage known in St Stephen's, and at every sanctum in King William Street, as 'Bob Lowe' holds aloof from us."

The *Press* (August 18, 1855) hinted that Lowe's appointment had a sinister meaning—"We shall not here say what we have heard upon the subject"—but Glover's *Morning Chronicle* (August 16, 1855) denied the current rumour that it was due to his connexion with journalism "It is rather in spite of the popular rumours as to his occupations, that Mr Lowe has risen to his present eminence", by this appointment, Palmerston "proclaimed that merit confers the true right to employment in the public service—an instalment of 'Administrative Reform' of more than specific value, in as much as that it admits a great principle."

The *Standard* saw Lord Aberdeen's hand at work in the columns of *The Times* long after that statesman had ceased to have any influence (cf June 30, 1855, where Aberdeen's malign influence is discovered in "the dirt thrown up in his confidential journal"), but the *Standard* also characterized *The Times* as "The great Jew journal" (June 28, 1855). The *Daily Telegraph and Courier*, on the other hand, was premature in discovering the influence of Lord Palmerston (August 1, 1855). The *Morning Advertiser*, directed by James Grant, was the only daily which, like the *Press*, saw in September, 1855, that the changing relations of *The Times* and Palmerston were important enough to merit editorial comment. On Monday, September 24, 1855, an article in this journal observed "The Times has long been considered synonymous with inconsistency. It is another name for variableness. But, perhaps, of all the unnumbered changes which that paper has undergone in its views of the men and measures of the day, there has been nothing so startling as the effrontery with which it now heaps its adulation on Lord Palmerston . . .

"The Times, like Austria, is ever on the winning side. The thunder which our Contemporary now appropriates to himself, is the thunder of the *Morning Advertiser*, but with this difference, that we spoke thus of Lord Palmerston, day by day, for three years, when *The Times* was incessantly labouring to run him down and destroy him for ever. Now that he appears to be firmly fixed in the Premiership, *The Times* is ready to load him with its fulsome laudation. . . . Whenever he shall be supposed to be a falling Minister, *The Times* will be the very first to assist in kicking him down from the high pinnacle on which he at present stands. No one knows this better than Lord Palmerston himself. His lordship will estimate the sycophancy of *The Times* in his present prosperous position, at its proper worth."

VI. DELANE'S STAFF; XI. IL POMPOSO

Manuscript

Delane, John Thaddeus, to Henry Reeve. Letters in the possession of H. Reeve Wallace, Esq. Delane's last letter to Reeve is dated Christmas, 1878

Letters from G. W. Dasent, H. Reeve, T. Mozley, H. Woodham, R. Lowe in the Delane Correspondence

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Reeve, Henry *Journal of his Life to 1867*, 1 vol

"On 15 May [1840] Greville introduced me to Mr Barnes . . . The Treaty of the Four Powers was signed on 15th of July It transpired 10 days later I began to write in *The Times* on the subject 31 July [1840]" October 4 [1855] "I resigned my connexion with *The Times* in consequence of an offensive article on the marriage of the Princess Royal"

Memoandum Book, September 12, 1846, to April 28, 1853, 1 vol

Printed

Laughton, Sir J K *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Henry Reeve* (London, 2 vols , 1898)

The correspondence between Reeve and Lord Clarendon printed by Prof. Laughton has been corrected and supplemented by recourse to originals, now in the possession of the Earl of Clarendon Laughton altered the letters he used in several important respects, not only by unacknowledged omissions, but also by alterations of words

Martin, A P *Life of Robert Lowe, Lord Sherbrooke* (London, 1893, 2 vols)

Mozley, Anne (editor) *Letters of the Rev J B Mozley, D D* (London, 1885)

Mozley, Thomas *Reminiscences, chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement* (1882, 2 vols)

Reminiscences, chiefly of Towns, Villages, and Schools (1885, 2 vols)

Letters from Rome on the occasion of the Ecumenical Council (1891, 2 vols)

The Creed or a Philosophy (1893)

Cooke, George Wingrove, was a voluminous writer, beginning with *Memoirs of Lord Bolingbroke*, 1836, and a *History of Party*, 1836-37, and continuing with a number of works on legal subjects. He later published *Inside Sebastopol* (1856) and reprints of two series of contributions to *The Times*: *China* (1858) and *Conquest and Colonisation in North Africa* (1860). For Cooke's unsuccessful attempt to enter Parliament, with an estimate of the position of journalists in politics, see the *Saturday Review*, April 27, 1861

VII. FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE TO 1855; XIII. TO 1865

Manuscript

The principal sources for those chapters are the Letter-Books kept by Mowbray Morris from the year of his appointment ; these are preserved at P.H.S. and comprise copies of the greater part of the Manager's official correspondence from his appointment in 1847.

These have been supplemented by reference to papers in the B.M. and P.R.O.

Delane's letter to Aberdeen regarding Paton (August 27, 1849) is printed in the privately printed selection from Lord Aberdeen's correspondence in the B.M , Aberdeen's reply is in the Delane Correspondence at P.H.S. Sandwith's letters to Layard are preserved among the Layard Papers at the B M : June 19, 1853 (MSS. Addl. 38981/367), September 11, 1853 (*ibid* , 38982/60) Here, also, is Alison's letter of November 16, 1853 (38982/92). Data respecting Wilkinson in Berlin and O'Meagher in Paris are provided by the correspondence of Lords Bloomfield and Cowley with Clarendon (Clarendon Papers.) Information on the correspondents in Italy is to be found in the published correspondence of Cavour and in the Layard and Panizzi collections in the B M. Something of the later fortunes of Patrick O'Brien may be gathered from his correspondence with Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, 1855. (Stratford Papers in P.R.O , F.O. 352/38 and 42) Andrew O'Reilly became

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE

a jackal for Lord Clarendon when he left the service of *The Times*. Cf. Clarendon Papers, also Aberdeen Papers in the B M. Clarendon thus wrote to Aberdeen, sending a letter from O'Reilly, July 26, 1853 "I send you the enclosed for *quantum valeat*. You probably know the writer—he was for many years the Correspondent of *The Times* at Paris & he has often supplied me with information sometimes true & sometimes absurd" (MSS Addl 43188/198) Some years earlier O'Reilly offered his services to Peel "My position here (Foreign Corresponding Editor of *The Times*)," he wrote, "gives me frequently access to important information which it is not expedient to publish I should feel highly flattered by permission to intrude upon you on such occasions They would be few and the matter would be condensed" Peel sent this letter to Aberdeen (O'Reilly to Peel, January 1, 1841, B M, MSS Addl 43062/1)

Sir Thomas Wyse, British Minister at Athens, wrote to Clarendon respecting newspaper correspondents

"I have just heard that the government here have enlisted as their 'correspondents from Athens' for some paper in London under Tricoupi's direction, Mr Darby, a very bad character indeed, and long resident at the Peireis, and Mr O'Brien brother of the Mr. O'Brien of *Times*' own correspondent' notorious, late in the Royal Gymnasium at Patras as Professor of English appointed by the Court and last from the Insurgent camp in Epirus & Bearer of Despatches from Genl Tyranthus, to the King! It is of the utmost importance the Govt should be on their watch against these *ex professo* preparers of calumnies & falsehoods but not less against the correspondents of what abroad are supposed to be the Govt. papers, especially the *Morning Chronicle*. M Raugabe, married to Miss Shane, who notwithstanding all caution, still is accepted as their informant on Greek matters and supplies them with materials for the most part directly opposite to the fact This is to create a false public opinion in England & to be made the worst use of in Greece, as by their being afterwards quoted in the Greek papers as the opinions of the English govt & public Mr Black long domesticated here, is a respectable man whom I can safely recommend and it would be of great public advantage for the *Chronicle* or *Times* to employ him" March 27, 1854 (Clarendon Papers)

Morris, however, was already acquainted with Mr Black, who had occasionally served the paper, he judged that Black's "personal qualifications may be thus represented—0" (Morris to O'Meagher, February 20, 1850; M. 1/341.)

Reeve's views on foreign correspondence in Delane's first period are elaborated in a letter to Morris, October 16, 1849, now preserved at P.H.S.:

"As you ask my opinion about the Berlin correspondence I am certainly ready to say what I think I agree with you in attaching very little weight to the observations of Ld. Shelburne's friend & I always depiccate having foreigners for correspondents abroad—especially Germans¹ But it must be acknowledged that the letters you publish are most unsatisfactory—late in their intelligence, incomplete in their details For instance at this moment an important convention has been signed with Austria about the Central Power & the state of Schleswig is very perplexing. Neither of these subjects has been adequately treated. For my own part I can only say that I rely entirely for Berlin information on the correspondent of the *Chronicle*. I do not want you to have a great politician or an eminent writer at Berlin, but I think we require somebody who will read all the German papers & digest the most interesting part of their contents. I also think such a man ought to have some personal acquaintance with German political society, not to be earwagged by foreign politicians but to obtain a thorough insight into the current of affairs. In the present state of

¹ Reeve's views exactly coincided with Morris's on this point For the development of a different practice cf. *infra*, p. 594.

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affairs I do not see that there is much gained by having any correspondent at Berlin, but there must be one somewhere in northern Germany, & perhaps Berlin is as good a place as any other "

List of foreign Correspondents and Agents employed by *The Times* on August 1, 1857

Paris	-	-	O'Meagher	United States	-	Filmore
Paris	-	-	Rafterty	United States	-	Davis
Vienna	-	-	Bird	California	-	Fraser
Berlin	-	-	Wilkinson	Turkey	-	Eber
Turin	-	-	Blackall	Alexandria	-	Kay
Marseilles	Gower and Co			Malta	-	Stevens
Trieste	-	Austrian Lloyd,		Bombay	-	Standen
Naples	-	-	Wreford	Calcutta	-	Townsend
Hamburg	-	-	Martin	China	-	Cooke
			Colombo		Ferguson	

The development of European and Eastern telegraphs has not been studied systematically and no account of the influence of the invention upon journalism has been written. The importance of completing the wire in the Crimean War, and the inconvenience of doing so by steamer are well indicated in Russell's letter to Delane written on November 9, 1854 "I have already supplied Moiris with the details of the route from Varna to Bucharest & thence to Cronstad & so on by telegraph to England (in 70 hours) & I really think wonders might be done if he cd get a communication between this [Balaklava] & Varna. I'm certain a safe telegraph might be dispatched (*pace Austriae*) from the Crimea & received in London in 100 hours at farthest. I have written several times to Chenevry on the subject and 'eie I left Varna I communicated to him what arrangements cd. be made there but the breaking up of our establishments at Varna & the cessation of regular intercourse wth it have quite knocked up my plans. It is all important to stop these Vienna lies. See what a thing it wd be if we had a steamer at our disposal. Just take for example the case of the Battle of Inkermann on the 5th Nov. The action was over at 2 o'clock that day. At 4 I cd have been steaming across to Varna, & in all probability I cd have reached it by 2 or 3 o'clock the following day (*i.e.* 6th Nov) having had time to write a good account of the Battle during the voyage. At 6 or 7 o'clock at latest the Tartar wd be off to Bucharest, & if you refer to my letter to M^r Moiris you will see Colonel Males estimate of the time to London for the telegraph." The Balaklava to London wire was completed in 1855. There were considerable improvements in the Marseilles-Paris wire in 1857, resulting in a 25 per cent reduction in the rate, but the expense continued to be very high and Eastern messages were frequently delayed. The period of transmission taken by the land-line telegraphs from London to Bombay was 7-10 days and as much as 15-25 days in bad weather. The Bankers and Merchants of the City of London memorialized the Secretary of State for India in 1867-68 Moiris wrote to T. A. Trollope, November 29, 1869 (P.H.S. Papers, M. 1654). "The telegraph has superseded the news letter, & has rendered necessary a different style & treatment of public subjects—more reflective than narrative, with a wider scope & greater breadth of views. To illustrate my meaning, I refer you to the letters of a Parisian correspondent [Prevost Paradol] which appear every Monday in *The Times*. These letters are at present too exclusively political for exact imitation, but if you refer to the series you will find a considerable range of subjects & a sufficient variety to satisfy the public appetite." Trollope, elder brother of the novelist, was well known as a journalist, writing for the *Fortnightly Review*, &c. In 1869-70 he acted for a short time as an occasional correspondent to *The Times* in Italy, and later became the regular correspondent of the *Standard* in that country. The telegraphed letters wired at a special night rate prepared the way for the first

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P H S -Paris private wire for use at night instituted in 1874 L. W. Courtenay for Sir James Carmichael of the Société du Télégraphe Sous-Marin entre la France et l'Angleterre, Paris, is found (P H S Papers) writing on April 30, 1874, to Hardman authorizing the commencement of the "Service de Nuit" from May 1 In 1870 the Falmouth-Lisbon-Gibraltar-Malta submarine cable was laid to connect with the Malta-Alexandria cable Recourse to a land-line was necessary to carry messages to the Suez. The Aden-Bombay cable was laid in 1870

Printed

1860 Papers relating to Electric Telegraph Companies , 1861 Evidence before the Committee on the Red Sea and India Telegraph Bill , 1866-1868 Reports by Mr Scudamore on the proposed transfer to the Post Office of the control and management of the Electric Telegraph throughout the United Kingdom Two Reports of the Committee on Bill

A Report to the Postmaster-General upon certain proposals which have been made for transferring to the Post Office the control and management of the Electric Telegraph, July, 1868 , Supplementary Report, 1868 , Special Report from the Select Committee on the Electric Telegraph Bill, 1868 , Report of the Select Committee on the Telegraph Bill, 1869 . The main criticisms of the Telegraph companies were that charges were considered too high , avoidable, but constantly occurring delays , many districts unprovided with facilities , example pointed to of Belgium and Switzerland, where the State had taken over the systems with consequent lower charges

Baines, F K *Forty Years at the Post Office* (London, 1895, 2 vols)

In 1856 Baines (the "Baines" of Hemmeon's admirable *History of the British Post Office*, Harvaid, 1912), submitted to the P M G , Lord Stanley, a plan for Post Office telegraphs. In 1865 Lord Stanley directed Scudamore, Assistant Secretary of the Post Office, to consider the matter. The circumstances of the transfer of the companies' systems are described in Vol II, Chapters XIII and XIV. See also Hemmeon, Chapter X

Brown, F J *The Cable and Wireless Communications of the World* (London, 1930).

Principally occupied with finance and development, but there is a brief though useful historical chapter (I, pp 1-8), which, with a chapter on the systems (II, pp. 9-25), gives the dates of the foundation of the main cable routes and forms the best available introduction to the subject.

Anonymous : " Modern Newspaper Enterprise," in *Fraser's Magazine*, June, 1876.

An able article, useful on Reuter, special Paris wires, &c. The competitive enterprise of *The Times*, the *Daily Telegraph* and the other journals is compared with similar efforts on the part of the New York press "It is no exaggeration to say that this *Times* correspondence [that is, the private telegraph wire between P H S and Paris] . . . is, upon the whole, the most remarkable achievement of newspaper enterprise the world has ever seen."

Meyer, Hugo R. : *British State Telegraphs* (New York, 1907), Chapter VIII, pp. 113-126

Valuable for an account of the uneconomic rate at which newspaper messages were accepted by the Post Office. "We believe," said Mr. C H. B. Patey to the Select Committee on the Revenue Department's Estimates, 1888, "that the tariff under which the press messages are sent in this country causes a loss amounting to nearly £200,000 a year." In 1893 the estimated loss was £300,000. (Pp. 122-3.)

VIII. JOURNALISM DEFINED

The attention given to the English Press by the French authorities under Louis Napolcon may be followed at the Archives Nationales, particularly in : Series F-18 Imprimerie & Librairie Nos. 300, 301, 310, 311, 426, 544 (a and b), 569 and 2348 ;

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Series F-4 Comptabilité Générale Nos. 2682 and 2697, Series F-7 Police Générale Nos 3480 to 3487 At the Affaires Etrangères Volumes No 684, 685, 686, 688, 689, 691, 696, 698, 724, 725, 752 and 753 of the Correspondance Diplomatique-Angleterre have been of particular use

The authorship of the memorandum (Paris, A N, Angleterre F-18 No 544b) reproduced in the text of Chapter VIII is not traceable. That it was dictated by one of those immediately responsible for the *coup d'Etat* is more than probable and it is probable too that the corrections only are in his hand. The corrections in the first line of paragraph 3, of the words "à l'ambassadeur [?] français de" (which have been crossed out) and the words "qu'on" inserted in a heavier handwriting, have been made without bothering to change the tense of the verb "procurer" in the next line. The handwriting of the body of the memorandum is found during 1843 in documents of the Bureau de la Librairie (F-18 441a) and continues to be found until 1852 in the file "Presse Etrangère" (F-18, 547). The writer's perception of a body of English opinion which feared Napoleon less than it admired his authoritarian method of re-establishing order was verified in the following year.

In 1853 the unqualified hostility of *The Times* towards Louis Napoleon aroused the resentment of important City interests. Under the chairmanship of Thomas Hankey, Governor of the Bank of England, a declaration was drawn up and signed by some two hundred of the best known personalities in the City. Walewski's memorandum (A E Paris, February 18, 1853) to his Minister, Persigny, indicates that the amount of capital put into French industrial concerns made necessary the demonstrations against the "excitations de quelques journaux de Londres et du *Times* en particulier." Cf M. H de Laire *Mémoires du Duc de Persigny* (Paris, 1896, pp. 120, 199, 213). In March a large number of City men signed a friendly manifesto addressed to Louis Napoleon. This address of the merchants, bankers, &c., of the City of London was printed and extensively advertised and circulated with the assistance of Walewski. It deprecated Press attacks on France. Delane knew it to be aimed principally at *The Times* and wrote (D. 5/14) to Dasent from Bear Wood on March 29, 1853 "I don't much like that City declaration. I hope you have set Reeve upon it. I believe it was originally much more offensive to us but has been modified." Walewski's annotated copy of the declaration is to be seen in the A E file. Walewski's view of *The Times* after the outbreak of the Crimean War is given in his report N 16 of January 23, 1855, addressed to Persigny. The files at the Affaires Etrangères (Corresp Politique Angleterre, Vols 680-703, 1850-1855) contain numerous reports on the Press.

Besides its staff correspondents *The Times* used the services of occasional contributors. Lewis Goldsmith (cf. Vol I, pp 490-491) was an occasional correspondent of *The Times*. He acted as a confidential agent of the British Embassy in Paris from 1824 until after 1844 (see Canning to Planta on December 6, 1824, "Try him [at £200 a Quarter]" in P R O , F O 97/1693, Peel to Aberdeen, September 28, 1844, in B M , MSS Addl 43064, f. 34) and for some years during the same period worked for the French secret police, receiving the liberal sum of 18,000 francs a year in 1829 (Arch. Nat., F4 Comptabilités, Allocations sur fonds spéciaux, Dépenses secrètes), which continued until the flight of Charles X in 1830. It was at this point that Goldsmith arranged with *The Times* to forward occasional letters. The association continued until his death. His will (Somerset House, P.C.C.) was witnessed by A. O'Reilly (Paris Correspondent of *The Times*, who was superseded in 1848, see Chapter VII), of 17 rue Lepelletier. When he died Queen Victoria thus wrote to Aberdeen: "The Queen saw in the papers that Mr. Goldsmith is dead; she hopes Lord Aberdeen will now do away with that disgraceful place, and wh. is of no use" (The Queen in holograph to Aberdeen, January 17, 1846, in B.M., MSS Addl 43045, f. 257.) In 1837 Goldsmith's daughter Georgiana married Lord Lyndhurst, and was in regular personal, almost intimate, correspondence with Delane for many years.

The name of Mitchell frequently occurs in the history of the French Press. An Archibald Mitchell is mentioned in the index of foreign agents (Angleterre, Archives

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Etrangeros) and was apparently working in England as a secret agent in 1793 Michael George Mitchell (1795-1880), the eldest of 20 children (by the same mother), was Brussels correspondent of the *Morning Herald* in 1830 From 1834 to 1839 he was correspondent for *The Times* with the Carlist army until he was taken prisoner He was established at Marseilles as the manager of the Indian Mail from 1845-54, and in that capacity acted for *The Times* in 1849 (see p. 82, *supra*) He is found in London (33, Brompton Road) in 1857, when Malmesbury received a call from him Persigny complained to the Ministère de l'Intérieur of his activities (Archives Nationales, F-18, 330), who replied that the "Sieur Mitchell, sujet anglais, avait effectivement fait à la direction de la Presse, offre de ses bons offices près des éditeurs de feuilles anglaises" but that he had no authority to use the name of the Minister The kind of work he was, in fact, doing may perhaps be judged from the only surviving report (Archives Nationales, F-18, 544b) of December 4, 1857 His son Robert Isidore became editor of the *Constitutionnel* in 1869, he fought with the Zouaves in the Franco-German War and was a Deputy 1876-1881 (Cf. Robert Mitchell et Comte Fleury, *Une demi-siècle de mémoires*, Paris, 1911)

A Russian "connexion" with *The Times* was alleged in February, 1853, by Layard in the House of Commons According to Hansard, "He was going to refer to *The Times* newspaper this was a momentous question and he did not wish to exaggerate it, but he would undertake to prove that these secret and confidential despatches were communicated, if not the very day after their arrival, at least two or three days after and furnished material for leading articles in *The Times*" (p 7, cols 5-6, p 8, cols 1-2), with which should be compared Palmerston's observation "My honourable friend has quoted divers passages from *The Times* taking it as an unquestionable organ of the British Government, contrasting the opinions expressed in certain leading articles of *The Times* and opposing them to the deliberate course and general principles which Her Majesty's Government have followed and established Why, Sir I do not presume to inquire from what sources the newspapers of this country may take their inspiration, but if any inference is to be drawn from the identity of opinions expressed in these articles and the opinions expressed by the Government of Russia . . . it is not certainly to the English Government that I should go" Palmerston's hint that the inspiration was not English is rejected in Aberdeen to John Russell (Russell Papers, P.R.O., G.D. 22/11), written on September 16, 1853 "I observe you say in your letter that *The Times* is working actively for *Russia* I should not say that this was the case, but at all events, I can assure you that not a single syllable of the Articles to which you refer, has been inspired by me"

The inspiration, direct or indirect, was guessed at in the *Morning Herald* of March 22, 1853, which referred to "The great Hebrew confederacy which the leading journal is supposed to represent in the press, and the noble lord the member for London City in the House of Commons. . ." There followed a leaden against the "jewish and therefore anti English views" of *The Times* and against Russia. Baron Rothschild had been elected member for the City, but did not take his seat until the passage of the Jew Bill in 1858

The matter was taken up by Marx (and Engels) in Dana's *New York Tribune*, who held "the opinion that *The Times* is, in fact, a greater power than the Coalition, not as to its opinions, but as to the data which constitute the treasonable character of this secret correspondence," i.e., between P.H.S. and the Russian Government. Marx's letters to the *New York Tribune* are reprinted in *The Eastern Question*, edited by Eleanor Marx and Ed Aveling (London, 1897). Marx held that Palmerston was at this time also pro-Russian—a view he had probably picked up from David Urquhart, whose *Progress of Russia in the W. N and South, by opening the Sources of Opinion and Appropriating the Channels of Wealth and Power* (London, second edition 1853) had enunciated a similar opinion "I therefore explicitly state that in the best

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informed circles, *The Times* is supposed to represent the views of Lord Aberdeen " (p. li, and cf. footnote to p. lu) With this may be compared Urquhart's articles in the *Morning Advertiser*, August 10-December, 1853 (reprinted as D. Urquhart, *Recent Events in the East*, London, 1854) Disraeli's organ, the *Press* (June, 1853), made the more specific statement that Clarendon was conniving through Brunnow with Russian designs on Turkey. Urquhart long persisted in similar statements, e.g., his *Free Press* for August 7, 1861 " It is the habit of this people to read not *The Times* reports but *The Times* leaders. Thus *The Times* suppresses Parliament, and enacts itself in its stead. *The Times* is a mercantile speculation, conducted by a private company, and, like everything else in this country, is secret, anonymous and irresponsible, and, therefore, venal. Such an engine cannot fail to be turned to account. The reading of *The Times* is, therefore, for those who are aware that it embraces a design, a most important study. It contains on each day that which the Russian Embassy desires should be believed on that day by the people of England, and nothing which the Russian Embassy desires that the people of England should not know, . . ." a report promptly denied by *The Times*, while Urquhart (*Morning Advertiser*) named Aberdeen, Clarendon, Palmerston, and Russell as traitors. Cf also David Urquhart, *Public Opinion and its Organs* (1855).

Printed

Cowley, First Earl (Henry R. C. Wellesley) : *The Paris Embassy during the Second Empire* Edited by F. A. Wellesley (London, 1928)

This volume of the papers of the British Ambassador at Paris, 1852-1867, is indifferently edited, but it has been referred to for the Cowley-Clarendon correspondence of 1857 Walewski having told the Ambassador that Persigny had said to the Emperor that Lord Granville was his greatest enemy in England, that he was in correspondence with the Orleanists and that all the articles in *The Times*, abusive of the French Government were written by him, Cowley said that he would put his hand in the fire for Lord Granville's integrity. " But," he told Clarendon, " it is too bad if Persigny has really been the perpetrator of such an odious scandal" (p 129) When brought to task about this matter, Persigny made some very shuffling excuses, and Lord Clarendon wrote. " It was unworthy of an honest man like Persigny to have played such a trick to Granville who feels exactly as you or I do about the Emperor and the Alliance, and who is as incapable as either of us of doing the Emperor a bad turn. . . . It is absurd, however, to suppose that indiscriminate praise must always be given by such a paper as *The Times* which is a commercial speculation and *nothing else*, and therefore must consult the taste of its consumers, or that complete silence should be maintained when such abominations of illegality were committed at the last election by a Government which pretends to be based upon popular suffrage . . . What Persigny says about Granville's house swarming with the authors of anti-French articles is not true. Delano is occasionally there, and a right good thing that is, for if it was not for social influence upon him, you may be sure that *The Times* would present French affairs in a very different light. Reeve has had no more to do with *The Times* for the last three years than you have, and I don't know of another public writer who frequents Granville's salon." (p 129)

On December 9, 1857, Walewski informed Lord Cowley that Persigny had reported that *The Times* had been bought by the Orleans family. The Ambassador said.

" I must do Walewski the justice to add that he laughed at the idea, saying that he had more than once, when in London, attempted to buy *The Times*, but had signally failed." (p. 143.)

Lord Clarendon replied : " Persigny's cock and bull story about *The Times* having been purchased by the Orleans family, ought to be the measure of faith to be put in his reports. . . ." Clarendon disposed of this rumour, widely

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accepted in France, by informing Cowley that the Queen wrote "to ask me if I could get a notice of the Duchesse de Nemours' death put into *The Times* as she thought it would be a comfort to the afflicted family As the Queen wished it I wrote to Delane but he did not even acknowledge my letter" (pp 143-4)

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Manuscript

Aberdeen, Earl of Papers in the B M

Aberdeen to Gladstone, October 3, 1855 "The Times has already recalled Simpson, and I suppose the Government must obey, but it will be difficult to find a successor"

Clarendon, the papers of the Fourth Earl of

Letters from Delane (June 6, 1854), from S G Osborne (October 10 and 18, 1854), on his refusal to undertake to be *The Times* almoner "as a matter of business", "my condition of being independent was refused by Delane", also "Don't fear S G O-ing, this is work of another kind", to Reeve (October 6, 1854), complaining of an "ungentlemanlike" attack in *The Times* upon the F O clerks for forwarding to the paper a telegram late and erroneous "It must be seen by somebody first in order to be sure that it is safe for publication & does not require comment or explanation & it always has to be translated etc & yet because all it was not done in the way *The Times* chooses the Clerks of the F O are to be held up to public indignation & asked if they know that Bucharest was not a sea Port", from Cowley (January 23, 1855); to Reeve (February 19, 1855, printed by Laughton, *Reeve*, I, 329-330, with important omissions, indicated by square brackets) "The article in *The Times* is far better to-day [& I am all the more pleased at it because a long conversation I had with Delane on Saty led me to expect a perseverance in the tone latterly assumed] All attacks on the Govt are perfectly legitimate [& the vices of our military adminis^tn & the condition of our army shd. be denounced strongly,] but the country, the institutions, the upper classes, all have been run down by *The Times* latterly, and the feeling therby created abroad—at home, too, I believe—is that we are in a state of helpless confusion, and drifting to revolution"

Delane, J. T : Papers in P.H.S

In the early stages of the war Delane had a considerable correspondence with Ministers and officials—Herman Melville, Permanent Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office (February 18, 1854), promising that Newcastle's private secretary would see MacDonald from time to time and put him "in possession of all which it is thought possible so to discuss", General Lord Hardinge, Commander-in-Chief (June 26, 1854): "I am about to promote & take Honourable notice of 2 English officers who have greatly distinguished themselves in Silistria—a Captain Butler & Lt Nasmyth, the latter of the E.I.C. Service Who is yr Mil^y correspondent? I hope one of these? The Tonning sails to day with 2nd Dragoons, 6th Regt. & 56 Horses, & takes up the 38 men of the Regt. saved from the Europa into Malta, & in 10 days the Regt will be complete in every detail—in the East the Tonning takes 150 men to reinforce the Rifle Battⁿ—The 1st Divⁿ of 6 Inf Regts under the D. of Cambridge, & the same force under Gen. Sir De Lucy Evans, will have all their Regts. made complete to 1,000 rank & file, & before the end of next week, the Inf will have rec'd 3,700 men, making the 25 Battⁿ rather more than 25,000 men rank & file—The whole force 30,000 Effectives! Silistria is a glorious feature in the great struggle—and its resistance most valuable in every sense", also August 10, November 20, and December 14—the last denying the report in *The Times*

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that Newcastle had turned a deaf ear to his representations , Sidney Herbert, Secretary at War (July 6, 1854), asking for a helping hand for the Commission on Military Promotion , Lord Clarendon, Foreign Secretary (June 5, 16 and 25, August 8, 1854) , Sir William Molesworth, First Commissioner of Works (November 25, 1854), his colleagues remarking on information in *The Times* which might be useful to the enemy , suggests "a little censorship over the letters of the correspondents " , W. E Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer (November 28, 1854), acknowledging support given by *The Times* to the Government's financial policy, but denying that the war was being carried on with too much consideration of expense Before the end of the year most of these sources dried up , Molesworth continues till his death Palmerston's first letter is dated November 24 In addition Delane's correspondence with Dasent during his tour of the Crimea , letters from Foreign Correspondents (Russell, Cheshire, MacDonald, Eber, Stowe) , from John Walter, A H Layard, S G Osborne, and Admiral Sir Charles Napier

Morris, Mowbray Letter-books in P H S

Copies of letters to Foreign Correspondents, Bird, Paton, Russell, Eber, &c

Russell, Lord John Papers in the P R O

Letters from Granville, December 24, 1854 (G and D 22/11), and from Newcastle, September 9, 1854 (22/11)

Stratford de Redcliffe, Viscount Papers in the P R O

Letters from Clarendon, October 9, 19 and 23, November 29, 1854 (F O 352/40) , January 5, 22 and 26, April 20, and December 21, 1855—the last is the most eloquent indictment of the paper, but differs only in degree from earlier ones " I in this office am made to feel every day & from every quarter of the globe the evil influence of *The Times* upon the name & fame of England—from Spain, the United States, Buenos Ayres, *San Domingo*, it is the same story Our claims are unattended to & our remonstrances disregarded because we no longer possess the same prestige on account of the wretched figure we have cut in the war & there can be no doubt about the fact because *The Times* proves it & *The Times* is the true reflexion of public opinion in England & *The Times* would not venture to say what it does if it was not all true ! There is no use in attempting to answer this & I feel that if I was a foreigner with such evidence before me I should believe that England was a sinking country " (352/42) , draft to Clarendon (March 23, 1855, *ibid.*) ; draft to Newcastle (November 11, 1854) " As the subscribed money is rendered useless as to its intended object by the liberality of the Govt. and the philanthropy of Miss Nightingale, I wish the subscribers would assent to apply the funds, which it would be so difficult to return, to the construction of a commemorative Anglican Church at Constantinople—the Sultan having already given me his formal permission to build one." (352/38)

War Office Archives in the P.R.O.

The Duke of Newcastle to Lord Raglan (January 6, 1855) : " Although your Lordship's official dispatches contain neither complaints of mismanagement nor of omissions, occurring in the military department under your command, I have for some time been painfully apprehensive that there has been either a want of foresight or of ability on the part of some of your Lordship's staff, which has led to an amount of suffering and sickness amongst the officers and men under your command which might and ought to have been avoided " (W.O 33/1) , Raglan to Panmure (March 2, 1855, *ibid.*) ; Panmure to Simpson (July 20, 1855), requesting an immediate inquiry into facts stated

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in a letter to *The Times* (6/71), Codrington to Panmure (November 10, 1855), with minutes by Panmure, &c (1/380, No 1), February 4, 1856 (1/382, No 126), March 1, 1856 (1/382, No 167), Panmure to Codrington, February 29, 1856 (6/72, No 182), General Order, February 25, 1856 (28/131)

Publications

Atkins, J B *The Life of W H Russell* (London, 1911, 2 vols.)

A full-length biography of the War Correspondent, the source, except where other reference is cited, of all statements relating to Russell's personal character and career

Fortescue, the Hon J W *A History of the British Army* (London, 1900-30, 8 vols.)

Kennaway, C E *The War and the Newspapers*, a Lecture (London, 1856)

An attack upon the conduct of the Press during the war. The comment of the *Athenaeum* (March 15, 1856) is just "His attack, however, is not such as will impose on the newspaper press the necessity of defending itself"

Kinglake, A. W *The Invasion of the Crimea* (London, 1863-87, 8 vols.) References in footnotes to the text are to the nine-volume edition of 1877-88

Martineau, John *The Life of Henry Pelham, Fifth Duke of Newcastle* (London, 1908)

Morley, John *The Life of Richard Cobden* (London, 1896, 2 vols.)

The Panmure Papers, edited by Sir George Douglas and Sir George Dalhousie Ramsay (London, 1908, 2 vols.)

Letters to Raglan (February 15, 1855) "The villainous *Times* has outdone itself in an article to-day on the 63rd Regiment" (I, 65); to Simpson (July 5, 1855) "The *Times* seems disposed to give you a good start" (I, 273); from Simpson (July 21, 1855): "I must not omit to mention that *The Times* newspaper reaches Sebastopol before we get it here in our Camp, so what with the electric wires and *The Times*, our enemy has many advantages over us" (I, 310), to Simpson (September 29, 1855) "You will see how *The Times* falls upon you, but I presume you do not let the lucubrations of a Mr. Delane, or a Mr. Higgins, or a Mr. Anybody else, under the shelter of a cowardly secrecy, trouble you much" (I, 408), to Simpson (October 19, 1855) "The *Times* is worse than ever" (I, 452)

Poole, S Lane *The Life of Stratford Canning, Viscount Strafford de Redcliffe* (London, 1888, 2 vols.)

Reid, T. Wemyss *The Life, Letters and Friendships of Richard Monkton Milnes, First Lord Houghton* (London, 1920, 2 vols.)

Letter from Delane (October 23, 1854): "I enclose all that Eothen wrote of the battle of the Alma, a characteristic bit, but something widely different from the complete and artistic account which you so justly admire. When I add that the letter was written on the actual field of battle, among dead and wounded men, the writer lying on the ground in the scorching sun, and writing in pencil on his hat, for want of a table, and that he had just had his horse shot under him, you will, I hope, admit and maintain that this was the most extraordinary literary feat on record" (I, 500), and (September 9, 1855) respecting Milnes's poem on "A Monument for Scutari" published in *The Times* (I, 519-521).

Russell, W. H. - *The War*, from the Landing at Gallipoli to the Death of Lord Raglan (London, 1855).

Russell's war correspondence, reprinted from *The Times*, with "a few omissions and some slight alterations."

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- Stanmore, Lord *Sidney Herbert, Lord Herbert of Lea* (London, 1906, 2 vols)
Letter from Gladstone (November 30, 1855) "The peace article in *The Times* rejoiced my heart, all the more from the abuse of me, because this pleasant sauce to a dish, which it was evidently thought might be unpalatable, helped to show design and inspiration from Downing Street" (II, 15)
- Walling, R A J *The Diaries of John Bright* (London, 1930)
Conversation with John Waller, p 166
- Williams, H N *The Life and Letters of Admiral Sir Charles Napier* (London, 1917).
- Woods, N A *The Past Campaign* (London, 1855)
Woods was the war correspondent of the *Morning Herald*, and, later, a brilliant descriptive reporter on *The Times* (*vide supra*, p 437) "It would be impossible to enumerate here all the services which Mr MacDonald rendered to our suffering army, which were not only beneficial at the moment, but which resulted in some most important improvements being introduced, especially with regard to the rations issued to the troops" (II, 261-262).

Official Documents

Reports from Committees, 1854-5, Vol. IX, part 1

Reports of the Select Committee on the Army before Sebastopol Among those questioned were J C MacDonald (p 297 for list of goods supplied by *The Times* fund) and S. G Osborne

Accounts and Papers, 1854-5, Vol XXXII, p 393.

Publication of Intelligence (Crimea) Copy of letter from the Duke of Newcastle, dated December 6, 1854, addressed to certain Newspapers, respecting the Publication of Intelligence from the Seat of War in the Crimea

(Private) War Department, December 6, 1854

Sir,—I take the liberty of sending to you an extract from a private letter which I have lately received from Lord Raglan Many complaints have reached me from the army of the advantages conferred upon the enemy by the publication of intelligence from the seat of war, not only in letters from the correspondents of the English newspapers, but also in letters written by officers to their friends at home in the spirit of confidential intimacy, and which those friends send to the newspapers, from feelings, no doubt, of pardonable vanity, but without consideration of the evil consequences to the army, and to the public interests I feel assured that I have only to appeal to your patriotism to ensure a rigid supervision of all such letters, and an endeavour to prevent the mischief of which Lord Raglan so reasonably complained

I am etc (signed) NEWCASTLE

Extract, November 13, 1854 "I have requested Mr. Romaine to endeavour to see the different correspondents of the newspapers, and quietly point out to them the public inconvenience of their writings and the necessity of greater prudence in future, and make no doubt they will at once see that I am right in so warning them. I would suggest that you should cause a communication to be made to the Editors of the daily press, and urge upon them to examine the letters they receive before they publish them, and carefully expunge such parts as they may consider calculated to furnish valuable information to the enemy." Hearing that this was to be published, Delane wrote to Layard, February 16, 1855 "Sir F. Baring is this evening to ask for the circular addressed by the Duke of Newcastle to the Editors of the different newspapers with the view, of course, of casting odium upon them Now it is always admitted to be unfair to ask for only one half of a correspondence and I wish therefore that either you or one of our friends would add to his motion

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the words 'and the answers thereto' The fact is that I offered to go further than either Raglan or the Duke ventured to ask and to suppress that much more important item of intelligence to the enemy which appears under the 'Naval & Military' head If you don't like to do this, I dare say one of your friends near you will do it for me I think you are well out of this Ministry If any good were done in it you would have to do it yourself" (B M , MSS Addl 38983/16)

Periodicals

The *Morning Advertiser* (February 23, 1855) "The *Times* Correspondent in the Crimea," a defence of "the faithful representations and the fearless exposures" in *The Times*

The *Morning Chronicle* (March 17, 1855) on the activities of MacDonald and *The Times* Fund

The *Morning Herald* (March 14, 1855), printed a [Burlesque] Bill for the More Effectual Prosecution of the War with Russia, and for Securing the Liberty of the Press, &c Ordered to be Printed February, 1855 A satirical enactment "that the entire future Conduct and Management of the said War shall be confided to the aforesaid [*The Times*] Newspaper" The Bill was also circulated separately

The *Morning Post* (June 30, 1855) regretting "the spirit that is abroad, always seeking to make the worst of matters", and (March 12, 1856) on the mischief-making of *The Times* which "has assumed to be the sole historian of the camp—the only chronicle, as well as the only accurate judge, of the achievements of the British army," at the same time neglecting the moral laws which should bind the Press as "part of the organisation by which the public mind acts"

The *Daily News* (January 16, 1855) on the achievements of the Press in reforming the condition of the Army, with an indirect attempt to discredit *The Times* alone of its contemporaries

X. THE SECOND WAR WITH THE TIMES

XIV. THE NEW JOURNALISM

XVII. PRICE THREEPENCE

Manuscript

The dislike of *The Times* for Lord John Russell found frequent expression in Barnes's period and was reciprocated (see Walpole, *Life of Lord J. Russell*, I, 236) The growing power of the paper after 1850, and particularly during 1853-1855, naturally increased the strength of this feeling, and Russell came to recognize in Delane and Reeve, and other writers on *The Times*, almost personal enemies. The Russell Papers contain numerous references to *The Times* by Russell and his correspondents—e.g., Clarendon to Russell (December 15, 1854, G.D 22/13) :

"I have not for many months sent even a teleg. disp. to *The Times*. Delane called on me the day he arrived from the Crimea & I have not seen him since—he has I believe quarrelled with Newcastle for keeping him waiting, at least he said he w^d 'make Down^s S^t too hot to hold these fellows.' I can't make

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out on what terms he & Reeve are now", the same to the same on February 26, 1855 (G D 22/12) "Things [Parliamentary] may improve but at present they don't look well & the hostility of *The Times* is as unabated as it's influence unfortunately is"

During the next month, while Russell was at Vienna, he wrote to Clarendon, March 20, 1855, alleging that his conversation with Manteufel was published "in a garbled form" in *The Times* "As I am told that the For Off is in communication with *The Times*, I wish you would stop such things in future"

Clarendon thus replied to Russell, March 18, 1855

" You c^d not be more annoyed than I was at seeing in *The Times* a garbled report of yr conversation with Frek of P but you cannot be more ignorant than I am as to how it got there Every thing is known at Berlin & that w^{ch} is not talked of publicly can always be bought so *The Times* correspond^d may have sent the report, or it may have oozed out here thro the Cab^t as other & equally important matters have done But I must beg of you to believe what I say about *The Times* not being in commun^a with the F. O or at least with me as I have on several previous occasions assured you when you addressed something like remonstrances to me on the subject I have given no information direct or indirect to *The Times* of any kind whatever for many months past I have not seen C Greville twice since Parl^t met & I sh^d not be so foolish as to com^t to him any information that it was my duty to keep secret—indeed I cannot accuse myself of any act of such indiscretion since I have been in this Office "

The Duke of Bedford to (?) Russell, October 6, 1855 (G D 22/12)

" With respect to the Press I hardly know what to say, except that the evil is almost intolerable I saw the article you ask about—When Chas Greville was here this week he read to me a letter he had received from some one in communication with the *Times* (I suspect Mr. Reeve) complaining much of it, & telling him he had thought of seeing Mr Walter on the subject—Chs G himself is so thoroughly disgusted with the paper, that he has almost quarrelled with his Landlord for his civilities to Mr Delane "

Further evidence of the widespread fear of the ascendancy of Printing House Square on the part of other politicians which prevented their interfering with the radical war on *The Times* is to be found In Granville Papers, G D. 29/18, Granville writes to his colleagues in January, 1855 (printed in Fitzmaurice, *Life and Letters of 2nd Earl Granville*, London, 1905, Vol I, pp 91-2) that the Duke of Newcastle had told him to be careful in communicating with *The Times* especially as he was thought to be closely connected with Delane through Greville Granville replied that " During the short time I was at the F.O I gave no effect to the direct and indirect overtures which were made to me from *The Times* In the other offices which I have held no such temptation existed. . . "

Gladstone's opinion of the paper expressed (MSS Addl. 43071, f 264) to Aberdeen on October 12, 1855, was equally antagonistic

" The insolence of *The Times* becomes more and more a national evil. It can hardly go beyond the late exhibition in the case of the Princess Royal."

On January 4, 1855, Croker wrote (MSS Addl. 43196, 168) : " How are Armies & Navies to be commanded—how is law to be administered—how is a country to be governed, with a periodical press in such a state as that of England now is?", and Aberdeen's reply, f 175, C/ Brougham to Aberdeen, October 12, 1854, (MSS. Addl. 43194, 247) : " And they, Military & Naval men, are not so case hardened as you & I are or ought to be since [Press] attacks . . . the answer . . . whether from Govt men or Opposition . . . always is. It is just Urquhart all over again—& he is mad "

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The Queen's view of the "atrocious" *Times* (see Sources XII . "Delane meets Palmerston") expressed to Palmerston was naturally conveyed to Clarendon, notoriously connected with Reeve His reply (Royal Archives, G 39, 65) was written on October 12, 1855

" . . Ld C regrets that he can obtain no information respecting the inscrutable ways of *The Times* Mr Delane the Chief Editor it appears has been abroad for some time and the paper is in the hands of 3 or 4 ignorant men who think that insolence displays their power and who are perfectly indifferent to its consequences either at home or abroad Mr Reeve wrote a very strong letter to Mr Walter the Proprietor giving his reasons for ceasing to have any connexion with a Paper that was now so mischievous and ill-managed—Mr W in reply approved Mr R's resolution and defended the course taken by *The Times* particularly in the Article respecting the Prince of Prussia¹ so that a renewal of these scurrilous attacks may be expected, altho Mr Reeve doubts it and thinks that Mr Walter must feel their impropriety but the *policy of the paper* is never to admit that it has been in the wrong "

The Prince Consort's opinion was "Soon there will not be room enough in the same country for the Monarchy and *The Times*" (Hector Bolitho, *The Prince Consort and His Brother*, 1933.)

Relations between *The Times* and the Court improved after the Crimean War, although foreign policy and, after the death of the Prince Consort, the Queen's seclusion and the Prince of Wales's tutelage remained causes of difference. Lord Torrington became Delane's recognized intermediary after 1857 On March 12, 1863, Lady Augusta Bruce, a Lady-in-Waiting much in the Queen's confidence, asked Torrington to tell Delane how greatly the Queen appreciated "the delicate and feeling manner in which the meaning and significance" of the marriage of the Prince of Wales had been brought out in *The Times* (cf. *Notes and Queries*, 12th series, VI, p 266), again, after a long conversation with the Queen, Torrington wrote to Delane (August, 1864) . "I felt it was you, not me, she was talking to" (Dasent, II, p 124)

The Queen did not, without exception, restrict herself to indirect communications to *The Times* through Torrington She employed her private secretary, General Grey, when she determined to rebut the journal's criticisms of her seclusion. The letter (the text is printed in Cook's *Delane*, pp. 150-151), though written in her hand, was not printed as addressed, "To the Editor of *The Times*," but inserted under the head "Court News" Recognized to be a letter from the Queen herself, it was a constitutional innovation by no means to the taste of Ministers Clarendon observed that it "has produced a very painful impression, and is considered very *infra dig.* for the Queen It is her own writing, and Grey took it straight from Windsor to Delane. By chance he met Puss [Granville] on the way, who urged him to consult some of the ministers before the Queen so committed herself, but he would not hear of it. . . . Lady Palmerston told me that Pam had made up his mind to speak to her on the subject; but I am sure he won't" (Clarendon to his wife, April 7, 1864 ; Maxwell, II, p 290.)

Whether Palmerston spoke or not, the Queen did not again personally write for publication to *The Times*. In September, 1865, however, a paragraph in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, condemning the privacy of Her Majesty's landing at Woolwich, was reproduced in *The Times* under a paragraph on the landing of the Prince of Wales. The two paragraphs were headed "A Contrast." (September 12, 1865.) Grey wrote an explanation to *The Times*; Delane at once sought the advice of Lord Granville, having scruples about publishing the letter (September 14, 1865 ; P.R.O., G. and D. 29/31) :

"I received this morning the enclosed letter from General Grey. In the ordinary course it would appear in tomorrow's paper but I feel so strongly how much Her

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Majesty sacrifices by descending from her high position to answer a contemptible paragraph that I am most unwilling to publish it

"Pray tell me if you think it is absolutely necessary

"My long experience of newspapers convinces me that even those in a private station act wisely in leaving such trivial aspersions unnoticed and I hope General Grey will on reflexion forgive me if I think Her Majesty's dignity will be best consulted by omitting his letter.

"It is only as a loyal subject, not as a journalist, that I make this suggestion for, of course such a communication as that I propose to exclude would be very acceptable to any newspaper

"I will act entirely on your Lordship's decision"

Granville sent Delane's letter to Grey, who replied (September 16, 1865, G and D 29/24)

"Of course, after such an opinion from Mr Delane who must be a much better judge of such matters than I can be, there can be no further question of inserting my letter—not to mention that it would now come a day after the fair I am much obliged to Mr Delane for his opinion which I confess very much coincides with my own—and I wrote the letter in deference to the decisions of others who spoke to me and wrote to me to say the statement in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, or rather the inference it was intended to convey ought to be contradicted I therefore got the Queen's consent to my writing a simple statement of what was the fact and unreasonable People would hardly be able to say a word against so natural a desire as that of not wishing to be made a spectacle of after a night at sea

"I am myself always averse to writing articles in the Newspapers—and stood out against any contradiction of the *Pall Mall Gazette*—But when it was inserted in *The Times* with such a heading too, (tho' I must own it was in small type) I allowed myself to be overruled. However it is all right now—and though I don't think the letter would have done any harm, it is very possible it would have done as little good, & I am beholden to Mr. Delane for the discretion he has exercised.

"The Queen herself is quite satisfied of the propriety of taking no notice whatever of any of the attacks in the Public Papers."

Granville thereupon informed Delane that the letter was not to be inserted and added, "You have done a very kind, and a public spirited act" (September 16, 1865, Delane Correspondence, 14/51)

In 1870 Delane received a private letter of thanks from the Queen for his treatment of the case Mordaunt v Mordaunt, in which the Prince of Wales appeared as a witness (*cf. Notes and Queries*, 12th series, Vol. VI, p. 241).

Reeve's personal view of the power of *The Times* was given in [Henry Reeve] "English Journalism" in *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1855.

"Scarcely any name, however eminent or honoured, appearing at the foot of an article in the *Standard* or the *Advertiser*, for example, could give it the power of an unsigned article in *The Times*. This may or may not be reasonable, but the fact is so. (p. 488). *The Times*, it is notorious, has reached this extraordinary & dangerous eminence. . . . Sometimes it has rendered the most signal services by resolutely stemming the tide of popular frenzy or delusion, sometimes, we think, it has done vast mischief by echoing & encouraging the most ignorant prejudices of the people. But on all essential points—of home policy at least—it has usually been on the side of justice, freedom, & popular improvements; &, right or wrong, its ability has been always wonderful, & its unflinching courage beyond all praise."—(p. 494.)

On the trade situation created by the new legislation Reeve said that "The general impression left upon the minds of the more experienced proprietors &

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newsagents is that the penny papers cannot possibly succeed, & will probably be discontinued almost immediately, & that not above one or two of the cheap provincial daily papers will be able to survive when the excitement of the war & the craving for instantaneous intelligence which it creates shall be over. The reduction in price wh has taken place, in some cases to 3d, in some cases to 2d (unstamped), has of course extended the circulation of the local newspapers but the habit of reading a *daily* journal has to be created among the *middle & lower classes*, & its creation is a matter of slow growth, & the labouring poor, to whom cheapness is peculiarly important, like their paper to come when their leisure comes, viz at the weekend"—(p 496)

The Postmaster-General has kindly allowed extracts to be made from the official files dealing with the stamping of *The Times* and which supplement the P H S Papers after 1870. While the Post Office gave the instructions for the first time in 1870, the Inland Revenue Department continued to be responsible for the dies or for the counting apparatus even after the rate, and consequently the stamp, was changed from October 1, 1870. Transfer to the P O did not take place until August 6, 1878, when *The Times* was informed that "the same system will continue, only the tale will be taken by an officer of the Post Office instead of by an officer of the Inland Revenue."

As the design of the die combining a stamp with a "pre-cancelling" postmark was cut in 1870 it was naturally dated "70". It was never altered, and thus *The Times*, as delivered to postal subscribers for upwards of 40 years, bore the date [18]70. The arrangement by which *The Times* printed its own specially designed postage stamps was ended by the Postmaster-General (Mr Herbert Samuel, M.P.) on October 20, 1911. A used electio survives and has been employed to illustrate Chapter X.

Printed

For the general subject of the postage rates of newspapers see A. D. Smith, *The Development of Rates of Postage* (London, 1917), pp 111-135. As the monopoly granted to the Post Office does not include newspapers, the railway companies are free to carry them and to make their own rates and to issue their own stamps. For an account of the origin of the railway newspaper traffic and stamps see H L'Estrange Ewen, *Newspaper and Parcel Stamps issued by the Railway Companies of the U.K.* (London, 1906), with lists, illustrations, bibliography, and historical introduction.

Bourne, H. R. Fox *English Newspapers, Chapters in the History of English Journalism* (London, 1887, 2 vols.).

The second volume has a chapter (No XXI) dealing with the period 1855-1861, Chapter XXIV mentions in some detail the work of W. H. Mudford (the *Standard*), Frederick Greenwood (*St. James's Gazette*), John Morley and W T. Stead (*Pall Mall Gazette*).

Central News (1871-1931) *Diamond Jubilee Souvenir*

The agency was founded in 1871 by the proprietors of the Plymouth *Western Morning News* with a staff organized to collect news, write leading and other articles to be set in type in the office, stereotyped, and forwarded to provincial editors.

Collet, C. Dobson. *History of the Taxes on Knowledge* (London, 1894, 2 vols.).

D[avies], E. W. *The Newspaper Society, 1836-1936. A Century Retrospect* (London, 1936)

The attitude of the provincial newspapers towards the stamp, advertising, &c, in part based upon H. Whorlow, *The Provincial Newspaper Society* (London, 1886) and upon the society's records.

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Escott, T H S *Platform, Politics and Play* (Bristol), *Masters of English Journalism* (London, 1911)

The writer, personally acquainted with many of the makers of the "new journalism," worked first on the *Pall Mall Gazette* under Greenwood, and later on the *Standard* under Mudford, and on the *Daily Telegraph* under Lord Burnham, to whom the second volume is dedicated. The latter half of the book is of permanent value.

Ewen, H L'Estrange *Unadhesive Postage Stamps of the United Kingdom* (London, 1905)

Part VI (pp 75-78) treating of Newspaper Stamps, 1853-1878, illustrates the types of stamps impressed on *The Times* from October 18, 1853, and reproduces the lists of the dies and the dates of their currency.

Philbrick, F A, and Westoby, W A S *The Postage and Telegraph Stamps of Great Britain* (London, 1881)

The section on newspaper stamps (p 213 *et seq.*) lists and illustrates the types of stamp impressed upon *The Times*. "An apparatus, due to the inventive skill of Mr Edwin Hill, so secured the dies that, while they could not be removed, they could be worked or not at the pleasure of the printers of the paper, but when worked the machine of necessity actuated the counter of the tell-tale. It was very ingenious and never known to fail" (p 220).

Reid, Sir Hugh Gilzean "The Press" in Samuelson, Jas., *The Civilisation of Our Day* (London, 1869)

An excellent account of the action of the cheap Press upon higher-priced journals, the beginnings of the policy of conscious Americanization with interviews, caustic headlines, signed articles, &c, and the levelling force of the telegram and the Press agencies.

Street, Edmund *Advertising* [extracts from a paper read before the Royal Society of Arts] (London, 1913)

The function of the advertising agencies in giving credit is made clear.

Periodicals

"The Newspaper Stamp" in the *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1853, pp 488-518

A critique of the Select Committee's Report and a reasoned rejection of its conclusions.

Anonymous, "Politics and the Press" in *Fraser's Magazine*, July, 1875, pp 41-50

This article by an obviously well-informed writer records his views on the political value of the journals and compares English with French circumstances. After *The Times*, the *Pall Mall Gazette* has more political authority than any other journal of the age, and the cause of its authority is identical—its independence.

"The *Daily Telegraph* is the only instance on record of a penny paper that has completely enjoyed the confidence of its party and that has been exclusively furnished with official 'tips' [*vide supra*, p. 398]. But it is doubtful whether the ardent championship of the *Telegraph* tendered Mr Gladstone the slightest political assistance or whether it prolonged the life of his Government by a single day"—(p. 43.)

Arnold, Matthew: *Friendship's Garland . . . with a Dedicatory Letter to Adolescens Leo, Esq., of the Daily Telegraph* (London, 1871).

THE SECOND "WAR WITH THE TIMES"

Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art Weekly (London, 1855, from November 3)

November 3, pp 2-3 "Our Newspaper Institutions" ("No apology is necessary for assuming that this country is ruled by *The Times*"), January 26, 1856, pp 224-225 "The Identity of Journalism"; January 31, 1857, p. 100 'A week of the *Morning Herald*", June 27, 1857, pp 587-588 "The Tory Press", September 18, 1858 "English Journalism", July 9, 1859, pp 35-36 "The Times of Monday", March 28, 1863 "Jupiter Junior" (Charles Austin on the *Daily Telegraph*)

Newspapers

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, January 9, 1868, thus welcomed the *Daily News* at a penny

"It cannot be doubted that thousands of readers who cannot afford to pay 3d for a morning journal will throw aside the quack journal [the *Daily Telegraph*] usually presented for their choice, now that for the same price they may get as much news and moreover something like opinion and principle where before they had only a chance of laughing at some unusually absurd display of fooling."

The *P.M.G.*'s comments upon the *Daily Telegraph* were frequently critical.

"The *Daily Telegraph* of this morning solemnly formularizes an accusation which has been levelled at us with deadly intent scores of times Whenever it has been our good fortune to explode a literary imposture—whenever we venture to say what is true of the trash contributed to the theatres under the name of burlesque—whenever we express opinions unfavourable to politicians, who keep newspapers as naughtier men keep mistresses, or show how the most fanatically virtuous journal in existence—even the *Telegraph* itself—knowingly and constantly takes money for promoting the most infamous traffic it has ever denounced—whenever we take up such little duties as these, we are sure to be met by that one taunt, which seems to be considered as scathing after years of repetition as ever it was—which indeed may be true. Once more it appears in a leading article in the *Daily Telegraph*. It avers that this journal 'heralded its first appearance by announcing that "it would be written by gentlemen for gentlemen"' Now of course we understand the serious nature of the charge; we are not blind to the ignominy which belongs to any such attempt as we are accused of, and confess we think it very likely that we should have winced under the accusation, every time it was made, as much as the best creature in the world could have desired—if it had been true. And it is made with such precision (for instance, those convincing quotation marks are never omitted) that it does look very true indeed. But it isn't. No such announcement was ever made, at any time, anywhere, either by or on behalf of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Every time we have been charged with the odious offence, a downright fib has been told. What appears in the *Telegraph* this morning is a fib; not that that matters more to the *Telegraph* than it does to us. However, it may be as well to state the facts of the case at last, so that our satirists may understand that all this while they have been flogging an invention of their own."

he *Saturday Review*'s two articles "Newspaper Sewage," December 5 and 12, 1868, should be read for a criticism of the moral tone of the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Standard*, and *Morning Star*.

The journals were accused of printing detailed reports of abominable cases, accepting advertisements of quack doctors, &c. See particularly "Newspaper Garbage" in the *Saturday Review*, August 31, 1872, on the *Daily Telegraph*. "It is interesting to observe the development of the British penny-a-liner under

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the imperious conditions of 'largest' and 'world-wide' circulation. It is touching, however, to observe the various uses to which a great organ can devote itself, nothing comes amiss to it, and when Mr Gladstone is out of town and the daily service of praise and worship in honour of the most pious of Ministers is for the moment suspended, it turns with equal relish to the no less congenial occupation of mastering the 'inner life' of a Chelsea brothel."

"An example of the way in which a Government journal may serve Government purposes at the expense of candour and integrity appears in the *Telegraph* of to-day," &c (*Pall Mall Gazette*, March 7, 1873)

For the progress of the *Daily Telegraph* and its criticisms of *The Times* (none of which was noticed in the paper) see particularly the issues of the paper, September 17, 21, October 6, 27, December 3, 13, 1855, March 17, 1856, October 27, 1857, March 29, 1858

For XI, see VI; for XII, see V; for XIII, see VII;
for XIV, see X

XV, THE INDIAN MUTINY; XVI, FOR PALMERSTON

Manuscript

Clarendon, Fourth Earl of Papers in the possession of the Earl of Clarendon
Letters from Delane and from Lord Cowley

The retirement of Reeve drew Clarendon into closer contact with the Editor, simultaneously with the conclusion of the alliance with Palmerston. After 1855 the volume of Clarendon's letters to Delane greatly increases, but the statesman never thoroughly understood the Editor, *The Times* after the defection of Reeve became for him the very type of "inscrutability" (e.g., to Aberdeen, Clarendon wrote on September 26, 1859, "*The Times* itself is not more inscrutable in its ways than L Napoleon" (B M, MSS Addl. 43189); it will be recalled that Clarendon had used the same adjective during the Crimean War.)

Delane, J. T. Correspondence in P H S.

Some fifty letters from Palmerston to Delane survive. The first was written on November 24, 1855; the last on July 7, 1865, few survive for the years 1862 (one) and 1863 (two). Palmerston's mode of address began as "Dear Sir," soon became "Dear Mr Delane," and from January 11, 1861, "My Dear Delane." Mr. Dasent prints, wholly or in part, half of the letters. While these, with the additional letters quoted in the present work, indicate the statesman's methods, it must be remembered that Palmerston's principal instrument was the spoken word. Save in rare cases, his letters are informative rather than argumentative, and as the comments upon policy are general and incisive, they are in striking contrast to the correspondence of Aberdeen and Clarendon.

Delane also had correspondence with other statesmen during these years, especially Clarendon and Granville on the one side, and Disraeli, Stanley, and Malmesbury on the other.

THE INDIAN MUTINY

Granville, the Second Earl Papers in P R O.

Granville's correspondence with Canning during the Indian Mutiny is extensively used by Fitzmaurice, from whom the general lines of the attempt to change the line of *The Times* can be gathered (pp 253-277), the author, however, omitted passages respecting Delane's brother. The originals are in G and D 29/21, letters from Palmerston and Delane for the same period, G and D 29/19. The Editor kept Granville posted on Anglo-Indian opinion

"I think that portions of the enclosed letter about the troops at Lucknow having 'lost heart' may be worth your reading. It is not likely you will see that truth elsewhere. As to Lord Canning, you may be interested in reading what the president of the great military club in Calcutta says of him, founded, of course, as all opinions really are, partly on his own observation and partly on what he hears from the almost universal acquaintance which a resident Indian Officer has with the rest of his profession. I need not tell you that Lord Canning's enemies are sufficiently represented in the Mail which has just arrived and I called at the Office to-day to shew you some choice specimens of this criticism" (December, 1857)

In spite of Granville's warning, Canning received Russell "much as I should receive a frozen out gardener and dismissed me by regretting that he could do nothing for me" (Russell's words, quoted by Delane, to Granville, April 8, 1858, G and D 29/19)

Morris, Mowbray Letter-Books in P.H.S.

Panizzi, Sir Anthony Papers in the B M

The librarian of the B M was a well-known figure in society and (as an exiled Italian) an ardent propagandist for Italian unity. He laboured with d'Arenglio to influence the Press and, acquainted with Delane, was in a position to put the Italian case to him

Russell, Lord John Papers in the P R O

Correspondence respecting the attacks of *The Times*, 1863. (G and D, 22/14)

Layard, Austen Henry Papers in the B M.

Layard's political influence with Delane waned, but the personal relations continued. Layard thus was an obvious though not always successful channel to Delane and *The Times*. Bright proposed (October 17, 1857). "From your intimacy with Delane, perhaps you will correspond with *The Times* during your [tour in India]. If not, I should have suggested your sending some letters, if you were disposed to write any, to the *Morning Star*, whose circulation is, I am told, only inferior to that of *The Times*." (B.M., MSS Addl. 38985/328.) The cautious Joseph Parkes, however, advised (October 20, 1857) "Do not let any of your Private letters get into our Press and commit you." (*Ibid*, f 332.) A notorious instance occurred during the Crimean War. Layard was active with his Italian sympathies during the Risorgimento, but his influence was not considerable. His appointment as Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office gave him more authority. An exchange of letters indicates the cordial terms which then existed. Delane wrote, in congratulating him on his election at Southwark, that it was "a happy result to which I flatter myself that the reports of your speeches in no slight degree contributed, for though there was much in them with which I could not agree, they were admirably adapted to the tastes of your constituency" (December 12, 1860; B.M., MSS Addl. 38987/3). Layard replied: "Very many thanks to you for your kind note of congratulation. You have indeed rendered me great service and I am much obliged to you for it. The little reporter you were good eno' to send over to attend my proceedings was most obliging and attentive. I owe him many thanks" (December 14, P.H.S. Papers, D. 10/83.)

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Lord John Russell, although ready to benefit from this relationship, was not without suspicion. On November 28, 1860, he wrote to Layard: "I am told you furnished to *The Times* the very incorrect information that I intended to remove Hudson from Italy in order to replace him by Mr Elliot" (P R O , Russell Papers, G. and D 22/32)

From the time of Napoleon III's assumption of power *The Times* attacked him with vigour. It is said, nevertheless, that Napoleon was in the habit of sending secret communications to the paper (Cf, for example, F A Simpson, *The Rise of Louis Napoleon*, p 264.) The official attitude of the French Government was unfriendly (cf. the reports of secret agents, Appendix I), and Lord Cowley more than once asked for Clarendon's assistance (e.g., in a letter of March 22, 1858) Clarendon's action on this occasion won the Ambassador's thanks "We ought & I am sure we shall be very grateful to you here for your ready & valuable help with *The Times*. The Emperor's sensitiveness on the matter is beyond all belief, & their correspondent here is so ill informed that they make all sorts of misstatements. I wish that they would send a better man. He might obtain all the intelligence he pleased" (Clarendon Papers) Walewski told Cowley "that he had more than once, when in London, attempted to buy *The Times*, but had signally failed" (December 9, 1857, F A Wellesley, *The Paris Embassy during the Second Empire*, p. 143) Palmerston also used his influence with Delane (cf p 281 and p 329). No evidence survives in P H S. that, in spite of this, Napoleon was in personal touch with *The Times* either in Paris or in London. If he was, it was a secret well kept both from his own officials and from British Ministers. His personal policy, however, may have led him to do so, as it certainly did upon one fully authenticated occasion. Greville recorded in his diary on November 18, 1859

"A day or two ago the Duke of Bedford, whom I have not seen or communicated with for a long time, called on me. He told me one curious anecdote, which he had heard from his brother [Lord John Russell]. Persigny called on Lord John one day, and told him he was come in strict confidence to show him the letter which the Emperor had written to the King of Sardinia, but which he must not mention even to his own colleagues, except of course to Palmerston. Lord John promised he would not, and a day or two after he read the letter in *The Times*.¹ He sent for Persigny and asked for an explanation. Persigny said he could not explain it, but would write to Walewski. John Russell also wrote to Cowley, who spoke to Walewski about it. Walewski declared he could not account for it, and that it must have been sent from Turin, and he would write to that Court to complain of the indiscretion and would also speak to the Emperor. He went to the Emperor, told him what had passed, and showed him what he proposed to write to Turin, when the Emperor said 'No, don't write at all, take no notice of the publication. The fact is, I sent the letter myself to *The Times Correspondent*'. It was Mocquard² who took it to him. A most extraordinary proceeding, and showing the extreme difficulty of all diplomatic dealing between the two Governments. The Emperor is by way of being indignant with *The Times*, and never fails to pour forth complaints and abuse of the paper to whomever he converses with. He did so, for instance, to Cobden, to whom he gave an audience at Paris. But who can tell whether this is not a pretence and a deceit, and whether he may not all the time have a secret understanding with *The Times*?"

¹ Of October 31. It was stated to have been received by the Paris correspondent from a friend in Italy.

² The Emperor's private secretary.

FOR PALMERSTON

This account is not completely accurate, but so far as it concerns *The Times* the incident is substantially true Russell asked Cowley, October 29, 1859 "Is the Publication of the Emperor's Letter to the King of Sardinia authorized?" (G and D 22/103) Cowley replied

"It seems that H M's own private Secretary Mocquard took it to the correspondent of *The Times* Walewski who knew nothing of this was very wrath at a supposed breach of confidence on the part of Sardinia, and wrote to the Emperor, insisting on a strict enquiry into this act of treachery, when H M replied that the letter had been made public by his own orders at the King of Sardinia's request, who had asked that its contents might be made known This is the French version The Italian version is that the Emperor in writing to the King of Sardinia desired that it might be made public (November 3, 1859, G and D 22/53)

This affair should be read in the light of Russell's comment in a private letter of October 26, 1859 "The difficulty in the Italian question arises from Walewski having a different policy from that of the Emperor The Emperor endeavours to free Italy from foreign control, but Walewski tries hard to give Austria a more complete supremacy than she ever had before" (Gooch, II, 248) John Walter (to Dasent, October 30, 1859) described "L N's lecture to 'my dear brother'" as "pretty plain speaking and no mistake" (P H S D/9) The intrigue thus seems directed against Walewski rather than towards *The Times* Nevertheless, it appears from a letter written by Palmerston on receiving from Delane the text of the Emperor's letter (November 5, 1859) that some advances were made and were suitably met

"I am glad your correspondent mentioned to Mocquard the pains taken by somebody or other in Paris to create or increase among the French nation a spirit of hatred towards England and the English nation. . . I must own that all these things look very much, especially when connected with the extensive naval preparations of France, as if those who direct the policy of France, were banking up their fire in order to be ready to start against us or not, as occasion or opportunity may suggest The conclusion to come to is, that the English Govt ought to accept as if sincerely tendered every assurance of determination to maintain the Anglo French alliance, and at the same time to push on our defensive preparations just as if we believed those assurances given only to lull us into a false security."

That such communications were rarely made by the Emperor is indicated by O'Meagher in a letter to Morris on February 28, 1867 (*vide supra*, p. 400)

the Wellesley Papers (in the possession of Sir Victor Wellesley) contain an interesting private letter from Clarendon to Cowley which, read in conjunction with Clarendon's letters to Delane, illustrate the degree of his influence in March, 1858, two months after Orsini's attempt to bomb Napoleon III. Inquiry found that the bombs were made in England, that the conspiracy had been planned there, and that Orsini came to Paris with an English passport Hence, when the colonels of French regiments sent addresses congratulating the Emperor on his escape, they called upon him to destroy the assassins' don These and similar demonstrations greatly excited public feeling in England, and in February, when Palmerston introduced a Bill to make conspiracy to commit murder a felony, it was defeated, the Commons seeing in the measure an attempt at dictation by France Palmerston's defeat on February 19, 1858, brought with it Clarendon's resignation from the office of Foreign Secretary, but he continued to correspond with Cowley Thus when Napoleon superseded Persigny as Ambassador by Marshal Pelissier, hero of the Malakoff victory in the Crimea, and the appointment of a soldier was interpreted as a threat,

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Cowley conferred with Clarendon, recommending him to give Delane counsels of moderation Clarendon communicated (Delane Correspondence, D 9, 36) on March 23

"In writing the enclosed Cowley of course meant that I shd communicate the substance only to you but I send it whole as I am sure you won't mind one or two expressions wh C. makes use of

"The intimacy and cordiality of the alliance are I suppose at an end and I am very sorry for it as I have not been 5 years at the F O without having had abundant proofs of the Emperor's sincerity, but I think it wd be well to avoid unnecessary irritation not because it is likely, as some people imagine, to lead to war but because it will render more difficult the amicable solution of the various questions wh must constantly arise between the 2 countries

"Pelissier is appointed to succeed Persigny The Emperor's words in announcing this were 'My intention in naming him is a hommage (*sic*) to the Alliance, to the English nation, and to the 2 Armies' and in that spirit I think the appointment shd be recd, tho' John Bull does not seem at this moment disposed to be indulgent or generous towds the Emperor of whom the worst thing that can be said is that he allows bad advisers to overrule his own good judgment To them Persigny has been sacrificed and I hope you may be able to give him a good word for he is an ardent admirer of Engd, a zealous partisan of the alliance, a thoroughly honest man and *the only true friend* the Empr possesses "

The tone of the article in *The Times* was satisfactory to Clarendon ("The article of yesterday was excellent—right words in right time, and I daresay they will have given a right direction to public opinion respectg Pelissier's apmtnt. I hear that our little friend Persigny was as much pleased with what *The Times* said of him as he was disgusted with an article in the *Mg Herald* charging him with intrigue etc" D 9, 36), and he also wrote privately to Cowley His letter, dated March 25, contains a paragraph which needs careful reading if Dolane's own statement ("he only wished you knew what it was to conduct a newspaper") is to be disentangled from Clarendon's gloss ("they must write what will sell," &c)

"You will see by the article in *The Times* of today that your wishes have been attended to I have not seen Delane but I wrote to him & it is lucky I did as it is clear to me from his answer that he was about to have taken a different line respecting Pelissier whose appointment he said wd not be recd here in the spirit wh led the Emperor to make it I don't much wonder at his being of that opinion, for I happened to go to 2 places on Monday evng where the appointment was generally known & everybody was loud in disapproving it Pelissier was called the Reprte of the Colonels, the avant garde, the Ambassador sent to reconnoitre le pays, look out for a Quartier General etc etc so that it is of unspeakable importance that *The Times* shd. be giving a different direction to public opinion With respect to articles such as those of the 15th I expressed myself very strongly to Delane & told him the facts mentioned in your letter His answer was that he *only wished you knew what it was to conduct a newspaper* & the fact is that they must write *what will sell* i.e. what suits the popular humour of the day *The Times* is now so hard pressed by one or two other newspapers & particularly by the penny papers all of wh are totally reckless that they don't dare write what they think or believe to be true This is some sort of justification of *The Times* as shewing that they have no fixed design agst. the Empr or the actual system in France, but it makes the whole thing more dangerous & I have no doubt that the character of the English People have within the last ten years been greatly deteriorated & corrupted by the Press.

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"I have a notion also that the Proprietor of *The Times*, Mr. Walter, has a prejuge agst. the Empr & he exercises much influence on the paper. Those arts about Passports were, I am told, written by him & he made a speech on the subject wh of course was very accurately reported. As far as Delane personally is concerned I believe I have done some good but political considerations will always be subservient to the commercial interests of the Paper . . . "

Printed

- Benson, A. C., and Esher, Viscount : *The Letters of Queen Victoria* (London, 1907, 3 vols.)
- Buckle, G. E. : *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, 2nd series (London, 1926, 3 vols.)
- Cavour e l'Inghilterra, Carteggio con V. E. d'Azeglio, a cura della Commissione Reale Editrice (Bologna, 1933, 3 parts)
- Of the first importance for the study of Italian attempts to influence the British Press
- Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond : *Life of Lord Granville* (London, 1905, 2 vols.).
- Grace, W. F. F. "Russia and *The Times* in 1863 and 1873" in the *Cambridge Historical Journal*, I, 1923
- Lehmann, R. C. : *Charles Dickens as Editor* (London, 1912)
- Dickens observed in a letter (August 31, 1861) that he was "so disgusted by the preposterous homage to the Palmerstonian nonsense in *The Times*" (p. 285).
- Malmesbury, Earl of : *Memoirs of an ex-Minister* (London, 1885, 2 vols.).
- Diary, February 1, 1858 "The *Morning Post* says Lord Palmerston carried the sword of State 'with an easy grace and dignity'; *The Times* says 'with a ponderous solemnity.'" (II, 94.) Letter from Delane, June 20, 1859. (II, 192.)
- Maxwell, Sir Herbert : *Life of Lord Clarendon* (London, 1913, 2 vols.).

For XVII, see X.

XVIII. THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

Printed

- Adams, C. F. : "The Trent Affair," in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. 45 (1912).
- Adams, Ephraim D. : *Great Britain and the American Civil War* (London, 1908, 2 vols.).
- This close examination of each phase of British opinion and of British Government action in relation to the Civil War includes many quotations from the Press of both nations. This scholarly and impartial book is essential for the study of *The Times* attitude during these years.
- Atkins, J. B. : *Life of Sir William Howard Russell* (London, 1911, 2 vols.).
- Vol. II, pp. 1-115, for details of Russell's mission to the States. The originals of the letters that passed between Russell, Delane, and Mowbray Morris are now included among P.H.S. Papers.
- Bigelow, John : *Retrospections of an Active Life* (New York, 1909, 3 vols.).
- Bigelow was American Consul in Paris 1861-64. He had for some years been acquainted with Dolane and Russell, and corresponded frequently with

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the latter. Although annoyed by the anti-Federal tone of *The Times*, he protested to Seward against the treatment of Russell by the Washington officials. Seward said in reply (June 25, 1862) "The London *Times* has succeeded in procuring itself to be universally regarded as an enemy to the United States. The Secretary of War supposes that it is his duty not to give the London *Times* the weight which it would derive from protecting, supporting and cherishing its agent. The American people do not dissent from the Secretary's opinion."

Ford, W C . *A Cycle of Adams Letters, 1861-65* (London, 1921, 2 vols)

Gardiner, A G *Life of Sir William Harcourt* (London, 1923, 2 vols)

Harcourt, W V. *Letters by Historicus on Some Questions of International Law* (London, 1863, 2 vols)

Revised reprint of his contributions to *The Times*. As the letters are undated, and the ephemeral allusions unexplained the book is almost useless to the historian.

Jordan, D , and Piatt, E J *Europe and the American Civil War* (1931)

An able and generous survey, briefer and more general than Adams's book, but superseding it in some respects.

L[eslie] S[tephens] *The Times on the American War A Historical Study* (London, 1865)

The English edition is now very rare, but the pamphlet has been reprinted in America as Extra No. 37 of *The Magazine of History* (New York, 1915).

Mackay, Charles *Through the Long Day* (London, 1887, 2 vols)

Maitland, Frederic W.: *Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen* (London, 1906).

Chapter VII, although entitled "The *Times* and the War," makes no attempt to analyse the attitude of the paper. The biographer says that when Stephen was asked by C F Adams, many years afterwards, why he had not put his name to his pamphlet, he replied that "the worldly-wise had persuaded him that at the outset of his career as a journalist he must not incur the enmity of *The Times*."

Marx, Karl, and Engels, Frederick . *The Civil War in the United States* (London, 1938)

These articles, written for the *New York Daily Tribune*, 1861-2, and the *Wiener Presse*, are useful for their reflection of English public opinion and quotations from the leading London journals.

Palmer, Roundell, Earl of Selborne : *Memorials, Family and Personal* (London, 1896, 2 vols).

II, p 391ff, for legal aspects of the Trent case. Palmer had just become Solicitor-General—it is almost certain that he was in direct touch with Delane on this matter.

Putnam, G. H. : "The London *Times* and the American Civil War," in *Putnam's Monthly*, V, 1908-9.

"It has required the lifetime of a generation to outgrow the cleavage between the two nations due to the malicious mischief of Delane and his friends." (p. 187.)

AFTER PALMERSTON

Rhodes, James Ford *History of the United States* (London, 1895-99, 7 vols.)

Vols III and IV give a detailed and dispassionate account of the causes and effects of the Civil War. Many references to *The Times*. Rhodes says, IV, 82, that "the utterances of the 'Thunderer' irritated the Americans more than any speech of Palmerston, any despatch of Earl Russell, and I think I may safely add, any violation of Great Britain's neutrality."

Rhodes, James Ford *Lectures on the American Civil War* (1913)

Russell, W H *My Diary North and South* (London, 1863, 2 vols.)

XIX. AFTER PALMERSTON

Manuscript

Delane's correspondence with Gladstone, Clarendon, Granville, Halifax, Disraeli, Lowe, and other statesmen is preserved in P H S. In some cases the other side of the correspondence has been available, from the Granville Papers in the P R O and from the Clarendon Papers. The situation created by the death of Palmerston is revealed in the letters of Walter, Delane, Dasent, and Lowe in P H S.

Walter was inclined to give Lord Russell temperate defence against the hostile influences in the office. "The world at large will be disposed to overlook Johnny's past delinquencies, in consideration of the difficulty of the task before him, & to make allowances etc etc —knowing that at best his reign can't be long" (to Dasent, October 25, 1865). Russell's return to leadership gave him his opportunity to practise the doctrine he had preached to Clarendon in 1853-55, and to give effect to an ill-will which, with brief interruptions, had continued ever since Barnes first called him "a sly fellow". In 1847 Delane "promised to stand by the Government stoutly" (Clarendon to Russell, June 4, 1847; G and D. 22/6), and throughout Russell's first Ministry the campaign against Palmerston had the effect of throwing Russell and *The Times* together—but not cordially. Even in August, 1847, the Prime Minister complained of the tone of *The Times*, and Delane explained to Le Marchant, who wrote to Russell: "Please burn this. I have just left Delane. Your information was not correct. He tells me that Walter [II] has not for many months interfered either directly or indirectly in the management of the Paper, being still in the same miserable & helpless condition, & indifferent to party politics. The articles were written from no unkind motive, but from the desire to meet in some degree the tone of feeling abroad, & to prove that they were not *unqualified* supporters of the Governmt." (G and D 22/6) Next year *The Times* was "very contemptuous" of Lord Russell (Greville, March 12, 1848), and in 1850 its "indecent acrimony" made Greville regret his connexion with the paper (*Memoirs*, March 2, 1850). In 1852 Russell was "outraged" by the paper's comments upon his acceptance of the Foreign Office (Graham to Aberdeen, December 25, 1852, B.M., MSS Addl 34190/383). The policy of *The Times*, in Russell's view, was directed by Russia (to Aberdeen, September 14, 1853; privately printed Aberdeen Correspondence) and by stockjobbing (to Clarendon, December 15, 1854; Clarendon Papers). In the Russell circle *The Times* was "poison." (Minto to Russell, March 14, 1855; G and D 22/12.) Its articles exceeded "anything I have ever read in wickedness and venom" (Bedford to Russell, July 19, 1855; G. and D. 22/12.).

When Envoy in Vienna, Russell had cause to complain that "it is very inconvenient to the public service that a conversation of mine with Manitouffel, & afterwards with the King should be given in a garbled form in *The Times*, even tho' accompanied by only a moderate sneer against myself" (to Clarendon, Vienna, March 20, 1855; G. and D. 22/12.) W. W. Clarke, Russell's Press agent, believed that the writers in *The Times* "have vowed Lord J.'s political destruction," as "I

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know from personal intercourse" (Clarke to the Dean of Bristol, September 8, 1855, G and D 22/12) "nothing can exceed their hatred" (the same to the same, September 17, 1855, G and D 22/12)

This persistent campaign was due in part to political antipathy. At no time, under Baines, Walter II, or Delane, had *The Times* the same political aims as the statesman, whose views of the Press as a subsequent instrument of Government, moreover, conflicted with the high claims of *The Times*. Nor did Delane appreciate the aloofness of Russell, whose personal relations with the Press were filtered through W W Clarke and the Dean of Bristol. Additional point to the attacks of *The Times* was given by Lowe, who admitted "I never could resist the temptation of pitching into him [Russell] and I think we of the ribald press dont owe him much quarter" (to Delane, October 30, 1865)

The antipathy between Lowe and Russell and its effects in *The Times* were no secret, in 1858 Russell commented upon the terms upon which the "Liberal" party would accept him and foresaw that his refusal to surrender to Lowe would be punished by "fifty lies, 300 invectives & 900 lashes from *The Times*" (to Dean Elliot, April 28, 1858, G and D 22/13)

Before he died Russell exchanged friendly letters with Delane, discussing, for example, in 1870 the problem of national defence. The statesman's death was commemorated by a memoir of six columns and two leading articles. In the first James Macdonell observed that "his long and illustrious career was an honour to England" (May 29, 1878), and in the second Thomas Morley, noting that he lacked grace of manner, paid a tribute to "his honesty, simplicity, unflinching courage, indefatigable industry" (May 30, 1878)

Printed

- Buckle, G. E. • *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, second series (London, 1926-8, 3 vols.).
Buckle, G. E., and Monypenny, W. F. • *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli* (London, 1910-20, 6 vols.)
Davidson, R., and Bonham *Life of Archbishop Tait*.
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond *The Life of the Second Earl Granville* (London, 1905, 2 vols.)
Maxwell, Sir Herbert *Life of the Fourth Earl of Clarendon* (London, 1913, 2 vols.).
Morley, John *Life of Gladstone* (London, 1903, 3 vols.)
Morris, W. O'C. • *Letters on the Land Question of Ireland* (London, 1870).

XX. THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

Manuscript

- Delane, J. T. : Correspondence in P.H.S.
Letters to Morris, Dasent, and Russell; letters from Granville. Delane's correspondence with statesmen during this period is unusually meagre.
- Granville, Second Earl. Papers in P.R.O.
Letters from Lord Lyons, Ambassador in Paris, Lord Augustus Loftus, Ambassador in Berlin; and Col. Beauchamp Walker, Military Attaché in Berlin, writing from Versailles.
- Morris, Mowbray : Letter-books in P.H.S.
Morris, ill during much of the war, was never at his best. His correspondence begins to show signs of his decline.

MEN AND METHODS UNDER DELANE

Printed

Atkins, J B *Life of W H Russell* (London, 1911, 2 vols).

Bismarck, Furst Otto von *Innungen und Gedanken*, (Bd 15 of Bismarck *Die Gesamnelten Werke*, 1932)

"The English Correspondent at Headquarters, Russell, was himself as a rule better informed than I concerning events and intentions, and a necessary source for my information"—(p 315)

Les Origines Diplomatiques de la guerre de 1870-1 (Volume XXIX, Paris, 1932)

Correspondence (pp. 154-6) between the Marquis de Lavalette, French Ambassador in London, and the Duc de Gramont, relating to Delane's application for permission for *The Times* correspondent to go with the French army and translation of Delane's letter [For the applications of *The Times* (Charles Austin, F Dallas) and *Morning Post* (T Gibson Bowles), *Daily Telegraph* (F Lawley), see A A E, Paris, tome 753]

Reply (p 161) of the Duc de Gramont the Emperor has seen the letter from the Editor of *The Times*, and regrets that he can make no exception to the general rule concerning newspaper correspondents

Lord, R. A. *The Origins of the War of 1870* (Harvard, 1924).

Bernstorff to Bismarck, July 13, 1870 [Translated] "Mr. Gladstone also expressed himself very pleased with the tone, that the English Press had adopted on our conflict with France, and praised above all other papers the *Daily News*, which indeed is clearly wholly for us, as are the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*. The *Morning Post*, he thought, has always been very Francophil, nevertheless this paper, whose Editor visited me yesterday to get my explanations and to be just towards us, has a good article to-day, as described in my most dutiful report of to-day upon the English Press in detail

"When I described the *Standard* as the Organ and expression of the Prussophobia of a very highly placed clique, Mr Gladstone certainly would not confirm this, but he hardly contradicted my opinion"—(p 236.)

Olivier, E *L'Empire Liberal* (Volume XV, Paris, 1911.)

Raymond, Dora N. *British Policy and Opinion during the Franco-Prussian War* (Columbia Historical Series, New York, 1921).

Rheindorf, K *England und der Deutsch-Französische Krieg, 1870-71* (Leipzig, 1923).

Russell W H . *My Diary of the Last Great War* (London, 1874).

XXI. MEN AND METHODS; XXII. REVIEWERS;

XXIII. DELANE'S LAST YEARS

Manuscript

P.H S Papers . the letter-books of Mowbray Morris, the Delane Correspondence, and the Walter Papers.

The following letter from Morris to Walter (February, 1856) indicates the policy adopted in the middle of the period in the matter of obituaries : "It seems to have been the policy of the paper during the last four or five years to abstain from critical remarks upon persons immediately after their

¹ Cf Disraeli to Derby, January 25, 1871, in Buckle and Monypenny : "I can conceive nothing more fatal, than our entering into the contest, or assuming an anti-German position ; and I deeply regret the inveterate manner in which Ld. Salisbury works the Quarterly Review and inspires the Standard in that direction "

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death, except in a few cases of unusual eminence, when the task was intrusted to the ablest hands at the Editor's command. It resulted from this, that Dod's occupation was almost gone before he went himself, & that I have never filled his place. And as you wish me to do so now, I should recommend the notices being written in a different style from that which Dod adopted. He mixed up facts & opinions in such a manner that his articles were neither accurate statements nor just reviews. If Walford is tried, I think he ought to be strictly confined to facts & absolutely forbidden to express any opinions. With this reservation he might probably turn his knowledge to good account in our service, & it might be worth while to give him a twelve months' trial & to offer him (what Dod was paid) five guineas for each biography" (M. 5/764)

Walford appears to have written in the *Daily Telegraph* for a time, to that paper he contributed a biography of Palmerston (1865). In 1857 he published *Walford's Records of the Great and Noble original and selected memoirs of nearly a thousand celebrated people*

In a letter to A. F. Walter (April 28, 1874) Delane defends the appointment of foreigners as correspondents

"Now as to the Vienna letter. It is written not by an Englishman but by a Hungarian, residing in Vienna and the heading (from an Austrian Correspondent) is intended to explain to the reader any foreign idioms it may contain. For the same reason we use the head (from a Prussian Correspondent) to our Berlin letters though Abel writes better English than Eber does. We employ these foreigners deliberately because we believe that their superior knowledge of the affairs which they describe more than compensates for any deficiencies in respect of style" (Walter Papers)

Layard, A H. Papers in the B M

Letters from Charles Ross, 1855 (MSS Addl. 38983/143), Ferdinand Eber, 1862 (39104/11); Charles Austin, 1874 (in Spain for *The Times*, 39006/412, 414, 416), and Antonio Gallenga, 1877 (39012/218 "I think it of the greatest importance that I should see much of Your Excellency, and shall try every opportunity of calling", and f 196)

Russell, Lord John. Papers in the P R O.

Letter from T F Kennedy, Commissioner of Woods and Forests, July 13, 1850, proposing that James Caud's services be secured as Lieutenant Surveyor of the Crown. (G and D. 22/9)

Tenterden, Lord : Papers in the P.R.O.

Letters from A. H. Layard (F.O. 363/2). His comments upon correspondents in Constantinople, 1877-78 (especially those of *The Times*) are abusive. While judging Layard to be a difficult man to get on with, MacDonald's experience was that "a large proportion of Specials" were quarrelsome. "Gallenga is of course the principal performer in that line, but we have also Coningsby, Stillman, Ogle & Havelock—all given to fly at somebody on the shortest notice" (To Austin, November 22, 1877, M. 19/325)

Printed

Brodrick, G C. *Memories and Impressions*, 1831-1900 (London, 1900).

Davison, J W. *From Mendelssohn to Wagner*, Memoirs of J W Davison, compiled by his son Henry Davison (London, 1912).

Prints some of Davison's correspondence with Delane, who, for example objected in a humorous letter to the critic's use of parentheses, as asides to the readers ("It gives me the idea that you are perpetually winking at them").

Gooch, G. P. *Life of L. H. Courtney* (London, 1920).

MEN AND METHODS UNDER DELANE

- Grattan, C J *The Gallery, a sketch of the history of Parliamentary Reporting and Reporters* (London, 1860)
- Graves, C L *Life and Letters of Sir George Grove*, (London, 1903)
- Hueffer, Francis *Half a Century of Music in England, 1837-1887* (London, 1889)
Essays on Wagner, Liszt and Berlioz in England, with many references to musical critics
- Lucas, Samuel *Mornings of the Recess, 1861-64*, from *The Times* (London, 1884, 2 vols.)
- Macdonagh, Michael *The Reporters' Gallery* (London [1913])
- Morris, W. O'Connor *Memories and Thoughts of a Life* (London, 1895).
- Nicoll W Robertson *James Macdonell, A Journalist* (London, 1890)
- Phillips, Samuel *The Literature of the Rail*, republished from *The Times* (London, 1851)
Essays from The Times (two series, 1851 and 1854).
These essays were attributed to Phillips, the reprint of 1871 (with a portrait of Phillips, 2 vols) has his name on the title-page But they were not all written by him
- Report on whether (sic) practicable and expedient to provide compendious Record for use of members*, 1862, Vol XVI
- Report of Select Committee on Parliamentary Reporting* 1878, Vol. XVII, and 1878-79, Vol XII
The committee questioned many journalists, including Charles Ross, whose replies are of much historical value
- Stillman, W J *The Autobiography of a Journalist* (London, 1901, 2 vols.)
- Taylor, Tom *The Railway Station*, painted by W P. Frith, Esq., R A, and described by Tom Taylor, Esq., M A (London, 1862).
A remarkable example of Taylor's descriptive powers
- Watson, R Scott *Diasraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question* (London, 1935)
- Woods, N A. . *The Prince of Wales in Canada and the United States* (London, 1861). Woods accompanied the tour on behalf of *The Times*, his letters are here reprinted
- The City Office of *The Times* under Sampson was established at No 13, Lombard Street, and later moved to George Street, its present situation Sampson was an accomplished classical scholar; his official title was "City Correspondent" of *The Times*, but it appears that he was known to a great number of people in the City as the "Editor," a practice which he was unable to prevent It was his duty to collect information in the City, and upon him also fell the responsibility of interpreting the mind of the commercial world. In Sampson's hands, the City department of the paper tended to increase in size despite Delane's fruitless efforts to reduce the space allotted to the share list The Money Article grew to a column's length and often more, while the share list demanded three These items, however, were not yet organized into a "City Page," to be found invariably in the same part of the paper, but were published where the Editor found it convenient to put them The quality of the articles was maintained. If Sampson had not the distinction of Alsager, he so ably continued the tradition that the *Saturday Review* wrote "The compilers of the City articles would have commanded the respect of Adam Smith." (September, 1858) For some years Sampson had two assistants His deputy was David Morier Evans, a journalist of great ability but of small application He once scandalized Mowbray Morris by arriving at the office at noon. His duty was to report important City meetings and attend the Court of Bankruptcy, and to produce the weekly summary of railway information. As was likely in a partner in a firm of accountants, he had a bias towards statistics. In May, 1857, he quitted the City Office to become

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Manager of the *Standard*, which in the following month was brought out as a morning paper, by his partner, Johnstone, in this and other journalistic ventures Evans became a notable figure. A more restricted role, and in the Manager's opinion a not indispensable one, was filled by Mr. Page, an authority on the price of gold and—like Richard Page of earlier days—on the currency. Morris thought that two assistants were more than Sampson needed, and after the resignation of Evans he had to content himself with one. Sampson presided over the City Office for a period of a little more than twenty-five years, during which his exposure of frauds and his able criticism in times of crisis won for him a considerable reputation in financial circles. After the commercial crisis of 1857 business men in Manchester wrote to Mowbray Morris to express their gratitude for the manner in which the interests of commerce had been maintained by the City Articles. Unfortunately, however, Sampson was unable to resist certain temptations. Early in the 'seventies he came into contact with Albert Grant, who gained both wealth and notoriety by his activities as a company promoter. The relationship was observed by Henry Labouchere, who began in 1874 a series of articles on the City in the newly established *World*, for several weeks pillorying "the notorious City Editor of *The Times*". The scandal came as a shock to Delane, who was personally unacquainted with Sampson.

The connexion between Grant and Sampson was brought into the clearest daylight by a libel action brought against them by a certain Rubery, who had promoted a company for mining diamonds in California. The exposure of this fraud was one of Sampson's last achievements. Grant admitted in court that although he had never given Sampson money for the publication of City Articles in *The Times* he had nevertheless reimbursed him for speculative losses. On the day after the conclusion of the trial *The Times* stated in a leading article that, whether or not Grant's subsidies affected Sampson's judgment "in allowing himself to enter into such relations of obligation to a financial agent Mr. Sampson betrayed an unbounded trust that had been reposed in him, and that had any knowledge of these transactions reached us, there would have been long since a change in the authorship of the Money Articles of *The Times*" (January 19, 1875.) Sampson duly resigned and it was long before unbounded trust was again reposed in a City correspondent. The conditions of financial journalism, out of the common run of newspaper work, enforced the choice of a correspondent outside the tried staff of *The Times* when Courtney rejected John Walter's offer of the succession to Sampson. The post was given, upon the recommendation of a director of the Bank of England, to Arthur Crump, who had much experience of City affairs and had for some time been acting as City Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. But Crump took office on revised terms; strict editorial supervision was a condition of his appointment and he was given an associate, who remained in close touch with the Editor. In 1878 the associate was Robert Giffen, an economist of the highest distinction, who wrote leading articles for *The Times* on monetary affairs, when his opinion clashed with Crump's, the latter gave way. Crump, in fact, was not an outstanding success. The Manager found fault with the quality of his news, while Delane criticized his prose. The criticism probably originated with John Walter. Thus in October 1876, Delane informed A. F. Walter that he had scolded Crump for using the word "contango" "I did not love Sampson," he added, "but he kept us clear of slang." However, checked by Giffen until 1882 and afterwards by Wynnard Hooper, he retained his office until 1893, when patent incompetence compelled his resignation.

Draft of John Walter's Memorandum of January 20, 1868, to the Proprietors on the Reserve Fund

Memorandum of W. G. Hicks (Proprietor of the share originally bequeathed to Lawson), February 17, 1868.

Mentioning a number of difficulties arising out of the nature of *The Times* Proprietary. "My present opinion then, is that the Fixed Reserve Fund or Rest could only be adopted safely and conveniently in connexion

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with a Fixed or Restricted Proprietary such as the old Banking Firms—Glyn, Hoare, Barclay or the old Breweries ”

John Walter III, Sentence on the Reserve Fund, April 3, 1868 (Walter Papers)

“ Difficulties have been suggested by two or three of the Proprietors which it is not in my power to remove, and which must frustrate the scheme ”

Letter (copy) from John Walter, July 20, 1877, to F L Soames

“ I am strongly of opinion that a Reserve Fund of considerable magnitude is imperatively required . . . a property which consists of nothing but a Copyright and which has no Capital embarked in it, is necessarily of a precarious character ”

The *Evening Mail* was reduced in price from 4d. to 3d in 1861 without increasing the circulation by more than 100. In 1862 T J Platt contested the accounts, these were found accurate except for a few errors made in copying the figures. Platt thereupon expressed himself satisfied, but proceeded to question the basis of the charge for printing the *Evening Mail*. Disputes continued and A Dobie wrote to the Platts' solicitor on December 6, 1864 “ That as the *EM* cannot be carried on successfully whilst any want of confidence should exist among the co-proprietors either relative to its management or otherwise . . . I am therefore instructed to submit to your clients the following alternatives, viz., either 1st to purchase your clients' shares . . . at a fair valuation ; or 2nd . . . that the partnership at will now subsisting in the *Evening Mail* should be at once dissolved and the concern wound up ” On December 21, the same to the same, stating “ That after the 30th Dec the printing and publication of the *Evening Mail* will no longer take place at the office of *The Times* New-paper in Printing House Square and . . . Mr Walter is ready and desirous to concur in any arrangement for the sale by auction or otherwise of the copyright and goodwill of the above paper ” As these communications passed without reply, Walter appealed on December 28 to the Court of Chancery and the concern was ordered to be sold by auction (See Walter v. Platt, *Bill of Complaint*, filed December 28, 1864) The *Evening Mail*, like *The Times*, was a partnership at will. John Walter, four-sixteenths, G. Platt, two-sixteenths, W. Platt, one-sixteenth; T J Platt, one-sixteenth; Anna Brodie, two-sixteenths, Georgiana English, two-sixteenths; Richard Winslow, two-sixteenths, Sophia M Knox, one-sixteenth; H G. Wolffe, one-sixteenth.

The litigation over the *Evening Mail* led to the publication, twice weekly from June 30, 1868, of the *Mail*, thrice weekly from 1871. On January 5, 1877, there came into existence *The Times Weekly Edition*, which later incorporated the *Mail*.

In 1883 Printing House Square made a sensational experiment in “ cheap ” journalism. The *Summary*, the first halfpenny morning London newspaper, consisted of eight pages, half the size of *The Times*. The contents, besides reproducing Court, market, and other intelligence, extracted the leading articles, important letters and the main news from the parent paper. In addition, the *Summary* carried a specially written political article. The first issue of the halfpenny paper was on July 10, 1883. The results were uniformly disappointing, for the halfpenny price did not permit MacDonald to offer wholesalers the attractive terms necessary for the successful introduction and establishment of a new morning journal. Very few copies were sold in the first months and when, in October, trade terms were revised the costs of production still further exceeded revenue. The best figures, i.e., for November, 1883, show a loss of £84 on the month after taking into account the advertising revenue. In June, 1884, Arthur Walter, on a review of the year's working, reported to Walter that with an average daily circulation of 2,500, the advertising revenue had sunk to £25 a month and that the total loss to date was £6,840 ; and he asked his father to order “ summary extinction ” for the *Summary*. The paper duly

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ceased publication with the issue of October 11, 1884, and London had to wait eight years for its permanent halfpenny paper in the *Morning Leader* of 1892.

Patents taken out in the names of the chief engineers of *The Times* include

1863 No 1661 MacDonald, J C , and Calverley, J.

Rotary machines ; cutting apparatus , damping paper —Rotary perfecting machine [*i.e.*, the "Walter" press in its earliest stage] arranged with the printing cylinders removably mounted above and below the impression cylinders so that they may receive stereo plates cast in tubular form. The web of paper may be partially cut by a cylinder having a cutting blade, &c. The paper may be damped by passing it between two steam rollers covered with felt, or through a steam chamber closed at either end by copper rollers

1865 No 3222 Same persons

Rotary machines ; associating, cutting, and delivery apparatus , feeding apparatus for webs, set-off, preventing —The "Walter" Machine (No 1661) redesigned and perfected Delivery end designed Back and forward flyer included, allowing the paper to be cut after impression

1866 Same persons

Invention for improvement in machinery for printing and cutting into sheets rolls of paper and for collecting sheets so cut, also in the manufacture of stereotype printing surfaces

1868 No. 3470 Same persons

Inking apparatus, feeding apparatus for webs, set-off, preventing, cutting apparatus, delivery apparatus —Supplementary patents to above

1871. No 1644 Same persons

Rotary machines , cutting apparatus, inking apparatus —A few refinements . "In order to allow machines such as those described in Specification No 3222, A D 1866, to be used with rolls of paper of different widths . "

1872 No. 3537 Same persons.

Rotary machines , set-off, preventing ; delivery apparatus —"Relates to rotary perfecting machines, the object being to render such machines applicable for printing books and illustrated papers " I do not think that any of these models, adaptations of the Walter Press, were made

1875. No 611. Same persons.

Cutting and perforating apparatus.

Tributes to Delane's editorship have been paid by journalists both inside and outside *The Times* Office. Sir George Dasent contributed anonymously to *Macmillan's Magazine* (January, 1880, Vol. 41) a slight sketch entitled "John Thaddeus Delane", William Stebbing wrote a centenary article for *The Times* (October 11, 1917). In Stebbing's view Delane "was the ideal Editor, and a King of Men . . . In the night's strategy, the dexterity, the light-handedness of the whole, with the breadth of view, the patience, not to be so prophetic as to be apparently wrong, within the memoir—a week, or ten days—of the public ! And among the hurry, Babel, of affairs, difficulties, mutual misunderstandings, the forbearance, the generous, affectionate instinct that elders must allow juniors to have occasional short tempers ! This is how I saw him "

Most of Delane's subordinates remembered him with admiration and affection, e.g., Henry Wace (in an article in the *Cornhill Magazine*, January, 1909), W. O'C. Morris (*Memories*, 1895); G. C. Brodrick (*Memories and Impressions*, 1900), and A. I. Shand (*Days of the Past*, 1905, a work to be used with caution). With these should be read the estimatos of competent journalists outside Printing House Square. In 1875 the *World* (Edmund Yates) described Delane as an editor whose name aroused "the expectant buzz of curious admiration" among the public. *The Times* was established upon its pedestal by Thomas

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Barnes, "the acutest and most accomplished writer of his time" and "the first newspaper editor who fairly showed the statesman of his day what the power of the press might be" To Barnes Delane owed the eminent position which he maintained and increased "The great secret of the success of *The Times* newspaper is that its Editor has never delegated to subordinates what an editor should do himself, and that in a spirit of mistaken zeal he has never hastened to overload himself with the thousand smaller duties which may be safely left to vicarious industry and well-salaried discretion" (July 21, 1875)

Frederick Greenwood, editor successively of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *St James's Gazette*, wrote an article on "the Newspaper Press" in the *Nineteenth Century*, No 159, May, 1890 He observed

"It was from the genius, the personality of Mr Barnes that the extraordinary power of *The Times* first sprang—or so I make out, and it was confirmed and extended to its utmost point by Mr Delane. This gentleman had not his equal in Europe during the whole of a long career, nor has any one neared him since. He was not a very capable writer in the literary sense, I believe; but I have seen letters of his, fifteen or twenty lines long, with the whole pith of a policy in each, together with full suggestions for its complete development. I speak without exaggeration, but not without a return of the wonder (being in the same line of business myself) with which I viewed those amazing little papers of instruction. Now the clearness of view, the firm, pouncing grasp, above all, the prompt discernment of essentials which these briefs betrayed, are amongst the most useful of all editorial qualities. But there are others much more rare and not so easily accounted for. Just as there are men who are able to tell before they lift their heads from their pillows of a morning which way the wind is blowing, so there are a few, apparently, who without moving a mile from home, or talking with a dozen men, or any ravening study of private letters and public journals, feel in themselves every change and potent of change in the current of common thought 'Feel it in themselves'—that is probably the account of it which they would render, with the addition that, though for a while they hesitated to rely upon their own barometrical indications, experience soon gave them a confidence that was rarely disturbed by mistake. To the Statesman this is an invaluable quality. Without it his wisdom is sorely crippled, indeed, it is doubtful whether any minister can become truly great and successful in a country like ours if this one little gift of genius has been denied him. It is of precisely the same importance to the newspaper editor, and no newspaper editor ever had it in greater fulness or more perfect readiness than Mr Delane, though one or two of his predecessors seem to have shared it largely."

G. W Smalley, the American journalist who organized the Franco-Prussian War correspondence for the *New York Tribune* and the *Daily News* and was afterwards the *Tribune's* London correspondent, was acquainted with Delane and noticed the death of the Editor in his London letter (*New York Tribune*, 1879, reprinted in *London Letters*, 2 vols, 1890). He praised highly Delane's professional skill and contrasted (too sharply) his position with that of his successor. Chenery edited according to the Chief Proprietor's views.

"Mr Delane could not have held office a day without power. It has always been understood that he was absolute master, perfectly independent and perfectly despotic. It was in Mr. Walter's power to dismiss him; it was not in his power to edit *The Times* so long as Mr. Delane was editor." (I, 70.) Smalley revised this opinion after fifteen years. In a very interesting sketch of John Walter, contributed to the *New York Tribune* in 1894 (reprinted in *Studies of Men* (1895), he observes.

"Mr Delane's hand was more constantly on the helm, but when the course of the ship had to be determined Mr Walter's was the deciding

APPENDIX II

voice. In the last resort he was *The Times*, and it must therefore be said of him that he has been on the whole for more than forty years the most powerful individual in England"—(p. 333)

In 1895 Smalley joined the staff of *The Times*

XXIV. THOMAS CHENERY

Manuscript

Office history is based on the various collections in P.H.S. MacDonald's letters to John Walter (Walter Papers) are especially important, there are also suggestive phrases in his letters to foreign correspondents (Letter-Books). To Blowitz, MacDonald reported (December 12, 1877) "On the 1st of January Mr. Chenevry (whom you know) becomes Chief of the Literary staff & Mr. Stebbing ceases to act as for some time he has done, tho' his connexion with the Paper in another capacity still continues. Mr. Clifford has for some time been sub-Editor, but will henceforth be more prominent in that position than has hitherto been possible." The relation between Manager and Editor was now established upon a different footing. On October 27, 1882, MacDonald informed Eber: "The Editor exceeds his functions when he directs strangers to incur expense in telegraphing without any sanction from the Manager"; this would have been so in Morris-Delane days, but from that period no such blunt assertion of managerial authority survives.

Evidence of John Walter's use of direct authority is not lacking. Diplomats, having complaints to make of correspondents of *The Times*, sometimes wrote to Walter instead of to Chenevry (e.g., Sir Robert Morier and Lord Dufferin, in Walter Papers). The Chief Proprietor also commissioned reviews without consulting Chenevry. Thus, when the Rev. Henry Wace made a general complaint of the tone towards religion of *The Times* under Chenevry (a member of the committee of revisors of the text of the Bible), and in particular of a review of *Gesta Christi*, Walter accepted responsibility. He himself had sent the book to Mozley without showing it to Chenevry and had such trust in the veteran writer that he had not troubled to read the article before publication. Like Wace, Walter was scandalized by its argument (Walter Papers). Labouchere's guess, that John Walter now contributed more frequently to the paper, has some foundation. On October 25, 1879, the Chief Proprietor was the author of an article entitled "In the Beginning," a review of three religious books. Walter observes that their perusal would assist the reader to gain moral and intellectual strength and adds a warning:

"The great facts of life and death are realities of too solemn and terrible a character to be made the sport of eccentric thinkers, however distinguished in mathematical or physical science, nor can they be realized without a belief in that Almighty Being to whom every man of common sense feels himself accountable."

Documents of incidental interest are to be found in the Tenterden Papers (F.O. 363/1-3). A letter from Chenevry to Layard, September 2, 1881, is in the B.M. (MSS. Addl. 39035/183). The Granville-Chenevry correspondence in the Granville Papers (G. and D. 29/153) is more important. It begins on May 5, 1880, with a copy letter from T. H. Sanderson (Granville's private secretary):

"Lord Granville wishes you to know that Mr. Goschen will probably proceed to Constantinople as Special Ambassador for a limited time, Sir H. Layard being granted leave of absence.

"The last business upon which Mr. Goschen was engaged abroad (in Egypt) was as you know of a financial character. His present Mission has a different object of a much wider and political nature and is likely to affect the future of the Turkish Empire."

The indorsement has interest: "To *The Times*. First paragraph to *Daily News* and *Daily Chronicle*"

THOMAS CHENERY

The correspondence quickly became less formal. On October 12, 1880, Granville wrote "I send you confidentially two despatches, which we do not intend to publish at present, but which may furnish some facts." The Eastern question is principally to the fore, with occasional side references to other matters. On January 6, 1881, Granville wrote

"I had intended to send you the papers regarding Egypt before others had got them. But someone by a breach of faith anticipated me, although not quite correctly. Your article would have been excellent if published later, but it has placed me in great difficulty. You announce as having been communicated to Turkey and the Powers, that which will not be communicated to Turkey and the Powers for some days. I should be much obliged if you would announce that you have authority to state that no communication has yet been made to Turkey and the Powers on the Egyptian question, without further allusion to the character of the communication to be made."

Cheney sent Granville a letter from Mackenzie Wallace on the relations between Russia and Germany (dated Vienna, November 11, 1883) and the military opinion in Berlin that war next year was probable. Granville minuted

"Please tell him that my information is exactly to the same effect—but that I greatly doubt there being war while the Chancellor remains in full possession of the helm."

Printed

Cecil, Lady Gwendolen. *The Life of Lord Salisbury* (Vol. 2).

Salisbury wrote to Sir Henry Elliot (April 16, 1879) condemning Andrassy's indiscretions: "He either lets out the actual text of despatches, as he did in the case of mine on January 26 to Loftus, or he tells everything to Eber. What he says to Eber raises a howl here which creates a fury at St Petersburg, and a salutary arrangement, which might otherwise have been accepted, fails."—(p. 347.)

Hayward, Abraham. *Selections from the Correspondence of*, edited by H. E. Carlisle (London, 2 vols., 1886)

Nicoll, W. Robertson. *James Macdonell, A Journalist* (London, 1890).

Paul, Herbert. *Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone* (London, 1904)

Lord Acton wrote "I see how willing *The Times* is to be taken in hand in spite of Walter." (July 10, 1880; p. 26) "Don't call Cheney my friend. I have never seen him, and only know that he is making a mess of *The Times*." (September 21, 1880, p. 34)

Ward, Humphry. *Humphry Sandwith, a Memoir* (London, 1884)

Sandwith returned to England at the beginning of 1856, after the Russian capture of Kars. Sandwith, physician to the besieged garrison, was the only prisoner released and he was therefore honoured in London. His quarrel with Delane and Morris was patched up, *The Times* published a long and favourable review of his book on the siege of Kars, which he believed had been written by the Editor himself. The loss of Kars was attributed in England to Lord Stratford's behaviour, the Ambassador was said to have left unanswered 63 dispatches from General Williams, the commander of the garrison, who was disliked by Stratford. *The Times* published a detailed indictment of the Ambassador and Sandwith felt the necessity of writing to deny authorship of the article. (Stratford Papers, P.R.O., F.O. 352/42) He could not imagine how *The Times* got hold of facts known only to himself. "Some time afterwards I talked the matter over with a friend, when he laughingly reminded me that in a conversation with C[henery], a writer in *The Times*, I had let out all that was written—that, in fact, he had wormed the whole matter out of me, as well became a journalist."—(p. 152.)

APPENDIX III: MINISTRIES, 1841-1884

1 In power in May, 1841—Whig

Prime Minister Viscount Melbourne
 Lord Privy Seal Earl of Clarendon
 Lord President of the Council Marquis of Lansdowne
 Foreign Secretary Viscount Palmerston
 Secretary for War and Colonies, Leader of the House of Commons Lord John Russell
 [Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs Viscount Leveson, afterwards Earl Granville]

2 September, 1841—Conservative

Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel
 Lord President of the Council Lord Wharncliffe (d December, 1845), Duke of Buccleuch
 Foreign Secretary Earl of Aberdeen
 Home Secretary Sir James Graham
 [Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs Viscount Cunningham (resigned January, 1846), G A Smythe, afterwards Viscount Strangford]

3 July, 1846—Whig

Prime Minister Lord John Russell
 Lord President of the Council Marquis of Lansdowne
 Foreign Secretary Viscount Palmerston (resigned December, 1851); Earl Granville
 Chancellor of the Exchequer Sir Charles Wood
 Paymaster-General Earl Granville (October, 1851-December, 1851)
 [Viceroy of Ireland. Earl of Clarendon Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs E J Stanley (resigned December, 1851), A H Layard
 Under-Secretary for Home Affairs: Sir Denis Le Marchant (Secretary to the Board of Trade, 1848-50)]

4 February, 1852—Conservative

Prime Minister Earl of Derby
 Lord President of the Council Earl of Lonsdale
 Foreign Secretary Earl of Malmesbury
 Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons B Disraeli
 [Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby]

5 December, 1852—Coalition

Prime Minister Earl of Aberdeen
 Lord President of the Council Earl Granville (transferred June, 1854), Lord John Russell
 Leader of the House of Commons Lord John Russell (without office, February, 1853-June, 1854)
 Home Secretary Viscount Palmerston
 Foreign Secretary Lord John Russell (resigned February, 1853), Earl of Clarendon
 Chancellor of the Exchequer W E Gladstone
 Secretary for War and Colonies (War only after June, 1854) Duke of Newcastle
 Chancellor of the Duchy Earl Granville (from June, 1854)
 President of the Board of Control Sir Charles Wood
 First Commissioner of Works Sir William Molesworth
 [Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs Lord Wodehouse, afterwards Earl of Kimberley
 Joint Secretary of the Board of Control: Robert Lowe
 Secretary to the Admiralty R B Osborne]

6 February, 1855—Liberal

Prime Minister Viscount Palmerston
 Lord President of the Council Earl Granville
 Foreign Secretary Earl of Clarendon
 Secretary for War Lord Panmure
 Secretary for Colonies S Herbert (resigned February, 1855), Lord John Russell (resigned July, 1855), Sir Wm. Molesworth (d October, 1855), H Labouché
 Chancellor of the Exchequer W E Gladstone (resigned February, 1855), Sir G C Lewis
 President of the Board of Control Sir Charles Wood (transferred to the Admiralty February, 1855)
 First Commissioner of Works Sir Wm. Molesworth (transferred July, 1855)
 [Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs Lord Wodehouse (resigned July, 1856); Earl of Shelburne
 Secretary to the Admiralty: R. B. Osborne
 Vice-President of the Board of Trade: Robert Lowe (from August, 1855)]

MINISTRIES, 1841-1884

<p><i>7 February, 1858—Conservative</i></p> <p>Prime Minister Earl of Derby Foreign Secretary Earl of Malmesbury Secretary for War General Peel Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons B Disraeli Resident of the Board of Control Lord Ellenborough (resigned May, 1858), Lord Stanley [Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs W R S V Fitzgerald]</p>	<p>[Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs E C Egerton]</p>
<p><i>8 June, 1859—Liberal</i></p> <p>Prime Minister Viscount Palmerston Lord President of the Council Earl Granville Foreign Secretary Lord John Russell (Eust, July, 1861) Chancellor of the Exchequer W E Gladstone Resident of the Board of Trade Sir Charles Wood Chancellor of the Duchy Earl of Clarendon (from April, 1864) [Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs Lord Wodehouse (resigned August, 1861), A H Layard Vice-President of the Committee on Education R Lowe (resigned 1864)]</p>	<p><i>11 February, 1868—Conservative</i></p> <p>Prime Minister B Disraeli Foreign Secretary Lord Stanley Chancellor of the Exchequer G Ward Hunt Minister for War Sir John Pakenham [Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs E C Egerton]</p>
<p><i>9 October, 1865—Liberal</i></p> <p>Prime Minister Earl Russell Lord President of the Council Earl Granville Foreign Secretary Earl of Clarendon Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons W E Gladstone Resident of the Board of Trade Sir Charles Wood (resigned February, 1866) [Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs A H Layard]</p>	<p><i>12 December, 1868—Liberal</i></p> <p>Prime Minister W E Gladstone Lord Privy Seal. Lord Halifax (appt., July, 1870) Foreign Secretary Earl of Clarendon (d June, 1870), Earl Granville Secretary for War Edward Cardwell Chancellor of the Exchequer R Lowe (transferred to the Home Office, August, 1873) Secretary for Colonies Earl Granville (transferred July, 1870), Earl of Kimberley [Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs A J Otway (resigned January, 1871), Viscount Enfield]</p>
<p><i>10 June, 1866—Conservative</i></p> <p>Prime Minister Earl of Derby Foreign Secretary Lord Stanley Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons B Disraeli Minister for War General Peel (resigned March, 1867), Sir John Pakenham</p>	<p><i>13 February, 1874—Conservative</i></p> <p>Prime Minister B Disraeli (created Earl of Beaconsfield, August, 1876) Foreign Secretary Earl of Derby (resigned March, 1878), Marquis of Salisbury Chancellor of the Exchequer: Sir Stafford Northcote [Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs Robert Bourke]</p>
	<p><i>14 April, 1880-June, 1885—Liberal</i></p> <p>Prime Minister W E Gladstone Home Secretary Sir W V Harcourt Foreign Secretary Earl Granville Chancellor of the Exchequer W E Gladstone (resigned December, 1882), H C E Childers [Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs Sir Charles Dilke (transferred January, 1883), Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice Under-Secretary for Home Affairs L H Courtney (became Secretary to the Treasury, 1882, resigned 1884)]</p>

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